



Fall 10-11-2010

# Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia

Peri Johnson  
peri.johnson@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations>

 Part of the [Classical Archaeology and Art History Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Johnson, Peri, "Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia" (2010). *Publicly Accessible Penn Dissertations*. 273.  
<http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/273>

This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. <http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/273>  
For more information, please contact [libraryrepository@pobox.upenn.edu](mailto:libraryrepository@pobox.upenn.edu).

---

# Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia

## **Abstract**

This dissertation presents a critical study of the landscapes of Achaemenid-period Paphlagonia (c. 550-330 BCE), a mountainous region in northern central Turkey that extends from the verdant Black Sea coast to the sparser Anatolian plateau. In the classical literary sources and the imperial narratives of the Achaemenid Empire, the region of Paphlagonia has been characterized as a mountainous frontier, inhabited by migrants and ruled by gluttonous dynasts. Classically-informed historians writing about the Achaemenid period also speak of Paphlagonia as a bounded region, divided into several rival chiefdoms. Recent archaeological surveys and excavations in the region, however, present a different perspective: a complex and contested landscape politically and culturally related to the Black Sea and Anatolia, as well as the wider Aegean and Achaemenid worlds. A series of ubiquitous, columnar rockcut tombs spread across the Paphlagonian landscape function as significant monuments where such hybrid identities and political alignments are negotiated.

The dissertation develops a post-colonial critique of the ancient and modern discourses that reimagine Paphlagonia and Paphlagonians as marginal, uncivilized, and tribal. It traces the genealogy of how the region of Paphlagonia within classical geography came about in the work of 19th and 20th century colonial antiquarians, geographers, and archaeologists; and demonstrates the modernist and nationalist underpinnings of their writings. Furthermore, the dissertation brings together data from recent archaeological surveys and excavations in the region to provide a fuller picture of the various landscapes of Paphlagonia, with special emphasis on the relationship of rockcut funerary monuments and settlement to copper mining, karst landscapes, and forest ecologies. Finally, the dissertation demonstrates a critical methodology of an archaeology of landscapes by deconstructing ancient and modern discourses about them and creating a new analytical framework, using a combination of archaeological survey, archival research, and critical perspectives.

## **Degree Type**

Dissertation

## **Degree Name**

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

## **Graduate Group**

Art & Archaeology of Mediterranean World

## **First Advisor**

C. Brian Rose

## **Second Advisor**

Holly Pittman

## **Third Advisor**

David Gilman Romano

---

**Keywords**

archaeology, Anatolia, Turkey, Achaemenid, Iron Age, chiefdoms

**Subject Categories**

Classical Archaeology and Art History

LANDSCAPES OF ACHAEMENID PAPHLAGONIA

**Peri A. Johnson**

A DISSERTATION

in

Art and Archaeology of the Mediterranean World

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania

in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2010

**Supervisor of Dissertation**

C. Brian Rose, James B. Pritchard Professor of Archaeology

**Graduate Group Chairperson**

Robert Ousterhout, Professor of the History of Art

**Dissertation Committee**

C. Brian Rose, James B. Pritchard Professor of Archaeology

Holly Pittman, Professor of the History of Art

David Gilman Romano, Senior Research Scientist of the Mediterranean Section

Thomas F. Tartaron, Assistant Professor of Classical Studies



Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia

© 2010

Peri A. Johnson

FOR ÖMÜR

## ***ABSTRACT***

### LANDSCAPES OF ACHAEMENID PAPHLAGONIA

Peri A. Johnson

C. Brian Rose

This dissertation presents a critical study of the landscapes of Achaemenid-period Paphlagonia (c. 550-330 BCE), a mountainous region in northern central Turkey that extends from the verdant Black Sea coast to the sparser Anatolian plateau. In the classical literary sources and the imperial narratives of the Achaemenid Empire, the region of Paphlagonia has been characterized as a mountainous frontier, inhabited by migrants and ruled by gluttonous dynasts. Classically-informed historians writing about the Achaemenid period also speak of Paphlagonia as a bounded region, divided into several rival chiefdoms. Recent archaeological surveys and excavations in the region, however, present a different perspective: a complex and contested landscape politically and culturally related to the Black Sea and Anatolia, as well as the wider Aegean and Achaemenid worlds. A series of ubiquitous, columnar rockcut tombs spread across the Paphlagonian landscape function as significant monuments where such hybrid identities and political alignments are negotiated.

The dissertation develops a post-colonial critique of the ancient and modern discourses that reimagine Paphlagonia and Paphlagonians as marginal, uncivilized, and tribal. It traces the genealogy of how the region of Paphlagonia within classical geography came about in the work of 19th and 20th century colonial antiquarians, geographers, and

archaeologists; and demonstrates the modernist and nationalist underpinnings of their writings. Furthermore, the dissertation brings together data from recent archaeological surveys and excavations in the region to provide a fuller picture of the various landscapes of Paphlagonia, with special emphasis on the relationship of rockcut funerary monuments and settlement to copper mining, karst landscapes, and forest ecologies. Finally, the dissertation demonstrates a critical methodology of an archaeology of landscapes by deconstructing ancient and modern discourses about them and creating a new analytical framework, using a combination of archaeological survey, archival research, and critical perspectives.

## ***TABLE OF CONTENTS***

I. CHAPTER 1: Introduction: Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia .....	1
A. Mapping Paphlagonia in place and time .....	1
i. Achaemenid Paphlagonia .....	4
ii. Colonized Paphlagonia .....	7
iii. Subjected Paphlagonia.....	12
B. Paphlagonian landscapes.....	15
C. Defining Paphlagonians .....	18
i. Paphlagonians as the colonized .....	18
ii. Paphlagonians as the imperial subject .....	20
D. Paphlagonians with a material history .....	22
E. Archaeological scholarship on Paphlagonia.....	23
F. Conclusion .....	25
II. CHAPTER 2: Archaeological Landscapes: Physical and Social Frameworks .....	26
A. Introduction.....	26
B. Geological landscape.....	27
i. Seismicity.....	27
ii. Aquifers .....	29
iii. Mining .....	33
C. Ecological landscape .....	36
D. Geomorphology .....	39

E. Connectivity .....	45
F. Archaeological surveys.....	51
G. Columnar rockcut tombs .....	62
H. Settlement pattern .....	64
I. Conclusion .....	73
 III. CHAPTER 3: Colonization in Myth and Archaeology .....	 75
A. Colonial narratives: almost the same but not quite .....	75
i. Mapping Homer – οἱ Παφλαγόνες .....	76
ii. Mythical reimagination of Sinope & other landscapes.....	83
iii. Athenian entanglements .....	89
iv. Aristophanes – ὁ Παφλαγών .....	97
v. Xenophon – ἡ Παφλαγονία.....	100
B. Material narratives: the Sinop Promontory .....	105
i. Settlement on Berezan Island .....	108
ii. Sinopean residents: columnar grave markers and stelai .....	110
iii. Sinopean leaders: numismatic and epigraphic evidence .....	111
iv. Sinopean landscapes .....	114
C. Material narratives: Samsun landscapes .....	115
i. Achaemenid elites: tumuli .....	115
ii. Fortified settlements .....	118
D. Herakles in Paphlagonia.....	121
i. Iconography and style.....	121

ii. Situated interpretations .....	128
E. Conclusion .....	130
IV. CHAPTER 4: Chiefdoms within the Empire? .....	133
A. Introduction .....	133
B. Archaeological discourse on change and complexity .....	135
i. Chiefdoms in archaeological discourse .....	135
ii. Tradition and the traditional .....	137
iii. Chiefdom as a heuristic concept .....	138
C. Achaemenid relations with Paphlagonia .....	141
i. Achaemenid administration .....	142
ii. Models of imperial administration .....	149
iii. Paphlagonia in the empire: evidence from imperial histories .....	157
D. Discourses of difference .....	159
i. Thys – othering the Paphlagonian .....	162
ii. Datames – the incorporation of Paphlagonia .....	168
iii. Behistun inscription .....	177
E. Discourses of similarity .....	180
F. Historical discourses .....	190
G. Conclusion .....	193
V. CHAPTER 5: Multi-sited Archaeology and Kalekapı .....	195
A. Introduction: Paphlagonian material discourses and critical agency .....	195

B. Kalekapı .....	200
C. Kalekapı and Naqsh-i Rostam.....	207
D. Kalekapı and Persepolis .....	211
E. Kalekapı and Göynüş Valley.....	222
F. Kalekapı and Kazankaya Canyon.....	238
G. Anatolian phreatic landscapes.....	243
H. Afirözü and Karaburun .....	247
I. Conclusion.....	255

## VI. CHAPTER 6: From Region to Landscape: Indigenous Tombs, Hirschfeld and the

Making of Paphlagonia .....	258
A. Introduction.....	258
i. Hirschfeld's methodology and subjectivity .....	262
ii. Imperialism: kaleidoscopic landscapes.....	267
iii. Colonial nationalism: migrating tribes .....	269
iv. Hirschfeld's invention.....	274
B. Hellenistic tombs.....	277
i. Kannenberg.....	277
ii. Terelikkayası.....	278
iii. Salarköy .....	281
iv. Asarkale and Kapıkaya .....	283
C. The twentieth century.....	285
i. Anthropogeography and Leonhard .....	286



ii. Translating Leonhard: Gökoğlu.....	288
iii. Regional archaeology .....	290
D. Conclusion: archaeological heterotopias .....	292
VII. CHAPTER 7: Conclusion: Placing Paphlagonia.....	295
A. Discursive and social landscapes .....	295
B. Regional settlement patterns .....	298
C. Social and natural landscapes.....	299
D. The Black Sea coast .....	300
E. The Achaemenid Empire's Paphlagonia .....	301
VIII. CATALOG: A selected inventory of archaeological sites.....	305
IX. BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	419
X. FIGURES .....	498

## ***LIST OF FIGURES***

- Fig. 1.** Map of Paphlagonia.
- Fig. 2.** Map of Homer's Paphlagonia
- Fig. 3.** Map of Herodotus' Paphlagonia.
- Fig. 4.** Texier's representation of the Paphlagonian king meeting the Amazon queen, Yazılıkaya, Boğazköy (Texier 1839:pl. 78).
- Fig. 5.** Map of Xenophon's Paphlagonia.
- Fig. 6.** Measured drawing of the reliefs and columnar porch of the Kalekapı rockcut tomb (C.7).
- Fig. 7.** Map of the North Anatolian Fault Zone.
- Fig. 8.** Ekinveren Fault Zone and İnaltı limestone.
- Fig. 9.** Map of sites associated with mining and copper ore deposits.
- Fig. 10.** Map of zones of inferred natural forest vegetation: deciduous in pale green, montane in dark green, mixed woodlands in blue, and woodlands & anthropogene steppe in orange.
- Fig. 11.** Map of probable and possible routes in northern central Turkey in the Achaemenid period.
- Fig. 12.** Map of the distribution of tombs and tumuli discussed in catalog.
- Fig. 13.** Map of the Iron Age settlement pattern.
- Fig. 14.** Maps of proposed Iron Age pathways at: a. Akalan (J.1), b. Tıngıroğlu Tepesi (K.1), and c. Yüklütepe (C.6).
- Fig. 15.** Sinopean drachma dating from the last decade of the fifth century to the middle of the fourth century. On the obverse is the head of the nymph Sinope facing left and on the reverse are the eagle and dolphin in profile over ΣΙΝΟ (Price 1993:pl. 53 no. 1439).
- Fig. 16.** Map of Sinop Promontory, Kızılırmak Delta, and valleys around Samsun.
- Fig. 17.** Dugout building 41 dating to the middle of the sixth century, northwest sector, Berezan (Solovyov 1999:62 fig. 46).
- Fig. 18.** House 4 built at the end of the sixth century, northwest sector, Berezan (Solovyov 1999:74 fig. 53).
- Fig. 19.** Fluted Doric column burial marker of Bas, the son of Kallias, dating to the fifth or fourth century. Height of marker: 0.64 m, Sinop Arkeoloji Müzesi inv. no. 13.48.70. (French 2004:pl. 4 no. 12)
- Fig. 20.** Sinopean drachma dating from the second quarter of the fourth century. On the obverse is the head of the nymph Sinope facing left, and on the reverse are the eagle and dolphin in profile over ΔΑΤΑΜΑ (Price 1993:pl. 53 no. 1447).
- Fig. 21.** Silver amphora with ibex handles. Height: 0.29 m. (Amandry 1959:pl. 24)
- Fig. 22.** Gilt silver phiale. Diameter: 0.19 m, Boston Museum of Fine Arts acc. no. 60.535. (Terrace 1963:pls. 29.3, 30.1.)
- Fig. 23.** Measured drawing of the reliefs within the gable of the Kalekapı rockcut tomb (C.7).
- Fig. 24.** Finished bull relief of the Kalekapı rockcut tomb (C.7).

- Fig. 25.** Central acroterion of the Alexander sarcophagus, royal necropolis, Sidon (Graeve 1970:pl. 4.1).
- Fig. 26.** Corner acroterion of the Alexander sarcophagus, royal necropolis, Sidon (Graeve 1970:pl. 6.2).
- Fig. 27.** Elevation of the Alexander sarcophagus, royal necropolis, Sidon (Espouy 1981:pl. 98).
- Fig. 28.** Kalekapı as photographed from the SSW (C.7).
- Fig. 29.** Map of the rockcut features of the Kalekapı site (C.7).
- Fig. 30.** Northeastern artificial trench and precipitous northwestern cliff of the eastern section of the ridge at Kalekapı (C.7).
- Fig. 31.** Stepped wall footing that climbs to near the opening of a tunnel on the top of the western outcrop of Kalekapı (C.7).
- Fig. 32.** The sequence of carving Kalekapı rockcut tomb.
- Fig. 33.** Map of the Persepolis environs (Schmidt 1970:7 fig. 1).
- Fig. 34.** Persepolis environs (GE 10 April 2008, scale 2 km).
- Fig. 35.** Tomb of Darius I, Naqsh-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970:frontispiece).
- Fig. 36.** Royal hero in combat with lion griffin, south jam of the northern doorway in the columned hall's east wall, Persepolis (Schmidt 1953:pl. 116a).
- Fig. 37.** Center of eastern stairway of Apadana, Persepolis (Schmidt 1953:pl. 22).
- Fig. 38.** Lion and bull combat of southern section of central façade of eastern stairway of Apadana, Persepolis (Schmidt 1953:pl. 20).
- Fig. 39.** Map of Göynüş Valley, Afyon (Based on Berndt-Ersöz 2006:317 fig. 5).
- Fig. 40.** Aslantaş, Göynüş Valley, Afyon (Akurgal 1961:pl. 51).
- Fig. 41.** Maltaş ritual façade, Göynüş Valley, Afyon (Berndt-Ersöz 2006:338 fig. 33).
- Fig. 42.** Yılantaş rockcut tomb, Göynüş Valley, Afyon.
- Fig. 43.** Drawings of the lion (a) and gorgoneion (b), Yılantaş rockcut tomb, Göynüş Valley, Afyon (von Gall 1999:152 fig. 3, Akurgal 1965:fig. 6c).
- Fig. 44.** Map of the Kazankaya Canyon, Yozgat and Çorum Provinces (Duran and Hamzaoglu 2002:352 fig. 1).
- Fig. 45.** Sword god of the Underworld, Yazılıkaya. Height: 3.43 m. (Bittel et al. 1975:pl. 62.)
- Fig. 46.** Relief block with funerary banquet scene, Afirözü, Daday, Kastamonu (C.22). Face: 27 × 43 cm, depth: 43 cm; Kastamonu Müzesi inv. no. 438. (Donceel-Voûte 1983:pl. 5 fig.4.)
- Fig. 47.** Paphlagonian rockcut tombs: a. Kargı Ambarkaya (I.17), b. İskilip tomb 4 (I.12, Hirschfeld 1885:pls. 2, 4).
- Fig. 48.** Hirschfeld's distribution of rockcut monuments in Asia Minor (1885:3).
- Fig. 49.** Paphlagonian rockcut tombs: a. Kargı Ambarkaya (I.17), b. İskilip tomb 4 (I.12; Perrot and Chipiez 1892:200 fig. 139, 206 fig. 149; after Hirschfeld 1885:pls. 2, 4).
- Fig. 50.** Sketches of the Kızılırmak gorge and columnar rockcut tomb at Asarkale (J.14), looking upstream: a. Prittwitz (1894:126), b. Flottwell (1895:pl. 4, detail).
- Fig. 51.** Terelikkayası columnar rockcut tomb (A.1): a. photograph of the outcrop (S. Sabri), b. elevation and plan (von Gall 1966a:83-4 figs. 11a, 10).
- Fig. 52.** Terelikkayası columnar rockcut tomb (A.1): a. photograph of the tomb (S. Sabri), b. sphinx capital (Dökü 2008:resim 66).

- Fig. 53.** Salarköy columnar rockcut tomb (A.9): a. photograph of the outcrop, b. elevation (von Gall 1966a:57 fig. 3).
- Fig. 54.** Winged bull capital, Salarköy columnar rockcut tomb (A.9): a. frontal photograph, b. oblique photograph.
- Fig. 55.** Gable of Evkayası columnar rockcut tomb 1 (C.18): a. photograph of the gable, b. elevation (von Gall 1966a:67 fig. 7).
- Fig. 56.** Asarkale columnar rockcut tomb in fort cliff (J.14): a. photograph, b. elevation and plan (von Gall 1966a:99 fig. 21).
- Fig. 57.** Asarkale columnar rockcut tomb in cliff upstream of fort (J.14): a. photograph, b. elevation and plan (von Gall 1966a:97 fig. 20).
- Fig. 58.** Kapıkaya columnar rockcut tomb on the river bank facing the fort (J.14): a. photograph, b. elevation and plan (von Gall 1966a:96 fig. 19).
- Fig. 59.** Tomb of Mithridates I, Amasya: a. photograph (Højte 2009:126 fig. 2), b. elevation and plan (Fleischer 2009:112 fig. 4b).
- Fig. 60.** Durağan Ambarkaya columnar rockcut tomb (A.3): a. photograph, b. elevation and plan (von Gall 1966a:105 fig. 25).
- Fig. 61.** Salarköy columnar rockcut tomb, plan (A.9, von Gall 1966a:58 fig. 4).
- Fig. 62.** Slag heaps, Küre (B.8).
- Fig. 63.** Monolithic column plinth, Ağcıkışi, Taşköprü (C.5).
- Fig. 64.** Lion-griffin reliefs of the Kalekapı rockcut tomb (C.7): a. eastern, height 3.82 m, b. western, height 3.52 m.
- Fig. 65.** Evkayası tombs 1 and 2 (C.18): a. photograph of tomb 1, b. plan of both tombs (von Gall 1966a:65 fig. 6).
- Fig. 66.** Şehinşahkayası niche (C.20).
- Fig. 67.** Karakoyunlu columnar rockcut tomb (E.1): a. photograph, b. elevation and plan (von Gall 1966a:74-6 figs. 8-9).
- Fig. 68.** Gümüştepe tumulus, Safranbolu (E.2).
- Fig. 69.** Tosya stele (F.9). Dimensions: 2.26 × 0.36 × 0.12 m, Çorum Müzesi inv. no. 20.1.81. (Durugönül 1994a:pl. 1)
- Fig. 70.** İskilip columnar rockcut tomb 1 (I.12): a. photograph, b. plan (von Gall 1966a:93 fig. 15).
- Fig. 71.** İskilip columnar rockcut tomb 4 (I.12): a. photograph, b. plan (von Gall 1966a:91 fig. 14).
- Fig. 72.** Kargı Ambarkaya columnar rockcut tomb (I.17): a. photograph, b. plan (von Gall 1966a:91 fig. 14).

## ***PREFACE***

The fieldwork for my dissertation began in 2002 with three months of travel in northern central Turkey through a landscape of managed mountain forests separating densely settled and intensively cultivated valleys and plains centered around cities and towns. I traveled by public transportation, village tractors, and on foot to published first millennium B.C.E. sites. This means of transportation imposed a slowness that allowed me to become familiar with the people and their environment. The hospitality and civility of the inhabitants assisted my travels throughout. Each day was spent at a single site: Gavurevleri, Afirözü, Doğanlar Kayası, Akalan, Tıngıroğlu Tepesi, and many others. I traveled in the Gökırmak Valley from Daday to Durağan, the Devrekani and Eflani Plains, the Küre vicinity, the Araç and Soğanlı Valleys, the Devrez Valley from Kurşunlu to Tosya, the Tatlıçay Valley and Çankırı, the İskilip Valley, the Kızılırmak Valley from Osmaniye to east of Kargı, the Çorum and Alaca Plains, the Merzifon Plain and Amasya Valley, and the coast from Samsun to Aklıman. I also visited Boğazkale to examine the Iron Age ceramics with Hermann Genz. Following my research in the region of northern central Turkey, I traveled through the highlands of Phrygia in Afyon and Eskişehir Provinces. My travels in 2002 inspired an interest in the northern Turkey that has endured through the completion of my dissertation.

During June of 2003 and 2004 Aslı Özdoğan of the Istanbul University Prehistory Department and Catherine Marro, then of the French Institute for Anatolian Studies, invited me to study the Late Iron Age ceramics collected by the Kastamonu Project between 1995 and 1998, temporarily stored in the Istanbul University Prehistory

Laboratory. This analysis is not included in my dissertation but will appear in the final publication of the survey. My participation in the Gordion Archaeological Survey in the summer of 2001 proved invaluable background for my analysis of the Iron Age ceramics of Kastamonu, particularly the ceramic fabrics. I also arranged a visit to Gordion in 2003 after the end of laboratory work in Istanbul to examine the Iron Age ceramics with Bob Henrickson.

In 2004 the Ministry of Culture and Tourism granted me a permit to document the columnar rockcut tomb at Kalekapı with single point photogrammetry. The fieldwork was done with the photogrammetry specialist, Kemal Gülcen, of the Middle East Technical University Photogrammetry Laboratory.

In 2006 I groundtruthed my measured drawing of the tomb and traveled to coastal and mountainous areas in the northwest not visited in 2002: the coast from Bartın to Cide and the Şenpazar vicinity. In 2008 I traveled in Azdavay and Pınarbaşı and visited Mızrak Cave, the provenance of a Hittite sword. I also traveled in the north of Ankara Province.

During July and August of 2008 and 2009 I participated in the excavations and surveys of the Pompeiopolis Project directed by Latife Summerer of the Institute for Classical Archaeology, Ludwig-Maximilians University of Munich. The excavations have uncovered only Roman levels, but my participation familiarized me with the geomorphology of the Gökırmak Valley around Taşköprü. In 2009 I was the field director of the survey component of the Pompeiopolis Project in Taşköprü County. During the 2009 season we visited the Alaçam Valley, the Aşağıçay Valley, the Köçekli Plateau and Saraycık Mountain, and Samanlıören and the Karadere Valley.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The results of the 2009 survey of the Pompeiopolis Project will appear in P. Johnson (forthcoming).

Many people have assisted me in fieldwork, analysis, and writing. First, I wish to thank Murat Karasalihoğlu and Fulya Aldı for their generosity, hospitality, and enthusiasm in sharing of their knowledge of Kastamonu. Next, I wish to recognize the assistance of the residents of Afirözü, Karadonu, Eskiekin, Donalar, Samanlıören, Kızılca, Kurmalar, Eymir, and the many other villages that I visited in the course of my dissertation research. Without them my dissertation fieldwork would have been neither so productive nor pleasurable.

I deeply thank Aslı Özdoğan, Catherine Marro, and Latife Summerer for their invitations to collaborate and lively discussions of the region.

Keith DeVries holds the credit for suggesting that I address the question of chiefdoms in my dissertation. The influence of his seminars on Anatolian and Aegean archaeology and history is present throughout this dissertation. Owen Doonan deserves thanks for planting the seed of this dissertation by assigning a research paper on the region during the Achaemenid period. David Romano not only taught me geographic information science, but also generously provided space in the Corinth Computer Project Research Laboratory where I rectified and digitized maps. His influence is visible in the cartography included in the dissertation. Holly Pittman has always been constructively critical and supportively concerned. Last but not least, I am deeply in debt to Brian Rose for his thoughtful suggestions and thorough editing. No matter how thorough the editing, however, all errors are, of course, mine.

## CHAPTER 1:

### *Introduction: Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia*

#### *A. Mapping Paphlagonia in place and time*

In classical literature Paphlagonia is a mountainous region that extends from the verdant Pontic coast in the north to the arid Anatolian Plateau in the south (**fig. 1**).<sup>1</sup> Rising from rugged foothills, the Pontic mountain range bends around the northward bulge of Paphlagonia into the sea, with the Sinope Promontory and the delta of the Halys River rupturing the curve of the coastline.<sup>2</sup> A tributary of the Halys, the Amnias River, flows eastward along the southern slopes of the Pontic mountains through a long and broad valley. The southern bank of the Amnias is bound to the heart of Paphlagonia, the evergreen forests of the Olgassys Massif. From the Halys in the east to the Billaïos River in the west, the massif straddles the width of Paphlagonia.

The string of valleys that tread along the zigzagging course of the Halys through the mountains is the southeastern boundary of Paphlagonia. Through the southern Paphlagonian plains, west of the Halys, two of its tributaries flow eastward past fortified settlements at ancient Gangra and near contemporary Ilgaz. In the west, the rivers of

---

<sup>1</sup> The following description draws upon the boundaries for Paphlagonia as presented in Strabo's *Geographia* (12.3) and as defined by Ruge and Bittel (1949:2489-94, especially their conclusion on 2493-4), Marek (1993:7-13), and Belke (1996:41-7). It also draws upon the ecological landscape as described by Belke (1996:48-54), Kuzucuoğlu and others (1997:275-81), and Marsh (in Matthews and Glatz 2009:29-47). In accordance with geographical convention, in this dissertation Anatolia refers to the peninsula extending from the Caucasus Mountains to the Aegean Sea. The citations by author and date of publication refer to works listed in the bibliography. The abbreviations in the bibliography follow the guidelines of the *American Journal of Archaeology*. References to ancient works follow the abbreviations listed in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.

<sup>2</sup> The place names used here are Strabo's (12.3) except for the contemporary Araç River and town of Ilgaz. The Küre Dağları's name in antiquity is unknown; the "Pontic" of the Pontic mountain range is used here by analogy with πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ (Strabo 12.3.2 with reference to Cappadocians) and τῇν...χώραν, κληθεῖσαν δὲ Πόντον (Strabo 12.3.9 with reference to coastal Paphlagonians).



Paphlagonia flow northwestward into the Parthenios and Billaaios. The fort at Kimista on a tributary of the Billaaios lies near the western Paphlagonian border running through the catchment of the river.<sup>3</sup> The valleys of the Araç and Billaaios Rivers are ample and open around their confluence, although hemmed in by high mountains. Paphlagonia abounds in many lesser rivers that flow through fertile mountain plateaus, but just as many rivers cut through remote mountains with steep slopes and poor soils. The high mountain passes of the Pontic mountains and Olgassys Massif similarly remove the valley of the Amnias from both the coast and the valleys of the Halys tributaries south of Olgassys. In a few words, Paphlagonia is a fragmented mountainous landscape. Consequently, Paphlagonia is traversed by three *separate* itineraries: the nautically linked coast, the Amnias valley linked to the west and east with lower mountain passes, and the valleys of the Anatolian Plateau south of Olgassys.<sup>4</sup>

When writing archaeologies and historical geographies of Paphlagonia, the practice is to begin with evocative descriptions of the ‘natural’ landscape similar to the preceding paragraph. These descriptions are intended to paint the scenery for an archaeology or historical geography *of* the region.<sup>5</sup> The argument runs that the natural landscape constrains the trajectory of Paphlagonian society, and, consequently, a description of the natural landscape is properly introductory as background. The flip side of these descriptions is that they give a misleading impression that Paphlagonia is ‘quite naturally’

---

<sup>3</sup> Marek (1993:122-4) summarizes the arguments for the various suggested locations of Strabo’s Kimiata (12.3.41) and the emendation of Kimiata to Kimista, which Laflı recently surveyed near Eskipazar (2007, 2009, n.d.). See also Bosworth and Wheatley 1998:164.

<sup>4</sup> Pathways, routes, and roads are discussed in the second chapter.

<sup>5</sup> For various examples from historical geography: Marek (1993:8-11) and Belke (1996:48-54); archaeology: Matthews, Pollard and Ramage (1998:195), Matthews and Glatz (2009:3-8, 27-73); and history: Debord (1999:110).

an internally coherent region. With respect to Paphlagonia, in particular, this impression flies in the face of the literary and material discourses on Paphlagonia, as well as the fragmented mountainous landscape itself. I argue in this dissertation that Paphlagonia as a region is founded, primarily, on the scholarship of nationalism and associated concepts, such as unchanging, bounded, and homogeneous ethnicities. I hold that Paphlagonia's construction in this tradition of scholarship required smoothing out inconsistencies in the scant literary references from Homer through Byzantine scholars, and massaging stylistic analyses of material culture to conform to this literary construct. Although the region from the Billaïos to the Halys, and from the promontory of Sinope to the Halys south of Gangra were historically rarely integrated, archaeologists and ancient historians alike consider this region as the extent of the distribution of ethnic Paphlagonians, and argue that it is internally fragmented.<sup>6</sup>

We have now reached a stage where it is possible to demand more of our material and literary sources, as well as ourselves. No longer is it acceptable to be engaged in a disingenuous project of writing an archaeology of the past that fits into our preconceived expectations of the past. It is possible for the difference of the past from the present to emerge through a critical perspective and an analysis of the archaeological and historical specificity of the area under study. This dissertation is an attempt to insert some specificity of place and time back into the region of Paphlagonia during the Achaemenid period. Paphlagonia as a place is concisely introduced in this section; Paphlagonia during

---

<sup>6</sup> See, for instance, Briant on “several rival chiefdoms” in Paphlagonia (2002:642), Ruge and Bittel on the Halys as a political or ethnographic border (1949:2491), French on Paphlagonians as a “language-group” and “population-group” (1991a:239).

the period of the Achaemenid Empire in Paphlagonia is the focus of the following section.

### *i. Achaemenid Paphlagonia*

On the Anatolian peninsula, the first appearance of Achaemenid power was in c. 546 B.C.E. to the southeast of Paphlagonia, when the Achaemenid king Cyrus II responds to an invasion of Cappadocia by the Lydian king Croesus.<sup>7</sup> The army of Cyrus II engages the Lydian army in battle at Pteria, a Cappadocian city provisionally identified with the walled city on Kerkenes Dağı more than 100 km to the southeast of Paphlagonia.<sup>8</sup> After the defeat of Croesus, Paphlagonia and the rest of Lydian Kingdom are incorporated into the Achaemenid Empire.<sup>9</sup> The Achaemenid administrative organization of the Anatolian peninsula does not emerge until the imperial reforms of Darius I in c. 519, when the peninsula is reorganized into administrative regions or satrapies. After his reforms, Paphlagonia becomes a dependency of Daskyleion, the residence of the satrap of northwestern Anatolia. To the west of Paphlagonia is Mariandynia, another dependency of Daskyleion, and to the south and east of the Paphlagonia's Halys River border, respectively, stretch the satrapies of Phrygia and Cappadocia.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> All unlabeled dates in this dissertation are B.C.E., unless clarity requires otherwise, and all C.E. dates are labeled. Additionally, the more specific term "Achaemenid Empire" is preferred to "Persian Empire." Cyrus II is the founder of the Achaemenid Empire, and he is also known as Cyrus the Great. On the chronology of Cyrus II's campaign, see Briant 2002:34-5. The capital of the Lydian Kingdom of Croesus is Sardis, a city near the Aegean coast of the Anatolian Peninsula.

<sup>8</sup> Herodotus 1.76 (hereafter, Hdt.); G.D. Summers 1997, 2000; cf. Rollinger 2003a:305-19, 2003b; Tuplin 2004:232-48. Summers has proposed that Kerkenes Dağı is Pteria, but other fortified settlements have been proposed nearer to Paphlagonia, such as Eğrikale (see entry **A.2** in the Catalog). Pteria is a Greek place name meaning "wing-like" or "feather-like," probably referring to the walls, and derived from τὸ πτερόν "feather." Other fortified sites might be called Pteria, but of the possibilities, only Kerkenes Dağı is a walled Cappadocian city occupied in the sixth century.

<sup>9</sup> On Paphlagonia's inclusion in the Lydian Kingdom, see Hdt. 1.6, 28, 72.

<sup>10</sup> In the fourth chapter I argue that Herodotus' inclusion of Syrians in the group of peoples dependent on Daskyleion does not demand that Cappadocia's northern extension be a dependency of Daskyleion

Historical sources on the fifth century are silent about Paphlagonia except for a reference in Herodotus' census of Xerxes' army assembled for the invasion of the Greece in 480. Herodotus lists Paphlagonians under the command of Dotos, the son of Megasidros.<sup>11</sup> The sources on the fourth century, similarly, introduce Paphlagonians into literary narratives only when the Paphlagonians emerge on the wider Anatolian and Aegean stage. In these fourth century sources the place name "Paphlagonia" first appears, and the derived name of the people "Paphlagonians" replaces *Paphlagones*, which had been used earlier.

The first of the four episodes occurs during the retreat of Xenophon and the Greek mercenaries in 401 through eastern Anatolia.<sup>12</sup> When they are camped outside Kotyora, c. 200 km east of the Halys River, the Sinopean representative (*proxenos*) of the Paphlagonian ruler Korylas persuades Xenophon and the mercenaries to sail along the Paphlagonian coast rather than marching through Paphlagonia. Herodotus mentions that Korylas had not yet submitted to the Achaemenid king Artaxerxes II, even though he had been summoned to do so. This recalcitrance of the Paphlagonian ruler is a literary trope that connects the Korylas episode with the subsequent two episodes.

The second episode occurs in the west of Paphlagonia. During an expedition between 396 and 394 to decrease the influence of the satrap of western Anatolia and increase Spartan influence, Agesilaos arranges a marriage alliance between an exile from Daskyleion, Spithridates, and the Paphlagonian king Otys. The daughter of Spithridates

---

(Hdt. 3.90). Additionally, I argue Cappadocia and Phrygia are Anatolian Plateau satrapies neglected by Herodotus.

<sup>11</sup> Paphlagonians are grouped with the Matieneans, a people from around Lake Urmia in northwestern Iran (Hdt. 7.72-3).

<sup>12</sup> Xenophon *An.* 5.5-6.1 (hereafter, *Xen.*).

is promised to Otys to strengthen Agesilaos' alliance with Otys, and Otys' contribution of 3000 cavalry and foot soldiers to Agesilaos' expedition.<sup>13</sup> Xenophon describes Otys as not having submitted to Artaxerxes II, and his alliance with Agesilaos is an additional step in opposition to Achaemenid administration.

The third episode is the most significant for the history of Achaemenid Paphlagonia. The episode centers on the activities of Datames, who was the son of an Achaemenid governor in southern Anatolia and a Paphlagonian princess.<sup>14</sup> In the 380s, Datames was given the command of an expedition to capture his cousin, the Paphlagonian king Thys. Later activities of Datames in Paphlagonia, such as Sinopean coins minted by him, are frequently woven into narratives on instability in Achaemenid Anatolia in the 360s.<sup>15</sup> With respect to the historical implications for Paphlagonia, however, the trope of the recalcitrant Paphlagonian king serves as the justification for the more direct Achaemenid administration of Paphlagonia and its coastal Greek cities by Datames following Thys' capture in the 380s.

Paphlagonia's more comprehensive participation within the Achaemenid Empire becomes apparent in the fourth episode, when the son of the satrap residing at Daskyleion and several other Achaemenids with Iranian names written in Aramaic script issue coins in Sinope. All the coins date between c. 360 and c. 330, and possibly represent the period of Achaemenid resistance to Alexander after the defeat at Issos.<sup>16</sup> With the satrapal

---

<sup>13</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.1-28; Briant 2002:634-45. In other versions of the episode Otys is referred to by different names. In Xenophon's *Agesilaos* (3.4) and Plutarch (*Vit. Ages.* 11.1-4), Otys is referred to as Kotys, and his name appears as Gyes in the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (24.6-25.2 [Chambers 1993:47-8]).

<sup>14</sup> Nepos *Datames* 1.1, 2.4 (hereafter, Nep.).

<sup>15</sup> The coins minted at Sinope by Datames are dated to the 360s (C.M. Harrison 1982:181).

<sup>16</sup> Harrison places the coins in a period after the Issos defeat, but is possible that the coins are spread from c. 360 to c. 330 (C.M. Harrison 1982:187-8, 190-4).

centers under Macedonian control, the Achaemenid elite of Anatolia retreat to a region still under Achaemenid administration to increase the number of soldiers and mint coins. At the close of the two centuries of Achaemenid presence in Anatolia, Paphlagonia becomes more directly administered by Daskyleion.

My objectives in this dissertation are to develop a recursive relationship between this historical argument for the process of imperial incorporation and the interpretation of the archaeological evidence. Previously, the historical sources portraying recalcitrant and rival Paphlagonian chiefs aligned well with the archaeological evidence for fortified settlements dispersed in the physically fragmented, but supposedly ethnically homogenous landscape. Problems began to emerge from both the historical and archaeological evidence, particularly with respect to a Paphlagonian identity during the Achaemenid period and the fourth century landscape. What was the archaeological evidence for a Paphlagonian identity? If the chiefs were always recalcitrant and engaged in rivalry, how could the landscape have developed? In order to address these problems, this dissertation undertakes an analysis of how Paphlagonia is mapped in the colonial Greek and imperial Achaemenid worlds. Through these analyses, the dissertation develops a fresh understanding of the region *situated in the archaeological landscape* of the impact of Achaemenid Empire in Anatolia. Several critical perspectives on the scholarship of nationalism as well as colonialism and imperialism inform the theoretical framework in which these analyses are undertaken.

## ***ii. Colonized Paphlagonia***

The first critical perspective on colonialism is reflected in my qualification of the Paphlagonian landscape as disintegrated. If the concepts taken for granted by this

scholarship are peeled away, Paphlagonia loses integrity and becomes a restless place that flits here and there around the map. In Homer's *Iliad*, Paphlagonians live where the Parthenios River debouches into the sea and to the northeast along a short stretch of the coastline (**fig. 2**).<sup>17</sup> Diverging from Homer's more western oriented Paphlagonia, Herodotus creates an eastern and more abstract Paphlagonia (**fig. 3**). In his description of Anatolia as separated by the Halys River into the western lowlands and the eastern highlands, Herodotus defines the Halys as the eastern border of the region where the Paphlagonians live.<sup>18</sup> These restless and variously placed Paphlagonias of Homer and Herodotus are to be approached through a critical analysis of the authors' discursive imagination. Once the concepts of modern colonialism are peeled away, their Paphlagonias remain ancient colonized places, both in a tangible sense, emerging from the analysis of Greek settlement practices, and in a discursive sense, emerging from Paphlagonia's multiple mappings in the Greek imagination.

Homer's use of Paphlagonia in the *Iliad* is particularly intriguing, in that he is composing not only the founding epic of the Greek community but also an explanation of Greek expansion into the Black Sea. Drawing on a memory of the Hittite kingdom of Pala, Homer reimagines the place name as Paphlagonia.<sup>19</sup> The Homeric name becomes valuable and contested, but not bound to administrative borders, as names are bound in

---

<sup>17</sup> Homer *Il.* 2.851-5 (hereafter, Hom.). The Parthenios River as mapped in figure 2 is the Kocaçay branch of the Bartın River.

<sup>18</sup> Hdt. 1.6, 72. The eastern border of Paphlagonia is dependent on the larger division of Asia, i.e. Anatolia, into the lowlands to the west of the Halys River (Ἀσίης τὰ κάτω) and highlands (τὰ δὲ ἄνω [τῆς Ἀσίης]) within the bend of the Halys River (1.72, 177; cf. 1.28). Counillon argues that the Halys River is a political border that becomes a geographical border, the isthmus of Anatolia (2004:114). Rollinger presents a more thorough critique of the Halys River as a political and geographical border (Rollinger 2003a:305-19, cf. Tuplin 2004:238-9). Similar to Paphlagonia, Mesopotamia (Bahrani 1998), and other regions, Anatolia is also not an unproblematic regional designation (Bilsel 2007).

<sup>19</sup> Hout 2004, Strobel 2008a:126-8.

modern colonial mapping.<sup>20</sup> Paphlagonia also becomes entangled in Homer's outward, maritime perspective, wherein the familiar mapped coastal lowlands are reimagined through translation into Greek, and the more unfamiliar inlands are nameless and fantastic places of difference. Herodotus, on the other hand, presents the Paphlagonians as one of the known coastal peoples but is silent about inland place names; there is a vague reference to Paphlagonia as an area located inland along the Halys River. This maritime perspective leads, therefore, to an ambivalent imagination of a Hellenized coastal Paphlagonia, and a nameless inland Paphlagonia.

This glance at the earliest literary references to Paphlagonia is enough to demonstrate that the concept of an unchanging, bounded region serves Paphlagonia rather poorly. It is not just a question of poor fit, however. When the literary references are refracted through the lens of modern orientalist and nationalist scholarship, it becomes clear that such perspectives continue to filter how contemporary archaeology sees the past. The first scholar to identify Paphlagonian monuments, French architect Charles Texier, is an early and particularly transparent example.<sup>21</sup> With the hazily mapped Paphlagonia of Homer and Herodotus in mind,<sup>22</sup> Texier in 1834 proposed that the Paphlagonian king met the Amazon queen at the Hittite rockcut sanctuary at Yazılıkaya located east of the Halys River near Boğazköy (**fig. 4**).<sup>23</sup> He describes the rockcut imagery as follows:

---

<sup>20</sup> Modern colonial mapping was a “concretization of...the colonial state's peculiar imagining of history and power” (Anderson 1991:185).

<sup>21</sup> Before Texier, The French consul at Sinop, Pascal Fourcade, had published an article about the Roman city of Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia (Fourcade 1811).

<sup>22</sup> Texier 1839:218-9.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.:214-22, 226-8. For a summary of Texier's travels, see Portnoff 2008; for a summary of his position in Anatolian archaeology, see Mellink 1966:113-4. Similar to Texier, the diplomat Mordtmann interpreted the rockcut tombs in the Olukbaşı ridge of Kastamonu as having been carved by the Amazons (1859:205, see entry **C.18** in the Catalog).



The [Paphlagonian] king is armed with a club; he is bearded and wears a very tall conical hat. All his retinue, which is composed of figures similarly clothed, is set out as follows: a corps of soldiers; three generals; three princes; a retinue of gift bearers with each one preceded by a soldier; the navy represented by two men who carry a boat; a monarch who appears to be a vanquished king, *dorophores*, all dressed in long dresses and bearing on their backs a kind of quiver or wings; finally, the king who holds in his hands a gift.<sup>24</sup>

Conflicting perspectives abound in Texier's description of the Paphlagonians. The king is a barbarian warrior armed with a club, yet his court is modeled on the French government with monarch, military officers, and the nobility of the Paphlagonian "nation."<sup>25</sup> This is despite describing the meeting as displaying "Asiatic pomp" and brushing aside the similar belief of the villagers of Boğazköy that the reliefs were of the Ottoman sultan and court.<sup>26</sup>

As an orientalist and a subject of the French king, Texier holds views that are not surprising, but his unreflexive interpretation conflates contemporary prejudices on Asiatic pomp with an aesthetic judgment on the primitive and barbarian quality of Paphlagonians, their reliefs, and of their Ottoman descendants.<sup>27</sup> The conflicting accounts within Texier's interpretation of Yazılıkaya are characteristic of colonial

---

<sup>24</sup> "L'autre roi [Paphlagonien] est armé d'une massue; il est barbu et coiffé d'un bonnet conique très-élevé. Toute sa suite, qui se compose de figures également vêtues, est disposée ainsi: Un corps de soldats [Bittel et al. 1975:pl. 56 nos. 1-12 (underworld gods)], trois généraux [nos. 13-5 (mountain gods)], trois princes [nos. 16 (unidentified god), 16a & 17 (mountain gods)], une suite de dorophores précédés chacun d'un soldat [nos. 18-26 (unidentified gods), no. 27 the underworld god Nergal]; la marine, représentée par deux hommes qui portent une barque [nos. 28-9 (the bull gods Hurri and Sheri holding a crescent moon)]; un monarque qui paraît un roi vaincu [no. 30], des dorophores, tous vêtus de longues robes et portant sur le dos des sortes de carquois ou d'ailes [nos. 31-41]; enfin le roi qui tient dans ses mains le présent [no. 42]" (Texier 1839:219, my translation).

<sup>25</sup> Texier's original interpretation had the Paphlagonian king meeting the Persian king followed by "a warrior of the Persian *nation*" (ibid.:218-9, italics added). Texier emended his description to have the Amazon queen meeting the Paphlagonian king, with the Leukosyrian king behind the queen (ibid.:219).

<sup>26</sup> The villagers of Boğazköy (now Boğazkale) interpret the reliefs of Yazılıkaya as representations of their Ottoman government (ibid.:214), just as Texier models his interpretation on the French government. It is well known among Hittitologists today that the scenes depict Hittite deities and royal ancestors accompanied by various other ritual scenes (Bryce 2002:195-9).

<sup>27</sup> Of the many characterizations of Paphlagonians, Texier draws his from the most negative, Lucian's dialogue on Alexander; "les Paphlagoniens étaient regardés dans l'antiquité comme la nation la plus stupide, la plus impudente et la plus détestable qu'on pût rencontrer" (1882:13).

archaeology and illustrate some of the prejudices entangled in the modern constructs of Paphlagonia. Even more significantly, the conflicts clarify that it is not a straightforward question of “each age writing the history of the past *anew* with reference to the conditions uppermost in its own time,” as the colonial historian of the American frontier stated.<sup>28</sup> The question is how archaeology navigates between uncritical application and critical analysis of contemporary preoccupations, both of which are “necessarily interventions in political discourse.”<sup>29</sup> When Texier discovers the oriental in antiquity, he is necessarily participating in French colonial policy.<sup>30</sup>

Contemporary research on Paphlagonia has not always recognized the complicity between political and archaeological discourse. The slippage from American political discourse after the violence on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 to Paphlagonian “landscapes of terror and control” is inexplicable in research conducted in a majority Islamic country.<sup>31</sup> The critical perspective towards colonialism in my dissertation is intended to assist me in stepping over the pitfalls of research on a region that has a history of both ancient colonialism and modern orientalism. To lead my archaeological interpretations on the path to a self-reflexive discourse, I also take a critical perspective towards the interpretations that reimagine Paphlagonia as imperial subject.

---

<sup>28</sup> The quotation is from Turner’s essay on the significance of history ([1891]1938:52, italics added).

<sup>29</sup> This is my paraphrase of Chatterjee’s insightful comment: “the critical analysis of nationalist thought is also necessarily an intervention in a political discourse of our own time” (1999b:52).

<sup>30</sup> This is the argument of Said against the passivity of scholarship (e.g. Said 1978:12).

<sup>31</sup> Matthews changes the title of his article on the second millennium in southern Paphlagonia from “Landscapes of terror and control: imperial impacts in Paphlagonia” to “A landscape of conflict and control: Paphlagonia during the second millennium BC” (Matthews 2004a; Glatz, Matthews and Schachner in Matthews and Glatz 2009:107-47; see also Glatz and Matthews 2005).

### *iii. Subjected Paphlagonia*

The Paphlagonias of Homer and Herodotus are subjected places tangentially participating in epic and imperial struggles. For Herodotus, and later for Xenophon, the struggle is against the Achaemenid Empire. Through imperial eyes, Xenophon, in particular, sees Paphlagonia as coastal mountains and rivers to be traversed on his westward return to the Aegean. Paphlagonia is entered through a mountain pass west of Kotyora; the pass leads to plains where the Paphlagonian cavalry can operate; and the Thermodon, Iris, Halys, and Parthenios Rivers follow (**fig. 5**).<sup>32</sup> Notwithstanding the sequence of the description, the plains of Paphlagonia are not east of the Thermodon River; the sequence is entirely structured for rhetorical effect.<sup>33</sup> Additionally, the emphasis of Xenophon's imperial perspective is primarily the military itineraries: mountain passes, plains where cavalry have the advantage, river fords, and other loci linked to military strategy.<sup>34</sup>

In the writings of a contemporary of Texier, the British antiquarian William Ainsworth, Xenophon's ancient imperial perspective becomes entangled in a modern

---

<sup>32</sup> During the retreat of the mercenaries from Babylon in 401, Xenophon has the representative of the Paphlagonian king emphasize the difficulty of traversing the mountains and rivers of Paphlagonia (*An.* 5.6.6-10). The representative's description is a sequence. The mountain pass is located close enough to the mercenaries' camp that the representative can show it to them: "I would show it to you, if you were to send someone with me" (ταῦτα δὲ καὶ δείξαιμι ἂν, εἰ μοί τινα βούλοισθε συμπέμψαι, 5.6.7). The pass and the plains are followed by the rivers: "If you are able to win, by taking the mountains by stealth or anticipation..., you will come to the rivers" (ἦν δὲ καὶ δυνηθῆτε τὰ τε ὄρη κλέψαι ἢ φθάσαι λαβόντες..., ἥξετε ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμούς, 5.6.9). Xenophon narrates another story about Paphlagonia in 395 when the Spartan king Agesilaos was marauding through the satrapy of Pharnabazos (*Hell.* 4.1.18). Agesilaos, the Paphlagonian king Otys, and the exile Spithridates arrange a military alliance at an unnamed place in Paphlagonia that is distant from the Black Sea and near Pharnabazos' Phrygia.

<sup>33</sup> The map (**fig. 5**) still stands because of Xenophon's inclusion of the eastern rivers in Paphlagonia.

<sup>34</sup> Xenophon's status as a mercenary in an Achaemenid expedition does not necessitate that his perspective is imperial. It is Xenophon's imagination of Paphlagonia as a space to be conquered and crossed that is an imperial gesture. His description negates the trajectories of each place and deprives Paphlagonians of their local histories (Massey 2005:1-7).

imperial mapping.<sup>35</sup> Ainsworth participated in several British expeditions exploring routes through the Ottoman Empire as a surgeon and geologist, most notably the Euphrates Expedition between 1835 and 1837, and an expedition to Mosul that traveled through Paphlagonia in 1838. As the precedent for his explorations, Ainsworth embraces Xenophon's imperial perspective and endeavors to map Xenophon's route.<sup>36</sup> Ainsworth identifies, for example, the mountain pass east of the confluence of the Gökırmak and Kızılırmak as the mountain pass in Xenophon, "who said that Paphlagonia must of necessity be entered by but one pass, and that lay between two points of a rock exceeding high."<sup>37</sup> Ainsworth's mapping of the places described by Xenophon onto the Ottoman landscape reimagines the landscape within a western framework that claimed a Hellenic legacy. Mapping and renaming places is not a passive scholarly endeavor.<sup>38</sup> Ainsworth's embrace of Xenophon not only doubly obscures Paphlagonia under a general ancient and modern imperial cloud, but also serves to reflect attention away from the differences between the imperial frames of reference of Xenophon and the nineteenth century. Ainsworth's dissimulation validates his explorations while masking his military objectives.

Similar to Ainsworth's mapping of Xenophon, my introductory description of the Paphlagonian landscape maps Strabo's names and boundaries for Paphlagonia (**fig. 1**). Strabo wrote under Augustus, at which time the Greek descriptions of Paphlagonia had

---

<sup>35</sup> Ainsworth 1844.

<sup>36</sup> Ainsworth 1838, 1839, 1842, 1888.

<sup>37</sup> Ainsworth (1839:256) referring to Xen. *An.* 5.6.7. Xenophon is probably referring to a mountain pass near Kotyora. Ainsworth juxtaposes the brigandage on the mountain pass under the Ottomans and Korylas' hostile control of the pass (1839:256-7). This is the mountain pass that passes by Terelikkayası (see entry **A.1** in the Catalog).

<sup>38</sup> Said 1978:12.

spanned half a millennium. Even so, Strabo describes three separate Paphlagonias: the Pontic coast and Amnias Valley controlled by Mithridates Eupator, and the valleys south of the Olgassys Massif controlled by dynasts.<sup>39</sup> Strabo also mentions the prevalence of Paphlagonian names in Cappadocian valleys along the Halys and describes the Kaukones on the Pontic coast to the west of Paphlagonia as Paphlagonians.<sup>40</sup>

Strabo's description cannot be mapped as a region with unchanging, bounded, and homogeneous ethnicities. His landscape is a palimpsest composed of local knowledge and literary and historical memories of the recently defeated Pontic Kingdom and the preceding Achaemenid Empire. In contrast, the concept of homogeneous ethnicities lies at the foundation of nineteenth century nationalism. European imperialism in the Ottoman Empire coupled economic and military expansionist policies with the assumption of the universal applicability of this nationalism.<sup>41</sup> Consequently, it is only a consensus that emerged among the antiquarian colonial travelers and subsequent archaeologists that Paphlagonia "was enclosed between the river Parthenius and Halys on the west and east, contiguous to Galatia on the south, and bordered by the Euxine on the north."<sup>42</sup> This consensus formed through iteration and accretion of knowledge developed in national and imperial frames of reference, without the necessary occasional revisions and shedding of the prejudicial perspectives of earlier decades.

---

<sup>39</sup> Strabo 12.3.9-11 (Pontic Paphlagonia); 12.3.9, 40 (Amnias Valley); 12.3.9, 41 west and south of the Olgassys Massif.

<sup>40</sup> Strabo 12.3.25 (Paphlagonian names in Cappadocia), 8.3.17 (on Kaukones).

<sup>41</sup> Massey 2005:64-5. See the sixth chapter for a discussion of nationalism within late nineteenth and early twentieth century German imperialism in the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>42</sup> Kinneir 1818:283 (abbreviations substituted). Kinneir was Ainsworth's predecessor in the exploration of the Gökırmak Valley and the Great Game of which the exploration was a part. The Euxine is the Black Sea.

In response to the theoretical questions raised by mapping and renaming, my dissertation uses contemporary place names, except where historically appropriate. Additionally, the region analyzed extends beyond the Halys (Kızılırmak) and Parthenios (Bartın) Rivers.<sup>43</sup> As a concession to clarity and the historical situation during the Achaemenid period, the name Paphlagonia refers approximately to the region between the Kızılırmak and the Bartın Rivers.<sup>44</sup> Although my dissertation does not propose a methodology that addresses the intrinsic questions of mapping, my analyses of the archaeological, literary, and historiographical evidence engage the extrinsic questions raised by my critical perspectives towards the colonial and imperial frameworks.<sup>45</sup>

## ***B. Paphlagonian landscapes***

Most significantly, in order to construct a new framework for Paphlagonia during the Achaemenid period, I adopt a distinctive landscape perspective. At the center of my

---

<sup>43</sup> This extension is more comprehensive to the east of the Kızılırmak because of the research conducted in the coastal hills around Samsun, in the Havza and Vezirköprü Plains, and along the right bank of the Kızılırmak. The surveys conducted by Karağuz to the west of the Bartın River have produced little evidence that dates before the Roman period (Karağuz 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009).

<sup>44</sup> The late Ottoman Kastamonu Vilayeti is coterminous with the region of Paphlagonia, with the exception of additional counties in the west (Bolu, Ereğli, etc.), but no contemporary region corresponds to Paphlagonia (Cuinet 1894:404). The region is approximate primarily because of hesitation about connectivity and settlement pattern on the left bank of the Kızılırmak southeast of Çankırı (**I.1-15**), in the V-shaped area on the right bank of the river between Osmancık (**I.16**) and Kargı Ambarkaya (**I.17**), and on the Kızılırmak Delta (**J.7-14**). It does not seem probable that an empire that attempted to administer the coast and the subregions north and south of the Ilgaz Massif would not have included the nexus between Safranbolu (**E.2**) and Deresemail Asar Tepe (**E.5**) as part of Paphlagonia (catalog entries in bold). Secondly, the region is approximate because of the administrative contingency of Achaemenid Anatolia and Paphlagonia as a potential configuration of the landscape, as discussed in the fourth chapter.

<sup>45</sup> My mapping with geographical information systems software actually raises additional questions that are both theoretical and ethical. The theoretical questions derive from a difference between contemporary mapping practices and their ability to represent the lived reality of the past (cf. Ingold 1993, Escobar 2008). The ethical responsibility of archaeologists operating in the globalized present to the local inhabitants raises a second set of questions (cf. Meskell 2009). Various fieldwork techniques where local inhabitants participate in the mapping process constitute a partial answer to the ethical questions.

perspective is a definition of landscape as “an anonymous sculptural form *always already fashioned by human agency*, never completed, and constantly being added to.”<sup>46</sup> Landscapes are dependent on what has come before and is happening in a specific place. This definition brings the associated questions of temporal continuity and situated practices to the forefront of my discussion. Whereas my general objective is to study the impact of the Achaemenid Empire, my particular emphasis is on how Achaemenid imperialism is *situated in place and time*. Accordingly, my objective is not to identify the traces of Achaemenid imperialism but to come up with a more diverse analysis of the society of Paphlagonia during the Achaemenid period.<sup>47</sup>

The contemporary social implications of the landscape perspective are also important. In archaeological interpretations influenced by European narratives of colonization and imperialism, Paphlagonia is displaced to a more primitive time before the European protagonists, and is viewed as a marginal place far from the narratives’ setting. The landscape perspective participates in a broader trend of decentralizing European modernity from these interpretations and disentangling archaeology from the narrative of modernity.<sup>48</sup> The emphasis of this trend is on multiplying local narratives by setting diverse narratives in places far from the center. Paphlagonia is such a place, and a landscape perspective should enable me to escape the predicament of Texier, Ainsworth, and later researchers who describe Paphlagonia as a wild and mountainous landscape.

---

<sup>46</sup> Tilley 1994:23, italics added.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Dökü 2008b.

<sup>48</sup> The landscape perspective is a response to the postcolonial critique of the narrative of European modernity that displaces the narrative from its European setting to the dispersed margins (Massey 2005:62-4).

The emphasis on place and time in landscape archaeology is not an endorsement of the modernist one-to-one relationship of communities and their localities, or cultures and their regions.<sup>49</sup> Landscapes are constituted by spatial and temporal connections ranging in scale from the personal and everyday to the social and far-flung. The interpretation of the most everyday connections depends on archaeological survey and the analysis of the physical and social landscape. The second chapter is an introduction to the physical and social landscapes of the places and subregions within and around Paphlagonia. Although the physical landscape is introduced separately from the social, the features of the physical landscape were selected in response to the nexus of features around significant places, particularly the settlement at Kalekapı in the middle Gökırmak Valley.

Kalekapı (**C.7**) is a fortified settlement resting on the summit and slopes of a limestone ridge cut by a tributary of the Gökırmak River.<sup>50</sup> The settlement derives its modern name from a rockcut tomb with columnar entryway surrounded by low relief sculptures (**fig. 6**). The tomb is the most prominent Achaemenid landscape feature in Paphlagonia, and I rely extensively on the nexus of features in the vicinity in my interpretation of the landscape of Achaemenid Paphlagonia. The physical landscape of fault zones, phreatic limestone features, and copper mining all are present at the settlement at Kalekapı.

The most far-flung of Paphlagonian connections are partially mediated through connections embodied in the material culture, particularly in the relief sculptures of the Kalekapı tomb. In the third and fifth chapters I touch on specific features of the sculptures in my analyses of the Aegean and Achaemenid material connections of

---

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.:64-5.

<sup>50</sup> See entry **C.7** in the Catalog.



Paphlagonian elites who must have occupied the tomb. Beforehand, however, I incorporate into the landscape perspective those far-flung connections mediated through discourses written during to the Achaemenid period. In a landscape imagined within colonial and imperial frameworks, locality and situated practices present only half the picture. The other half is the discursive colonial and imperial worlds. My landscape perspective emphasizes the effective qualities of these discourses on the imagination of the landscape and the recursive relationship between material and literary culture. Consequently, material connections are analyzed after a deconstruction of the literary discourses.

An annotated catalog of the most important archaeological sites appears at the end of the dissertation. Bold letter and number citations in the text and footnotes refer to the catalog entries. For the analysis of settlement patterns in the second chapter and in the catalog I divide the area into subregions that are compared with each other. References to the catalog consist of a letter for each subregion (**A-L**) followed by a number for each site (e.g. **A.1**).

### ***C. Defining Paphlagonians***

#### ***i. Paphlagonians as the colonized***

The sixth century is when the Paphlagonians emerge, not only in the Greek literary sources on colonization in the Black Sea, but also in historical references to Achaemenid imperial administration in Anatolia. Similar to almost all of the narratives of the

Achaemenid Empire,<sup>51</sup> we see Paphlagonia through the discourse of the Greek historians. But more so than other areas of the empire, Paphlagonia was not just a possession of the Greeks' imperial other, the Achaemenids; it was also the object of the colonial intentions of Miletos, and later Athens.<sup>52</sup> This double layered colonial discourse of the Greek poets and historians is the subject of the third chapter. Whereas modern colonial discourse articulates a certain permanence of cultural, historical, and racial difference, in the ancient Paphlagonian colonial experience, the quality of difference and the categories of othering are neither essentialist nor exclusionary.<sup>53</sup> The Paphlagonians of Homer remain within a mythopoetic discursive world, but they are dislocated to the mountainous margins of this world that is centered on the Aegean.

The second half of the third chapter examines the relationship of the Aegean connections embodied in the Kalekapı relief sculptures to the imagination of Kalekapı as a significant place in the landscape. In the gable of the tomb is a representation of Herakles wrestling the Nemean lion. Representations of Herakles are exceptional in Anatolia before the Hellenistic period and the interpretation of Herakles at Kalekapı is problematic. Through an examination of the relationship of Herakles to Melqart and the veneration of Herakles on Thasos, I conclude that the Herakles at Kalekapı most probably references a memory of an earlier local deity of mining similar to the Hittite and Mesopotamian deity of mining, Nergal. Material culture evinces the connections of the

---

<sup>51</sup> The ruling members of the Achaemenid dynasty referred to themselves as, for example, Darius I in the Old Persian columns of Behistun inscription, "the great king, king of kings, the king of Persia (Pārsaiy), the king of countries, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achaemenid" (DB §1 (1.1-3), translation adapted from Kent 1953:119 (Old Persian version); cf. Kuhrt 2007b, vol. 1:143 no. 5.1). Because my dissertation analyzes ways of knowing Paphlagonia that were constructed during modern imperialism, I prefer "empire" to "kingdom" for the Achaemenids, and, in the third chapter, I define "empire".

<sup>52</sup> Doonan 2004b:69-72 (on Miletos), Surikov 2001 (on Perikles' Black Sea expedition).

<sup>53</sup> On the "fixity" of modern colonial discourses see Bhabha 1994:94-131.

Paphlagonian elite, but an understanding of the exceptional aspects of the connections emerges from the analysis of the local physical and social landscape.

*ii. Paphlagonians as the imperial subject*

I would not want to write a history *of* Paphlagonia even if it were possible, but rather open the possibilities to histories *in* Paphlagonia.<sup>54</sup> Neither a history of—nor histories in—Paphlagonia are possible in the light of the fragmentary and ambiguous textual sources. Only archaeology has the potential to detect histories in Paphlagonia. Our fragmented textual sources and disintegrated landscape let us engage with a history *around* Paphlagonia, or to reflect on the Achaemenid relations with Paphlagonia.

How Paphlagonian leaders related to the Achaemenid administration is one of the few questions that the extant textual sources let us address, as they only refer to Paphlagonians when they appear on the wider Achaemenid stage in Anatolia. Following Pierre Briant's reflexive supposition that "Paphlagonia must have been split among several rival chiefdoms,"<sup>55</sup> the fourth chapter is centered on the concepts of chiefdoms and empires. Briant's comments belong to the predominant mindset of historians and archaeologists on the Achaemenid and other early empires, who argue that the administration of empires was undertaken through the adoption of preexisting sociopolitical structures.<sup>56</sup> The fourth chapter begins with a genealogy of chiefdoms in scholarly discourse and demonstrates that chiefdoms, as understood by archaeologists,

---

<sup>54</sup> In Mediterranean histories before Fernand Braudel's *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II* history was written as if set *in* the Mediterranean region. In Braudel's history of the Mediterranean the ecology binds the region and brings out structures of the *longue durée* (1972:23-4, 25-102 *passim*). In Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell's revision of Braudel for the medieval and ancient Mediterranean they return to a discussion of the fragmented histories of microecologies set in the Mediterranean. Here, in contrast, I discuss history in the region formerly occupied by Paphlagonia in the modern historical imagination.

<sup>55</sup> Briant 2002:642.

<sup>56</sup> Sinopoli 2001:444-6 with additional bibliography.

emerged only in the European colonial experience. It is argued that chiefdoms are best understood as an imperially instituted relationship in conquered territories without preexisting states. Research on modern empires shows how imperial administration was not undertaken through the co-option of preexisting sociopolitical structures. On the contrary, the administration needed chiefs, designated them, and invented traditions for them to lessen the sense of discontinuity within the spaces of colonization. One can therefore abandon the concept of chiefdom as an irredeemably modern colonial institution; nevertheless, after a postcolonial genealogy—as Sean Hawkins and others have done for ethnographically known chiefdoms—the chiefdom just might yield insights into changes in Paphlagonian society during the Achaemenid period.<sup>57</sup>

In the fourth chapter, therefore, I first discuss the discourse of difference within Achaemenid administration, admittedly filtered through classical sources, particularly deconstructing Paphlagonian dining practices. I then move on to the personal relations of the Achaemenid elite through marriage alliances, proxeny, and personal alliances. The relations contradict the discourse of difference that sets Paphlagonian elites apart from other Anatolian Achaemenid elite groups. The episode of Datames' capture of his cousin, the Paphlagonian chief Thys, is particularly telling in that it precedes Datames' acquisition of Thys' territory. This linear sequence of a narrative of barbarism preceding, and then retrospectively justifying, territorial expansion is precisely what the modern discourse on chiefdoms uncovers. The familial relations of Datames and Thys indicate, however, that this rhetoric, similar to the Greek colonial discourse, does not lead to essentialist, exclusionary social categories.

---

<sup>57</sup> S. Hawkins 1996, 2002; Ranger 1992, 1993.

#### ***D. Paphlagonians with a material history***

The fifth chapter is devoted to a move away from imperial discourses to address Paphlagonian self-representation in monumental sculpture and a discussion of whether Paphlagonia experienced imperial disjunctions under Achaemenid administration. Should Paphlagonia be described more aptly as changing incrementally under Achaemenid administration, or did it experience social ruptures? Through a discussion of Pierre Bourdieu's habitus, I attempt to divert the archaeology of empires away from the explanation of systemic change to a description of the local processes of change. Primarily this is undertaken through a comparison of the three Achaemenid monuments with relief sculpture known from Paphlagonia. As the evidence suggests, two of these monuments were stelai decorating altars placed at the base of tumuli. Tumulus burials are attested as a practice in Paphlagonia in the period preceding the Achaemenid administration. The third monument is the tomb at Kalekapı where a new Achaemenid architectural style, the columnar rockcut tomb, is adapted to Paphlagonia. The visual repertoire of the tomb is a hybrid of Aegean, Achaemenid, and Anatolian cultural spheres, and follows none of the stylistic features of the funerary repertoire from Daskyleion, the satrapal center from which Paphlagonia was administered.

In the second chapter I demonstrate that Achaemenid administration led to gradual changes in Paphlagonia, with an initial phase of continuity at the fortified settlements built during the preceding period and new settlements emerging gradually in the fourth century. The fortified settlements occupy ridge locations in the lowest foothills surrounding valleys and survey the terraces below. The ridges are broad enough to accommodate the unfortified settlement and have one steep slope, which the fortified

center abuts. Although typically undatable, prominent tumuli are located on the same or a nearby ridge. In the fourth century, the fortified settlements on broad ridges continue to be occupied, and new fortified rock outcrops with the unfortified settlements at their feet begin to appear. It is the fortified rock outcrops that are associated with rockcut tombs.

### ***E. Archaeological scholarship on Paphlagonia***

The dissertation comes full circle to end with a genealogical description of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century archaeological construction of a bounded ancient Paphlagonia to address in more depth the influence of nationalism and imperialism on the interpretive frames of reference.<sup>58</sup> By coincidence, the scholarship is mostly German, but this is fortuitous for it allows me to assess critically the relationship of German classical archaeology with German nationalist and imperialist projects in the Ottoman Empire. The “protracted, sustained *national* interest”<sup>59</sup> of Berlin in the Ottoman Empire in the last third of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries led to an *orientalist* and *archaeological* mapping of the classical geography over the contemporary Ottoman provinces.<sup>60</sup>

Following the mapping of Texier and Ainsworth, which is more precisely historical geography than archaeology, Gustav Hirschfeld begins the archaeological mapping project with his definition of a national Paphlagonian rockcut burial type and his binding

---

<sup>58</sup> The methodology of genealogical analysis is drawn from the work of Foucault (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983:104-10).

<sup>59</sup> Said 1978:19, italics in original.

<sup>60</sup> Edward Said neglects German orientalism because, as he explains, the scholarly classical research of Germans in the Ottoman Empire was “never actual” or “lyrical” as was British and French orientalism. Said admits that, if not orientalist, German scholarship was at least imperialist and involved intellectual authority over the Ottoman Empire (*ibid.*:18-20). In contrast, I understand German classical archaeology to be the peculiarly German expression of orientalism, although not as Said understands it and assuredly not lyrical. See also Morris 1994:18-9, 25.

of the ancient regional name Paphlagonia onto these tombs visible in the Ottoman landscape. The geographer Richard Leonhard follows Hirschfeld's interpretation closely when he marries his geography to Hirschfeld's more prestigious *Altertumwissenschaft*. Leonhard, who owed his broader methodology to Friedrich Ratzel's anthropogeography, tied the Paphlagonian *Volk* geographically to its environment and the contemporary population more strongly. He concludes that what it means to be a Paphlagonian was vernacular and constant for more than two thousand years.

Following the lead of Hirschfeld and Leonhard, both European and Turkish archaeologists have continued to refer to the region as Paphlagonia and its ancient material culture as "Paphlagonian." The subsequent influence of this classical mapping is mostly felt in the provincial identity of the contemporary province of Kastamonu, where "Paflagonya" is assumed to be coterminous with the province itself.<sup>61</sup> The penultimate, historiographical chapter of the dissertation is not only a summary of the tradition of scholarship necessary in any work on Paphlagonia, but even more importantly, it participates in the trend begun in the 1980s of disciplinary introspection within archaeology, wherein the relationship among politics, disciplinary practices, and interpretations is investigated. Rather than reproducing interpretations first in dialogue with nineteenth century archaeological debates, dependent on the meager evidence known then, this chapter enables us to imagine new ways of understanding Paphlagonia by attending to the known evidence more responsibly, and responding to the concerns of

---

<sup>61</sup> With its focus on the preclassical settlement structure the Kastamonu Project intentionally rejects the place name, whereas the Paphlagonia Projects of Roger Matthews and Ergün Laflı seek to inherit the intellectual authority of the classical by naming their projects after Paphlagonia. Due to the translation of Leonhard's interpretations into Turkish, they continue to be more prevalent in local archaeological writing than the later research of von Gall (1966a).

contemporary archaeologists. A conceptual genealogy does not deny the value of preceding scholarship, but augments our awareness of the assumptions of our own scholarship and assists our reading of the literary sources and material evidence of ancient Paphlagonia.

#### ***F. Conclusion***

The roughly two centuries of Achaemenid rule in Anatolia coincides with the emergence of Paphlagonia in an environment of Greek colonization and Achaemenid administration. Paphlagonia is a nebulous landscape, unquantifiable, elusive, understood as a region by the Achaemenid imperial administration, but contested firmly from within. The different materializations, translations, representations, and configurations of the landscape emerge in texts, in its monuments, its mythopoeticized imaginations, its colonizations, and its resistances. Within a restless treading of its fragile boundaries, fictions of Paphlagonia are woven and unwoven, built and unbuilt.

The narrative of Paphlagonia during this period emerges only through a critical perspective towards the literary discourses and the analysis of significant places in the landscape. The literary discourses only evince the colonial and imperial desires of the expanding Greek shared culture (*koinê*) and Achaemenid Empire. It is in the carefully studied archaeological places that the landscapes of Paphlagonia should be sought.



## **CHAPTER 2:**

### ***Archaeological Landscapes: Physical and Social Frameworks***

#### ***A. Introduction***

Archaeological landscapes are composed of diverse places and intertwined temporalities. From the black slag dumps and deforested plateaus of Paphlagonia to its settlements on terraces surveying gardens and marshes, places are not singular, but connected in a web of always changing social and natural relations. This chapter lays the framework for an archaeology of Achaemenid Paphlagonia by introducing the multiple temporalities of the physical and social landscapes. The geological, ecological, and geomorphological components of the physical landscape do not become the ground upon which the social landscape emerges; rather, they become players that share in the development of the archaeological landscape. Consequently, this chapter introduces only the features of the physical landscape relevant to the analysis of the Achaemenid landscape: seismicity, aquifers, mining, forest cover, deforestation, and alluvial deposition. The engagement of these natural landscape features in the Achaemenid social landscape, particularly mining and aquifers, are described in subsequent chapters.

This chapter continues with an introduction to the routes that connect the subregions segmented by the topography. Through a description of the location of representative settlements and routes, I demonstrate how connectivity can integrate the diverse places of Paphlagonia. Connectivity is, however, dependent on an accurate reconstruction of the settlement pattern as well as the ancient physical landscape, and the chapter closes with an analysis of that pattern. This analysis is prefaced by a discussion of how the

limitations of Achaemenid ceramic chronologies and the methodologies of the surveys in Paphlagonia affect our confidence in the settlement patterns of the Achaemenid period.

## ***B. Geological landscape***

Geology is an important component of the relationship between people and their landscape in a region as mountainous as Paphlagonia. From tectonics to high terrain and from ore deposits to limestone aquifers, numerous geological processes and features are active players in this relationship. The following summary of the geological landscape introduces the processes and features that played a part in the archaeological landscape of the Achaemenid period.

### ***i. Seismicity***

Tectonics is the foundation of the process of orogeny that produced the mountainous southward progression of Paphlagonia, from the coastal Küre Mountain Range to the Daday-Devrekani and Ilgaz Massifs in the middle, and the Koroğlu Mountain Range at the border of the Anatolian Plateau. The temporality of tectonics consists simultaneously of the contrasting temporalities of this orogeny and the experienced geological events, such as earthquakes. The landscape continues to be seismically active and earthquakes frequent the memories of the inhabitants.<sup>62</sup> Earthquakes in Paphlagonia occur along faults when stress is suddenly released, and these memories are often coupled with the tears and ruptures in the landscape that the earthquakes cause.

---

<sup>62</sup> An earthquake centered east of Taşköprü in 1919 is still remembered by the inhabitants of the nearby village of Samanlıören built on the Kaygunca fault (Dirik 2004; O. Yılmaz 1980:123 fig. 17, 124; Boztuğ and O. Yılmaz 1995:36 fig. 2, 38-9). Samanlıören is the location of Iron Age settlement of Yüklütepe (C.6).

The principal branch of the North Anatolian Fault Zone runs south of the Ilgaz Massif from east of Kargı, through Tosya, north of Ilgaz, and to the Gerede Valley in the west (**fig. 7**). Lateral displacement, with the north moving east and the south moving west, characterizes this branch of the fault zone.<sup>63</sup> The motion of the fault is visible in the landscape of Kargı where a sheer cliff rises behind the town, and the Kızılırmak and its northern tributaries flow in a rectilinear pattern.<sup>64</sup> Secondary fault zones run through the Kızılırmak Valley south of Çankırı and the Gökırmak Valley. The Kızılırmak Fault Zone splays off the North Anatolian Fault Zone and runs from the northeast to the southwest.<sup>65</sup> In the Gökırmak Valley from Boyabat to Kastamonu, the Ekinveren Fault Zone is a series of thrust faults that arc across the northern border of the Kastamonu-Boyabat Basin.<sup>66</sup>

The result of these tectonic processes is a landscape with narrow linear valleys following the fault lines that alternate with sedimentary basins. The Gökırmak Valley is one such basin filled with Cretaceous to Eocene sediments.<sup>67</sup> Other basins are the Sinop, Devrekani, Vezirköprü, Kargı, Tosya, Ilgaz, and Çankırı.<sup>68</sup> With the exception of the Çankırı Basin, the gentle slopes and fertile soils of these basins are the most amenable to agriculture. The salt-bearing evaporates of the Çankırı Basin produce infertile soils, and

---

<sup>63</sup> Şengör et al. 2004:20-5, 31-2; Matthews and Glatz 2009a:36-7. In their review of historical earthquakes along the North Anatolian Fault Zone, Şengör and others refer “for the sake of provocation” to the absence of historical references to earthquakes around Ilgaz as the “Paphlagonian Temporal Seismic Gap” (2004:40)!

<sup>64</sup> The Kızılırmak River flows along the fault. With the south’s continual movement westward, the northern tributaries are unable to erode acute angles (Tüysüz and Erturaç 2005:29-33). The sharp bend in the course of the Kızılırmak near Kargı is an additional consequence of the seismic offset (Şengör et al. 2004:32).

<sup>65</sup> Kaymakçı 2000:6-7; Kaymakçı, White and Vandijk 2003:87-90.

<sup>66</sup> O. Yılmaz 1980:122-4; Sonel et al. 1989:45-6; Tüysüz 1999:77 fig. 2, 87 fig. 7.

<sup>67</sup> The Gökırmak Valley is composed of the Daday and the Kastamonu-Boyabat Basins (Aydın et al. 1986, Tüysüz 1999, Leren et al. 2007:405-7).

<sup>68</sup> On the Vezirköprü, Kargı, Tosya, and Ilgaz Basins, see Ardos 1984:89-96.

even these soils have completely eroded between Çankırı and the Kızılırmak River.<sup>69</sup> The valleys that are not structurally basins are primarily north-south running valleys formed by erosion and the Quaternary coastal estuaries and deltas.

## *ii. Aquifers*

Additionally, the tectonic processes are associated with several aquifer and mineral bearing geological formations that surveys have demonstrated to be meaningful places in the landscape during the Achaemenid period. The İnaltı limestone is one such feature. The limestone is exposed along the fault lines of the Ekinveren Fault Zone within the Gökırmak Valley and on its northern border (**fig. 8**).<sup>70</sup> Springs generally arise where faults cause variations in the flow of ground water, but the İnaltı limestone is additionally an aquifer. In places along the Ekinveren Fault Zone, the limestone lies in near-vertical beds unconformably sandwiched between earlier impermeable metamorphic rocks and the later, weakly consolidated sands and impermeable clays. Settlements in the Gökırmak Valley are located near the springs that emerge from the aquifer along the faults. The relationship between karst characteristics of the limestone and archaeological evidence suggest, however, that the limestone played a more significant role in the landscape than just influencing settlement locations.

Although sometimes simply considered as passive features of the geological landscape, phreatic caves and other karst geological features are numerous in the areas of Paphlagonia north of the Gökırmak River where the İnaltı limestone is visible. The limestone is a Late Jurassic and Early Cretaceous cover formation that is buried by

---

<sup>69</sup> Kaymakçı, White and Vandijk 2003:87-8; Matthews and Glatz 2009a:42.

<sup>70</sup> Derman and Sayılı 1995, Tüysüz 1999:78, Ustaömer and Robertson 1997:274 fig. 11. The İnaltı limestone is exposed at a fault near the mouth of the Karadere Stream 8 km west of Taşköprü and along the entire northern border of the Gökırmak Valley from Boyabat to Kastamonu.

subsequent sedimentation in the basins, such as in the Gökırmak Valley, and uplifted and penetrated by subsequent orogeny in the Küre Range. In the Kuru Polje and adjacent closed depressions of a karst plateau to the south and east of the summit of Yaralıgöz Mountain in the Küre Range, water flows through a series of swallow holes and resurgences before draining on the surface. Although the freezing and thawing of the holes are a yearly event referred to by the local inhabitants as “Koru has exploded,” no archaeological evidence exists to support the significance of the yearly resurgences in antiquity.<sup>71</sup> The Kuru Polje demonstrates, however, that the phreatic features of the İnaltı limestone share the contrasting temporality of the geological event and the process seen in the seismicity. A discussion of the archaeological evidence for the significance of the İnaltı limestone during the Achaemenid period in the Gökırmak Valley is found in the fifth chapter. The following paragraphs illustrate various phreatic features of the karst landscape in the Küre Range where archaeological evidence from the Late Bronze Age and Byzantine period connects phreatic features of the limestone with long-term local practices.

In August of 1992, a group of British spelunkers discovered a Hittite sword in a cave in İnaltı limestone near Pınarbaşı.<sup>72</sup> The limestone forms cliffs that define the eastern

---

<sup>71</sup> The swallow holes are frozen in the winter, and, in the spring, water bursts through the resurgences causing flooding in villages downstream. Snow cover in the plateaus lasts 4-5 months (Bottema, Woldring and Aytuğ 1993/1994:19). The villagers refer to the event as “koru patladı” (Uzun 2004). The plateau is located 7.5 km from the slag dumps in the Alaçam Valley associated with the Iron Age and Hellenistic settlement at Garipoğlu Kayası (also Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age, **B.2**). Routes to the Black Sea at Çatalzeytin are passable in the summer.

<sup>72</sup> The Hittitologist who published the sword gives an “incredible” provenance for this chance find. “The sword was found in a cave, called by locals Buz Mağarası (‘Ice-Cave’), which lies in a steep canyon... Buz Mağarası canyon ... derives its name from the huge masses of ice inside the cave which form grotesque deposits, predominantly made of stalactites and stalagmites. Hard though it may be to believe, it is claimed that the sword, embedded in ice and icicles, was found inside the ‘Ice-Cave’ by a group of British speleologists...” (Ünal 1999:210). Imagining Arthurian legends to be written of a Hittite ‘Sword in the Ice,’ I immediately associated the provenance with the relief of the “Sword-god of

border of the Pınarbaşı Valley on a tributary of the Devrekani River in the west of the Küre Range.<sup>73</sup> The cave, Mızrak Mağarası, is a gently descending active phreatic tube formed in limestone with a single gently ascending extension with numerous inlets where the sword was discovered. In the words of sword's discoverer, Chris Daly:

“Beyond the duck was an immature streamway - the spear head was very lightly calcited in, and had been held by a small gour lip. (My memory of this is good as it was one of the highlights of my caving career!) It had washed in from the nearby surface through this very small inlet. Beyond, the inlet was too tight. The spear was in my opinion not arranged but accidently washed in” (pers. comm.).

A second and more probable explanation for the provenance of the sword is that it was deposited in the cave, and, during an exsurgence event, the sword was carried in the pressurized water to the extension. Exsurgence occurs when water percolating through the rock during a storm floods the tube and flows out the mouth. The villagers report that the cave exsurgences every 6 to 7 years.

My research into the limestone landscape of Mızrak Mağarası led me to redefine as geological many phreatic features of the landscape that appear in archaeological literature as artificial. Active phreatic features form below the water table in the zone of saturated rock; often they become inactive due to a drop in the water table or uplift along a fault. A Byzantine settlement on Doğanlar Kayası located 5.5 km to the northeast of the copper mines at Küre has three stepped tunnels that have been interpreted as ritual because they do not lead to water sources.<sup>74</sup> The tunnels of Doğanlar Kayası are inactive branching

---

the Underworld” in Tudhaliya IV’s funerary chamber at the extramural natural limestone sanctuary of Yazılıkaya (Bittel et al. 1975:pl. 62 no. 82). With respect to the ‘Sword-in-the-Ice’, however, my correspondence with the leader of the British spelunkers, Shane Harris, and his published and unpublished reports revealed that Ünal’s provenance was *not credible* (Harris 1992, 1993). The coordinates of Mızrak Mağarası are 41.5934° N, 33.1346° E.

<sup>73</sup> The Valla Canyon cuts through İnaltı limestone and separates the Pınarbaşı Valley from the mouth of the Devrekani River on the Black Sea.

<sup>74</sup> Jacopi 1937:9, 16, pl. 7 fig. 23, pl. 16 fig. 56; Jacopi 1938:8, pl. 4 fig. 12. Jacopi interprets the tunnels at Doğanlar Kayası, Molla Ahmet Kalesi, and Kılıçkaya as temple tunnels (cf. Gökoğlu 1952:123-4, 126;

phreatic tubes with steps carved into them. The tubes have phreatic features, such as avens, and follow fissures in the limestone. Interpretation of the tunnels is difficult, because the carving of the steps alone is not a significant endeavor, but only a slight alteration to the phreatic tubes. The Ilgarini Cave, however, does provide further evidence of where caves are placed in the imaginative landscape of Byzantine Paphlagonia.

Ilgarini Cave is located near the Valla Canyon of the Devrekani River downstream from the Pınarbaşı Valley. The mouth and galleries of the Ilgarini Cave are much larger than the phreatic tubes of the Mızrak and Doğanlar Kayası Caves. In the mouth of the cave is a Byzantine settlement of approximately ten houses. The cave branches after 70 m and the descending branch leads to two level galleries in succession, each gallery with a chapel and numerous graves. Dendrochronological analysis dates the graves and chapels to the tenth century C.E.<sup>75</sup> The descending branch of the cave is an active phreatic tube and the placement of the cemeteries there indicates, first, the intertwined relations between the natural and social landscape. Secondly, the placement demonstrates the associations between phreatic caves and a watery underworld in the imagined landscape of the Byzantine period.<sup>76</sup> In chapters 3 and 5, I argue for a comparable imagined landscape of Paphlagonia that combines phreatic caves, mining, and the mythical figure of Herakles.

---

von Gall 1967b:513 no. 15, 521-7; Belke 1996:242-3 s.v. Küre, 253; Marek 2003:27 fig. 35). For a speleological report on Doğanlar Kayası, see Altay (1987:7). The coordinates of Doğanlar Kayası are 41.8253° N, 33.7718° E.

<sup>75</sup> Gökoğlu 1952:129-31; Ülkümen et al. 1983:5-6, 8; Akkemik, Aytuğ and Güzel 2004. The coordinates of Ilgarini Cave are 41.7630° N, 33.0160° E, approximate.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Pancaroğlu 2005.

### *iii. Mining*

During orogeny, copper ore-bearing metamorphic rocks were intruded into the İnaltı limestone north of the Gökırmak Valley. De Jesus separates the ore into the Küre and Taşköprü groups (**fig. 9**).<sup>77</sup> The Küre deposits (**B.8**) are a massive sulfide deposit with vast reserves that radiocarbon dating and historical sources demonstrate to have been actively mined from the twelfth century C.E. to the present day. Lead isotope analyses of excavated artifacts and the copper ore and slag samples from Küre demonstrate that the mining at Küre had begun in the Early Bronze Age. Until the twentieth century, mining occurred in the Bakibaba deposit; this is accessible from the summit of the ridge running from south to north above Küre and by tunneling through basalts along the slope. The basalts sandwich the copper ore that runs from the surface downwards in a bed parallel to the ridge.<sup>78</sup> The mining at Küre today is centralized on the west slope of the ridge. Mining before Ottoman industrialization, however, was apparently more dispersed over the landscape.

The mining of the Taşköprü group of copper ore deposits was even more dispersed in antiquity. The deposits are found in the northeastern part of Daday-Devrekani Massif: in mountains that separate the Gökırmak Valley from the Devrekani Plain in the west and in the Çangal Mountains further east.<sup>79</sup> The ore bearing deposits are within the intrusive metamorphosed igneous serpentinite.<sup>80</sup> In the west, the Gökırmak Valley is separated from the copper bearing deposits only by the Ekinveren Fault Zone and the ridge of the

---

<sup>77</sup> De Jesus 1980:21-2, 190-1, 358-9 table 3, 379 map 7. Küre is in group II-1, and Taşköprü is in group I-2. See also Wagner and Öztunalı 2000:63 s.v. TG162 (Küre) and TG163 (Taşköprü).

<sup>78</sup> Çakır, Genç and Paktunç 2006:124-6.

<sup>79</sup> The northern half of Elekdağ south of the Gökırmak consists of the same copper ore bearing metamorphic rock. I tentatively infer that this is the location of the slag dumps mentioned by Fourcade and Kastamonu Project (see **B.9**).

<sup>80</sup> Ustaömer and Robertson 1993:224.



İnaltı limestone that walls of the northern border of the valley. In the east, a zone of volcanic rock and eroded valleys with poor soils falls between the Ekinveren Fault Zone and the copper bearing deposits. Although these are not economically viable deposits, judging by contemporary industrial standards, mining at small surface deposits and traces of smelting slag were probably spread over the landscape in antiquity. Prospection for copper ore has located deposits with varying reserves at the threshold of contemporary viability at Cünür north of the settlement of Yüklütepe, which was occupied in the Achaemenid period (**C.6**). Copper ore deposits have also been located throughout the Karadere catchment north of the Achaemenid fortified settlement at Kalekapı (**C.7**), as well as in the Alaçam Valley around Boyalı and in the Çatalçam Valley at Çaybaşı.<sup>81</sup> Only three sites with smelting slag dumps have been surveyed: at Bakırboku near the Kepez/Doğandere ore deposit in the upper Karadere Valley (**B.4**), at Davud'un Yeri near the Boyalı ore deposit (**B.3**), and at Çaybaşı, adjacent to Ottoman mining shafts (**B.1**).

To the south of the Ilgaz Massif, the mines in the Köroğlu Range are as dispersed as the Taşköprü group. The Köroğlu Range extends south of the primary strand of the North Anatolian Fault Zone in the Devrez Valley. Compressed into an arc, the mountains are intrusive metamorphic and volcanic rocks that define the boundary of the Çankırı Basin on the west, north, and east.<sup>82</sup> In the Eldivan Mountains southwest of Çankırı, radiocarbon dates for charcoal in the copper slag dumps are Roman and de Jesus dates a preserved smelting furnace to the Byzantine period (**H.1**).<sup>83</sup> In the mountains northeast of Çankırı, native copper and copper ore deposits are present (**H.2-6**). Achaemenid

---

<sup>81</sup> Two large clumps of slag were surveyed at Kalekapı by the Pompeiopolis Project in 2009 (P. Johnson forthcoming).

<sup>82</sup> Kaymakçı, White and Vandijk 2003:87.

<sup>83</sup> De Jesus 1980:238-9 s.v. S-86 (Roman); ibid.:240 s.v. S-87 (Byzantine).

period ceramics and mining settlements are not associated with these deposits. Additionally, these deposits extend beyond the Kızılırmak and lead isotope analysis does not conclusively demonstrate mining of the deposits west of the Kızılırmak.<sup>84</sup> The possible exceptions are the Middle Iron Age and Achaemenid (c. 950-550 and c. 550-330 B.C.E.) settlement mound at Çapar (**I.5**) near the Astar Valley mines (**H.4**), and Hellenistic forts with rockcut tombs at Beşdut and İskilip (**I.8**, **I.12**).

At the confluence of the Gökırmak with the Kızılırmak River, arsenic mines are located between the Hellenistic rockcut tombs of Durağan Ambarkaya and Terelikkayası (**A.4**, **A.3**, **A.1**). Both the red arsenic pigment realgar and the yellow arsenic pigment orpiment are present. The arsenic from Durağan is possibly the source of arsenic in arsenical bronze alloys. Further chemical analyses of Achaemenid bronze artifacts and the excavation of secondary furnaces are necessary to demonstrate that the arsenic mines of Durağan were in operation during the Achaemenid period. For the Early Bronze Age, such an analysis of arsenical bronze artifacts possibly produced in the secondary furnaces at İkiztepe has been conducted.<sup>85</sup> At the end of the Hellenistic period, Sinope is known for its exports of realgar, and Strabo comments on the numerous galleries in the realgar mines of Pompeiopolis.<sup>86</sup>

Mining in the Achaemenid period, however, is never systematic resource extraction and exportation. Anca Dan demonstrates that the emphasis on Sinope's function as an entrepôt for the export of Paphlagonian resources belongs to the capitalist framework of

---

<sup>84</sup> These copper ore deposits are grouped together as “north central exceptional ores” and are not as isotopically distinct as the Küre ore deposit (Hirao, Enomoto and Tachikawa 1995:97, Sayre et al. 2001:82-4, 101-3).

<sup>85</sup> Özbal et al. 2000:49, 52-3; Bilgi 1999:491-2, 2001a:318-9.

<sup>86</sup> Strabo 12.2.10 (Sinopean realgar), 12.3.40 (realgar mines of Pompeiopolis).

antiquarian travelers.<sup>87</sup> Before industrialization, mining was always shifting, opportunistic, and specific to each ore deposit location. Secondly, mining sites are never just sites of mining, in that the ore deposit locations transform the landscape into meaningful places.

The landscapes of mining are not limited to the mining and smelting sites themselves. Although often located in high terrain far from the more densely settled agricultural valleys, the copper ore deposits and adjacent smelting furnaces are related to various types of activity.<sup>88</sup> From the seasonal workers producing charcoal, mining the ore, and extracting the copper, to artisans producing alloys and artifacts, and elites referring to mining in the monuments through which they negotiate their identity, the participant actors in this particular landscape are numerous. Mining causes adjustments to the settlement patterns and the conceptual maps of the landscape. Many such relational contexts of mining, such as the connection between the carving of the Kalekapı rockcut tomb (C.7) and the mining landscape, are integrated into my interpretations in subsequent chapters. The consequence with the greatest long-term impact on the landscape is, however, deforestation.

### *C. Ecological landscape*

The contemporary landscape is an area of inferred natural forest vegetation that extends from of the Filyos River to the delta of the Kızılırmak River and from the Black

---

<sup>87</sup> Dan critiques interpretations of ancient Sinope as the Hong Kong of the Black Sea (2009:119-22).

<sup>88</sup> Kassianidou and Knapp 2005:230-40, Stöllner 2008.

Sea to the Kızılırmak south of Çankırı (**fig. 10**).<sup>89</sup> Deforestation, agriculture, and other human activities have significantly altered this previously forested landscape. If we traveled from the humid Black Sea to the more arid valleys around Çankırı, we would have passed through the deciduous forests of the Küre Range, the montane forests of the Daday-Devrekani and Ilgaz Massifs, and mixed broad-leaved and needle-leaved woodlands in the northern river valleys at lower elevations and south of the Ilgaz Massif. The inferred natural vegetation of the coastal deltas is riverine forests of alder and ash.

The geology and the climate impact this inferred ecological progression. The moist and moderate climate on the northerly, windward face of the Küre Range fosters the deciduous forests where beech and fir flourish with a thick understory of rhododendron at high elevations. Moderating winter rain also passes through the Gökırmak and Devrez Valleys from the west. In the Gökırmak Valley oak and pine are combined with the beech and fir of the mountains. Decreasing precipitation falls on the Ilgaz Massif, and to its south begins a continental climate with a few pockets of insufficient precipitation for trees south of the Koroğlu Range.

The palynological analysis of cores collected in lakes to the east, west, and south of Paphlagonia do not indicate significant changes in the vegetation caused by climatic factors between the Achaemenid period and today. Variation in vegetation would consist of subtle changes with forests climbing up mountain slopes and into the steppe of the Anatolian Plateau during warmer periods. Northern Turkey has few areas on the threshold where these subtle climatic changes would have altered forest cover.

---

<sup>89</sup> The following discussion is based on the research of Bottema, Woldring and Aytuğ (1993/1994:16-20) with supplements from Yakar (2000:283-4) and Matthews and Glatz (2009a:69-73).

As in southwestern Turkey, it is the impact of human activities that appears in the pollen record of northern Anatolia. Late Bronze Age agricultural intensification begins c. 1500 B.C.E. with the Beyşehir Occupation Phase, which ends around 400 C.E.<sup>90</sup> The coring of Abant Lake at an elevation of 1328 m in the mountains to the west of Paphlagonia indicates a delayed onset of the phase around c. 1200.<sup>91</sup> This delayed onset is also possible on plateaus at similar elevations in Paphlagonia. Regardless of the onset, the Achaemenid period falls into the middle of the phase, and Paphlagonia would have experienced a moist warm climate with intensifying agriculture throughout.<sup>92</sup>

Questions of agricultural intensification and deforestation from charcoal production for smelting are best addressed through more refined geomorphological and archaeological analyses in particular subregions of Paphlagonia.<sup>93</sup> It has been suggested, for example, that the dense Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age settlement pattern on the Köçekli Plateau is a consequence of copper mining and smelting.<sup>94</sup> Deforestation of the plateau would have begun in the Chalcolithic period and continued in the Early Bronze Age. In contrast, settlement in the Daday Valley is not dense until the Hellenistic period when an expansion of agricultural settlements occurs throughout Paphlagonia. Deforestation of the mountains of Daday possibly begins much later in the sixteenth century C.E., when the copper mines at Küre are drawing wood for the framework of

---

<sup>90</sup> Bottema, Woldring and Aytuğ 1993/1994:56 (Ladik Lake), 62.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.:28.

<sup>92</sup> In most subregions of Paphlagonia, agriculture would have been needed to prevent forest regeneration in areas deforested by mining.

<sup>93</sup> The Kastamonu Project conducted coring at several locations in the alluvial fill of the Gökırmak Valley in 1998, but the analysis of the cores has not been published (Özdoğan et al. 2000:45). These cores would provide more specific data about erosion and sedimentation in the Gökırmak Valley.

<sup>94</sup> Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:287; Özdoğan et al. 2000:43. The approximate elevation of the Köçekli Plateau is 1200 m.

shafts and charcoal for smelting from the mountains.<sup>95</sup> From the Chalcolithic to the Ottoman, copper mining amplified the impacts of other forestry activities, agriculture, and pastoralism on the natural forest vegetation.

The consequence of these impacts depended on the severity and reversibility of the practices. South of the Ilgaz Massif, the arid climate and geology has led to such severe erosion that the barren underlying rock is exposed, and deforestation is irreversible. Erosion north of the Ilgaz Massif has led to sediment deposition in the Gökırmak Valley. The majority of sediment from all areas of Paphlagonia, however, has been deposited in the coastal deltas and estuaries. Although beginning in the Chalcolithic period, the most significant geomorphological changes occurred during and after the medieval period. Through historical geomorphology, the ecological landscape of the Achaemenid period can be reconstructed.

#### ***D. Geomorphology***

The preliminary geomorphological analysis of the Gökırmak Valley indicates that the valley was filled with a series of marshy lakes during the first millennium B.C.E.<sup>96</sup> The Kastamonu Project collected cores at several points in the valley to research the question of the marshes, alluviation, and the landscape more generally. Although the research has yet to be completed, Robert Donceel provides us with historical evidence for the presence of what he argues is a lake to the north of Kastamonu Valley in the eleventh century

---

<sup>95</sup> Faroqhi 1984:176, 177 map 11.

<sup>96</sup> Özdoğan et al. 2000:45.

C.E.<sup>97</sup> Where Donceel may be mistaken is when he translates ‘göl’ as lake. In vernacular Turkish ‘göl’ also is any wet and flat land. The villages of Nefsigöl around the beginning of the Gökırmak River at the confluence of the Karaçomak and Daday Streams, and Gölpazarı and Batak around the confluence of the Karasu Stream with the Gökırmak River reflect in their names the marshes formed after the deposition of alluvium.<sup>98</sup> Kuzucuoğlu identifies a third marsh in the Daday Valley in the preliminary publications.<sup>99</sup> Without radiocarbon dated cores of the marshes, a date for the sediment deposition is just an inference, but deposition probably occurred during the late medieval and Ottoman periods as Donceel argues.<sup>100</sup> This alluvial fill around the beginning of the Gökırmak River is almost 1.5 km in width and 14-20 m deep.<sup>101</sup> If I am not mistaken in reconstructing three lakes during the Achaemenid period, two of the larger settlements occupied in the Achaemenid period, Gavrevleri and Yüklütepe (**C.21**, **C.6**), are located on a terrace and ridge surveying the lakes.

Agriculturally rich alluvial soils are also found in the Devrekani and Eflani Plateaus to the north and west of the Gökırmak Valley.<sup>102</sup> The excavators of the Early Bronze Age copper smelting site and Iron Age settlement at Kınık (**B.8**) did not, unfortunately,

---

<sup>97</sup> Γουνάρια ὁ τόπος κατονομάζεται (Cenderus 1838-1839 vol. 2:622 lines 23-4, Belke 1996:204 s.v. Gunaria).

<sup>98</sup> The names of Turkish rivers often change between their mouths and headwaters. The Filyos River becomes the Soğanlı River and the Gerece River. The Daday River occupies the westernmost upper reaches of the Gökırmak River, and the Gökırmak River only begins northeast of Kastamonu at the confluence of the Karaçomak Stream with the Daday River.

<sup>99</sup> Özdoğan et al. 2000:45. Kuzucuoğlu locates a swamp on the eastern edge of the town of Daday (41.4787° N, 33.4742° E). The presence of lakes also helps explain the Paleolithic settlements in Daday and at Sokukayası where caves provided shelter and lakes foraging grounds (Bostancı 1952; Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996:275 s.v. B32/10 Sokukayası, 279; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1997:304, 306, 318 ill. 3.6, 322 fig. 1a).

<sup>100</sup> The presence of medieval grazing induced changes in the pollen record contemporaneous with the onset of sediment deposition in southwestern Turkey suggests that similar pollen record changes were associated with sedimentation in the Gökırmak Valley (Bottema, Woldring and Aytuğ 1993/1994:63).

<sup>101</sup> Keçer et al. 2001:36-7, suppl. 2.

<sup>102</sup> For the Devrekani Plateau, see Köy Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü 1993:map.

conduct a survey of the surrounding Devrekani Plateau. Archaeological survey on the Devrekani and Eflani Plateaus consists of Charles Burney's partly published survey, Christian Marek's epigraphic survey, and Klaus Belke's Byzantine historical geography.<sup>103</sup> Burney's survey indicates a moderate Bronze and Iron Age settlement density, whereas Marek and Belke indicate significant settlement expansion from the Hellenistic through the Byzantine periods. In both plateaus the onset of deforestation should be the Early Bronze Age, but on the Devrekani Plateau a more intense deforestation should occur contemporaneous with the Early Bronze Age smelting furnaces at Kınık and intensify at the east of the plateau during the Iron Age due to the mining in the adjacent upper Karadere Valley.<sup>104</sup> Without a survey it would not be profitable to hazard a guess at duration of alluvial deposition in the plateaus.<sup>105</sup>

The mountain passes west of the Karaçomak Valley and south of the Daday Valley separate the catchments of the Kızılırmak and Filyos Rivers. In the Araç and Soğanlı Valleys of the Filyos catchment, the landscape is less altered by geomorphological changes since the Achaemenid period. The settlements are located on river terraces formed before the Quaternary period, and the river bed itself is wide, braided, and filled with coarse sediment. Rich alluvial soils are only found in narrow strips and pockets on the valley floor along the river. Colluvial soils on terraces and plateaus provide more extensive areas for agriculture. In the narrow and steep valleys of the northwestern

---

<sup>103</sup> Burney 1956, Marek 1993, Belke 1996.

<sup>104</sup> Ainsworth reports that in 1838 Küre administered Devrekani (as part of Küre Kazası), and although the mines were not active in 1838, this indicates that in the Ottoman period Küre controlled the resources of Devrekani, such as charcoal production (Ainsworth 1839:248). It is possible that much of the deforestation of the Devrekani Plateau occurred in the Ottoman period.

<sup>105</sup> Faunal analysis at Kınık could support the presence or absence of a lake on the Devrekani Plateau. Settlement expansion onto the alluvial soils would provide evidence of the end of alluviation, but Byzantine and contemporary settlements are confined to the colluvial slopes and outcrops.



uplands of Paphlagonia there is a scarcity of even these agricultural landscapes, and inhabitants in the Achaemenid period probably engaged in forestry related activities.<sup>106</sup>

The transition within the Filyos catchment from the Gerede to the Çerkeş Valleys involves a dramatic change in the contemporary landscape from a partly forested humid landscape to a dry steppe. The underlying sandstone of the Çerkeş Valley compounds the deforestation by producing soils of low quality.<sup>107</sup> In a distribution similar to the Araç and Soğanlı Valleys, alluvial soils of high quality are only found in narrow strips and pockets along the rivers and streams of the valley. In the valley uplands the absence of ground cover causes continuing erosion today. The distribution of Achaemenid period settlements and undatable tumuli on the valley floor and lower terraces offers no evidence that the uplands were deforested in the Iron Age. Deforestation had, however, probably extended from the valley floor to the lower terraces. This pattern of deforestation probably extended to the confluence of the Çerkeş River with the Devrez River and in the upper Devrez Valley around the settlement mound at Salur (F.1). Downstream, near Ilgaz, stepped alluvial fans and alluvium on the valley floor offered an arable landscape surrounding the settlement mound of Salman Höyük East. After passing through a mountainous stretch, the Devrez River enters the watery alluvial landscape of the Tosya Basin. This landscape continues after the confluence of the Devrez with the Kızılırmak in the Kargı Basin and upstream on the Kızılırmak to Osmancık.

---

<sup>106</sup> Only Burney has surveyed settlements before the Hellenistic period in the northwestern uplands. He published a map of Iron Age sites, but reserved the Iron Age material for a separate article that has not been published (1956:193). See also Gökoğlu 1952:42-4.

<sup>107</sup> The following discussion is based on the research of Ben Marsh published in Matthews and Glatz (2009a:47-64).

The deforestation of the Çankırı Basin to the south has progressed further than the Devrez Valley in the Achaemenid period. The underlying marl in the plateau to the east of Çankırı fosters a fertile agricultural area, but coring in a lake in a gypsum plateau to the south demonstrates that around the end of the Hellenistic period the landscape was completely deforested.<sup>108</sup> Deforestation is the consequence of practices that must have begun earlier than the Hellenistic period. The gypsum plateau produces saline soils, and the low density of settlements on the plateau and in the adjacent stretch of the Kızılırmak Valley demonstrates that the plateau was marginal even before deforestation.

The contemporary deforested uplands south of the Ilgaz Massif are only amenable to grazing. The evidence for grazing in the Achaemenid period is very tangential. At the end of the Hellenistic period, Strabo reports that the first century Galatian leader Amyntas had 300 herds of sheep; however, his sphere of influence was Lykaonia in the Beyşehir and Suğla Lakes region, and not in Galatian areas near Paphlagonia.<sup>109</sup> An emphasis on pastoralism would explain the absence of dense settlements in the Achaemenid period, but evidence is absent. The absence of dense settlements can also be an indication that intensification of neither pastoralism nor agriculture had occurred in Paphlagonia south of the Ilgaz Massif.<sup>110</sup> The evidence for mining around Çankırı in the Achaemenid period is, additionally, absent.

Macroregional evidence for the moderate intensity of agriculture and the extent of deforestation derives from the sequence of progradation, or sediment deposition in the coastal deltas and estuaries. The Kızılırmak Delta is entirely the consequence of the

---

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.:72-3.

<sup>109</sup> Strabo 12.6.1, Mitchell 1993 vol. 1:38-9.

<sup>110</sup> On modern pastoralism in Çankırı Province and further south, see Gürsan-Salzmann 2005:173-80, Düring 2008:16.

sediment deposited by the river and of a drop in the Black Sea level in the Holocene.<sup>111</sup> The delta is composed of 26 percent sand and 74 percent clay and silt, and it continued to expand until the construction of the Derbent Dam in 1991 that ended the flow of sediment. No Achaemenid period settlements or tumuli are located in this delta; rather, they are located on an older, higher delta. The settlement mound of İkiztepe would have been located on a coastal promontory on the left bank of the river. If the newer delta was already being formed in the Achaemenid period, the delta would have been an estuary with lagoons and barrier beaches.<sup>112</sup>

In contrast to the Kızılırmak Delta, the deposition of sediment on the Sinop Promontory is confined to the Karasu Estuary and lagoons on the western coast. The promontory is itself a compressed and uplifted portion of the Black Sea shelf, and it has geology similar to the Boyabat Basin. The İnaltı limestones and volcanics are found on the northern İnceburun Cape and Boztepe Headland followed by a sedimentary sequence rising to the south.<sup>113</sup> The Bartın and Filyos Rivers in the west of Paphlagonia underwent a similar process of sedimentation within their estuaries, but the narrow strip of the Black Sea shelf on the northwest coast of Paphlagonia prevents the progradation of deltas.

Between the Sinop Promontory and the mouth of the Filyos River, steeply incised river valleys drain the coastal northern flank of the Küre Range. Often these rivers flow into the Black Sea without ever traversing a stretch of valley with gentler slopes or a coastal plain. The delta of the Kızılırmak River, the Karasu Estuary on the Sinop

---

<sup>111</sup> The following discussion is based on C. Yılmaz 2005.

<sup>112</sup> The location of the Hellenistic and Roman Yörükler settlement mound supports the earlier onset of progradation of the newer delta (41.5241° N, 36.0727° E, approximate; Kızıltan 1992:220, Dönmez 1999:516).

<sup>113</sup> Doonan 2004b:12-7.

Promontory, and the coastal plains of the Bartın and Filyos Rivers are the exception to this pattern. A series of headlands and bays lessens the difficulty of travel along this alternating coastline of abrupt slopes and marshy estuaries. Local mariners ferried along the coast through a series of small beaches and harbors located around the headlands and bays.

### *E. Connectivity*

The anchorages of local mariners along the coast and the pathways of local travelers build interwoven patterns of movement across the landscape. These patterns are the foundation of the routes that connect the diverse subregions of Paphlagonia. Although the locations of fortified sites often are selected in consideration of the regulation of these routes in the Achaemenid period, routes similar to the royal road and designed for the transit of Achaemenid wagons are absent from Paphlagonia.<sup>114</sup> Consequently, the connectivity of Paphlagonia is less a concern with transit through places and more the result of the construction of meaningful places in the landscape.<sup>115</sup>

The northernmost of the three east-west routes across Paphlagonia is the sea route from the harbor on the west of the promontory of Hisarönü (**L.5**) to the harbor on the east of the Kara Samsun ridge (**J.2**).<sup>116</sup> By the Achaemenid period, ships traveling along the southern Black Sea coast in favorable weather could jump from Hisarönü to Gideros

---

<sup>114</sup> The introduction of such routes does not occur until the construction of Roman military roads through Paphlagonia.

<sup>115</sup> This aspect of connectivity is embedded in the “definite places” and “short distances” of Horden and Purcell (2000:52-3, 123-35). Routes “may be drawn in the landscape only in relation to the activities...of the people (or animals) for whom it is recognized as such” (replacing the “boundaries” of the Escobar’s statement with routes [2008:42]).

<sup>116</sup> Coastal pathways undoubtedly existed but no coastal route follows the Roman road. On the Roman road, see Wilson 1960:340-5, Marek 1993:90-2. On the sea route, see Winfield 1977:154-5.

(Kytoros, **L.2**) to Cape Kerempe (Karambis) to Sinop (**K.6**), each leg a day's sailing.<sup>117</sup>

In adverse weather, the numerous smaller anchorages became refuges. These settlements on the coast were connected to the more localized fishing and trading pattern based on smaller boats ferrying between nearby harbors, anchorages, and beaches near settlements along the coast.<sup>118</sup>

The geology of the mountains builds the framework of the southern two east-west routes: the Gökırmak Valley to the Filyos River through the Araç Valley, and the Devrez to the Gerede Valley through the Çerkeş Valley (**fig. 11**). North-south routes traversed the margins of Paphlagonia: the route to Samsun east of the Kızılırmak River and the Bartın Valley route to the coast that connects to the Gerede Valley routes westward and southward to the Çerkeş Valley. The Achaemenid royal road passed to the south of the southern Paphlagonian stretch of the Kızılırmak River, and a branch to the eastern Sea of Marmara passed through the Gerede Valley.<sup>119</sup>

The relationship between routes, settlements, and other significant features in the landscape is what builds places. The primary routes through Paphlagonia are important for understanding the relationship of Paphlagonia to the colonial worlds in the Black and Aegean Seas and the imperial worlds of the Anatolian Peninsula and the Iranian Plateau. How these primary routes cross the landscape offers tentative indications about both the relationships of the inhabitants to the colonial and imperial worlds, and the interactions between subregions of Paphlagonia. Secondly, the primary and secondary routes reveal

---

<sup>117</sup> Cape Kerempe is where ships crossing the Black Sea south to north (Crimea) followed the currents and separated from the coast (Bryer and Winfield 1985:67, Doonan 2004b:19 fig. 1-15).

<sup>118</sup> Counillon 2004b:57-9. The few known settlements on the coast are discussed in the catalog and Chapter 3.

<sup>119</sup> Winfield 1977:154-5, French 1998, Briant 2002:357-9, Tuplin 2004:245-6.

how the inhabitants mapped their landscapes, particularly, the features that I classify as geological, ecological, and social. To address these interpretive challenges my reconstruction of the routes proposes itineraries as specific as possible.

Although the routes frequently follow valley terraces, such as through the Gökırmak Valley from Taşköprü to north of Kastamonu, routes frequently detour around unstable steep valley slopes and gorges by traversing the summits of ridges. Owen Doonan, who has been conducting surveys in Sinop Province, emphasizes ridge routes on the Sinop Promontory.<sup>120</sup> Similar routes are found throughout Paphlagonia. Travelers on routes south from Samsun by Akalan (**J.1**) to the Kavak Valley and north from the Gökırmak Valley to Devrekani by Yüklütepe (**C.6**) ascend a gently sloping ridge to the settlements situated on the summit. The shoulder on the far side of the ridge has an outcrop, where the defensive walls are located, and a steep slope falls to the valley floor below. The ridge location of both routes and fortified settlements demonstrates that their purpose is both defensive and intended to regulate travelers.

The thick understory of the passes over the Küre Range and the dense forests of many other routes restrict travel to the routes that are maintained. Rather than the milestones, paving, and corvée labor involved in the maintenance of Roman roads in Paphlagonia, these routes are probably extensions of the pathways frequented by the inhabitants. The settlement pattern, therefore, suggests the routes that were traveled.

In areas of dense settlement, alternate pathways and routes are present. The settlement pattern suggests no less than three routes from the Gökırmak to the Araç Valley, for example. The first route follows the ridge between the Karasu and the İğdir

---

<sup>120</sup> Doonan 2004b:30-1. Alkım also discusses the valley and ridge routes (1974:53).

Streams by the Alpagut tumuli (**C.16**) and the settlement of Üyüktepe (**C.15**) before turning west, passing the tumuli around Gödel (**C.17**), and descending to the upper Araç River near its confluence with the Ilgaz Stream. The second route follows the Karaçomak Stream and turns west south of the Kastamonu Evkayası rockcut tombs (**C.18**) before climbing the pass to the upper Karamcak Stream, a tributary of the Araç River. The third route is through the Daday Valley: turning south on the eastern side of the settlement of Gavurevleri (**C.21**), following the Hızarlar Valley by the Horoz Tepesi tumulus (**C.24**), climbing to the mountain pass on the plateau where the settlement of Tepecik is located (**C.28**), and then descending to the Karamcak Stream.<sup>121</sup>

Likewise, several routes connected the Black Sea coast between Sinop and Samsun. Czichon emphasizes the importance of the ridge route from Oymaağaç (**I.20**) in the Vezirköprü Plain to Sivritepe (**J.12**) at Alaçam.<sup>122</sup> In contrast, the excavators at İkiztepe (**J.8**) argue for the importance of the route from the Havza Plain to Kapıkaya (**J.14**).<sup>123</sup> The elevations of the peaks of the Küre Range are lower north of Vezirköprü and Havza than further west, but the valleys are incised and the gorges of the Kızılırmak are impassable. The Vezirköprü and Havza routes northwards are alternate routes that bypass, on the west and east respectively, the Kızılırmak Valley between the Şahinkaya and Asar Gorges.

Notably, several of the Roman roads through Paphlagonia do not appear to have been routes maintained in the Achaemenid period. From Neoklaudiopolis (Vezirköprü) to

---

<sup>121</sup> The route connecting the southwestern Daday Valley to the Araç Valley along the Kalkan Stream and south of Bakacak Mountain is not supported by surveyed Achaemenid forts or settlements. See **C.28** the introduction to the Araç Valley (**D**) section of the catalog.

<sup>122</sup> Czichon 2008a.

<sup>123</sup> E.g. Alkım 1973:65, Alkım 1974:53, Bilgi et al. 2003:41.

Hadrianopolis (Eskipazar), only the Kızılırmak and Gökırmak Valley route is traveled rather than the road from Vezirköprü to a bridge on the Kızılırmak upstream of the confluence with the Gökırmak, and the continuation of the road over the mountains to Boyabat.<sup>124</sup> The settlement pattern likewise does not support a road from Boyabat to Taşköprü that climbs the ridge to Kovaçayır and descends to the confluence of the Eşeçay with the Aşağıçay Stream, however, only the western valleys were surveyed and only extensively. A route departing from the Aşağıçay Stream further upstream through the Köçekli Plateau to Kargı, however, clearly was traveled in the Achaemenid period. A Roman road westward from Pompeiopolis (Taşköprü) to Hadrianopolis (Eskipazar) passed through the Daday Valley and the Eflani Plateau.<sup>125</sup> Our current understanding of the settlement pattern in the Karadere Valley and the mountains separating Daday from Eflani does not support this route.<sup>126</sup> The density of Achaemenid and Hellenistic settlements in the Araç Valley to the south, additionally, strongly supports the passage of the principal westward route through the Araç Valley.

For the Achaemenid period, only specific adjustments to the principal east-west routes are disputed, and not their general connections. Through these routes Paphlagonia is connected to the satrapal centers of Daskyleion and Cappadocia. Of the secondary routes, a few pass by fortified settlements that regulate travel and verify specific

---

<sup>124</sup> French 1988:195.

<sup>125</sup> On the Roman road in the Gökırmak, see Wilson 1960:345-7; French 1988:195, 1981-1988 vol. 2.1:183; Marek 1993:65 (Taşköprü); 72-3, 92, pl. 39.3-4 (Eflani).

<sup>126</sup> Excavation of the Roman temple of Zeus Bonitenos in Meğre on a tributary of the Karadere Stream perhaps would bring to light Achaemenid period levels. On the temple of Zeus Bonitenos at Meğre, see Marek 1993:98, pls. 34.2-3, 35-6. The possible Achaemenid period settlement at Dönertepe west of Daday, would support an Achaemenid route from the Daday Valley to the Eflani Plateau (see C.28). There are three Karadere Streams in Paphlagonia: this southward flowing tributary of the Araç River, a southern tributary of the Gökırmak River that flows northward parallel to the İğdir Stream, and a northern tributary of the Gökırmak River that flows southward past the Achaemenid tomb of Kalekapı.



itineraries. The Sinop to Boyabat route passes by both Tıngıroğlu Tepesi (**K.1**) and Kovuklukaya (**A.8**). The Köçekli route from the Gökırmak Valley near Taşköprü to the Kızılırmak Valley near Kargı passes by a fort on the Aşağıçay Stream and Tepekaya (**C.2**).<sup>127</sup> The Achaemenid period fort at İnceboğaz Kale Mevkii (**C.13**) indicates that the route from the Gökırmak Valley north of Kastamonu to the Devrekani Plateau followed an Ottoman pass over the Devrekani Range to the east of the contemporary road to Küre and İnebolu. The İmrentepe settlement mound (**B.7**), in contrast, demonstrates that the route from the Devrekani Plateau to Küre follows the Ottoman and contemporary road.

Other routes follow broad valleys, such as the Çankırı to Kızılırmak River route and its continuation northeastwards on a terrace along the left bank of the river, where the presence of a route is not in question. A third group of probable routes, however, connect two contemporaneous settlements but pass through difficult terrain. The routes over the Ilgaz Massif are an example of this problem. The peaks of the Ilgaz Massif south of Kastamonu are a significant place in the Paphlagonian landscape. Passes near the peaks were surely ascended on pathways, but the preferred route for travelers over the Ilgaz Massif is not known. A seasonal Roman road traversed to the west of the contemporary Kastamonu-Ilgaz road connecting the Karasu and Gökçay Valleys with a pass near the Ilgaz peaks at an elevation of 1850 m.<sup>128</sup> A possible alternate to both Roman and contemporary roads is the Ottoman Kastamonu-Tosya route that follows a gradual ascent

---

<sup>127</sup> The fort will be published by the Pompeiopolis Project.

<sup>128</sup> French traced the route of the Roman road (1989:275, 280 figs. 7-8). The Early Iron Age and Hellenistic occupation of Kurmalar supports the route of the contemporary road up to the start of the steep ascent (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:151-2, 162-3, 174-65251 s.v. PS003).

over the upper plateau of the Gökırmak Valley and the southern Karadere Valley with a pass at an elevation of 1650 m.<sup>129</sup>

Just as the deforested contemporary landscape does not reflect the Achaemenid landscape, the contemporary roads and urban locations differ from the Achaemenid roads and settlement pattern. No aspect of the Achaemenid routes indicates a decrease in connectivity or a withdrawal from arable lands and access. Particularly, the Achaemenid period fortified settlements differ significantly from the refuge fortresses known from the Byzantine period when the landscape was relatively insecure. The location of fortified settlements alongside routes and not towering above them demonstrates that the Achaemenid landscape was regulated and secured. Many of these settlements were continuously occupied from the preceding Middle Iron Age into the Achaemenid period. This continuity suggests that the beginning of Achaemenid administration did not rupture a connectivity begun earlier in the first millennium.<sup>130</sup>

#### ***F. Archaeological surveys***

The reconstruction of the routes that traversed Paphlagonia is based on the Achaemenid settlement pattern. How confident we can be with the reconstruction, however, is dependent on the excavations and surveys conducted in the region. The first archaeologists to survey Paphlagonia were working within the framework built by the late nineteenth century antiquarian travelers. One aspect of this framework is a tendency

---

<sup>129</sup> Chanykoff notes that the nineteenth century winter route from the Devrez Valley to Kastamonu follows the Tosya to Kastamonu route (1866:pl. 6). See also Leonhard 1915:125.

<sup>130</sup> Additional comments on the local settlement patterns and the particulars of routes are in the catalog entries.

to date Paphlagonian artifacts and monuments, particularly the tombs, too early.<sup>131</sup> For example, in 1935 the classical archaeologist Giulio Jacopi excavated two Hellenistic tumuli with burials of commoners during a pause in his travels through Turkey. Confusing local common ware ceramics with Archaic wares, Jacopi dated the one intact burial to the sixth century. Likewise, in the 1940s, the director of the Kastamonu museum, Ahmet Gökoğlu, surveyed the cities, mounds, tumuli, and rockcut tombs of the region, which he referred to as “Paflagonya.” In his published inventory of these sites, he often followed the precedent of the antiquarian travelers in his interpretations and dated the rockcut tombs three centuries too early.<sup>132</sup> Many similar interpretations were made in the early years of fieldwork in central northern Turkey: a few partly influenced by the antiquarian framework, but most caused by the very unfamiliarity of the ceramics and the style of the visible architecture themselves. A painted ceramic sherd excavated in the 1940s at Tekkeköy, east of Samsun, was published as Middle Bronze Age following the consensus at that time on the dating of the ware.<sup>133</sup> It is now known to date to the Iron Age, over a millennium later.

More well-grounded fieldwork began in the 1950s with the excavations in Sinop. In several soundings Ekrem Akurgal and Ludwig Budde excavated imported Greek ceramics together with the local painted Iron Age ceramic wares.<sup>134</sup> In the 1960s Hubertus von Gall lowered the date of the columnar Paphlagonian rockcut tombs from the seventh century to the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods. In 1970 James Dengate

---

<sup>131</sup> This tendency is discussed in depth in the historiographical sixth chapter.

<sup>132</sup> E.g. see Gökoğlu’s quotation of Leonhard on Terelikkayası (A.1) and agreement with his argument (1952:60).

<sup>133</sup> Dönmez 2003:71 n. 17, Genz 2004a:1.

<sup>134</sup> Boysal 1958, 1959.

surveyed Iron Age settlements in the hinterland of Samsun, the Kızılırmak Delta, and the lower Gökırmak Valley. With Gail Durbin's analysis of painted Iron Age ceramics in hand, Dengate's own analysis of the collected sherds stands on firmer ground.<sup>135</sup> Throughout the 1970s, Bahadır Alkım conducted surveys in Samsun Province.<sup>136</sup> In 1977 Pauline Donceel-Voûte surveyed settlements in the Gökırmak Valley, and likewise noted painted and grey ware as Iron Age ceramics. Lastly, while conducting epigraphic surveys and researching Roman roads, David French noted Iron Age ceramics on several sites.

Subsequent to this research, in the 1990s a period of more systematic extensive surveys began in northern Turkey: the Kastamonu Project directed by Catherine Marro of the Institut français d'études anatoliennes and Aslı Özdoğan of the Istanbul University Prehistory Department; Project Paphlagonia directed by Roger Matthews of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara; an Ankara University project directed by Tunç Sipahi and Tayfun Yıldırım; an Istanbul University project under Mehmet and Nesrin Özsait; surveys of Önder Bilgi and Şevket Dönmez in Samsun Province; and the Sinop Province Regional Survey directed by Owen Doonan. The Kastamonu Project was an extensive survey that yielded more comprehensively collected evidence on the settlement patterns.<sup>137</sup> The project surveyed the settlements and tumuli of the Araç Valley and the Gökırmak Valley from Daday to Taşköprü between 1995 and 1998. The research

---

<sup>135</sup> Durbin 1971, Dengate 1978. Durbin's Iron Age ceramics were collected by Charles Burney in 1955 in Tokat and Sivas Provinces. See also G.D. Summers 1993. The sites with Iron Age ceramics that Burney surveyed in 1954 and 1955 further west were only published as a list of Iron Age site names with an accompanying map (Burney 1956:192).

<sup>136</sup> Alkım, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1976, 1978; Kızıltan 1992.

<sup>137</sup> Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996, 1998; Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1997, 1999; Özdoğan et al. 1998, 2000. In 1998 supplemental intensive survey of 15 selected settlements was conducted. This consisted of more systematic collection at sites surveyed between 1995 and 1997 (Özdoğan et al. 2000:41-2).

proposal of the project specified the investigation of the Neolithic period through the Late Bronze Age. Later sites relevant to the question of how the Achaemenid landscape differs from previous and subsequent periods were surveyed, but ambiguity arises in the terminology and the surveyed ceramics themselves. First millennium ceramics are defined as Iron Age, and could encompass Phrygian, Hellenistic, and Roman wares.<sup>138</sup> The preliminary publications indicate, however, a pragmatic approach where Iron Age ceramics are Phrygian grey wares, and the Phrygian, Hellenistic, and Roman ceramics are differentiated.

In the publications of the Kastamonu Project and some of the other surveys, the Achaemenid period is represented by the late phase of the Iron Age ceramics. This difficulty in identifying Achaemenid period sites is related to problems in the establishment of a precise ceramic chronology for the sites occupied throughout the periods when Phrygian grey wares were common. With the published reports of the surveys that fall west of the Kızılırmak, it is generally not possible, in analyzing a settlement, to distinguish an Achaemenid phase from those that are pre-Achaemenid in date.

Principally, this is a problem caused by stylistic continuity in Phrygian grey wares, and is evinced most clearly in the excavated assemblage from south of Paphlagonia at Yassihöyük (Gordion), where Late Phrygian ceramics correspond to the Achaemenid period. At Yassihöyük, the ceramics change not in their fabric and shape from the

---

<sup>138</sup> Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996:279, 284. To assist in the analysis of all the ceramics collected, Catherine Marro, Aslı Özdoğan, and Aksel Tibet allowed me to study the later ceramics. Garance Fiedler studied the Phrygian ceramics and I studied the second half of the first millennium. Because the project is not fully published yet, this chapter covers only information published in the preliminary reports (Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996, 1998; Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1997, 1999; Özdoğan et al. 1998, 2000).

Middle to the Late Phrygian period, but in the percentage of each fabric and shape within the assemblage. Particularly, changes appear in the percentage of oxidized and reduced vessels in the assemblage.<sup>139</sup> Consequently, in settlements surveyed by the Kastamonu Project, with the exception of imports, and these are very infrequent, the transition from the Middle to the Late Phrygian period is difficult to identify. This difficulty, however, is a significant indication of the continuity both of settlement location and domestic assemblage, particularly in cooking and serving vessels, from the previous period through to the Achaemenid.

The transition from the Late Iron Age to the Hellenistic period is also difficult to identify. Not only do grey wares continue into the Hellenistic period, but so do Late Iron Age plain and red-banded buff wares.<sup>140</sup> “Almost absent” in the Middle Iron Age, the buff wares are both Late Iron Age and Hellenistic.<sup>141</sup> A second problem is the beginning of black glazed ceramics and the local production of Aegean shapes in a black ware continuing the tradition of the burnished and reduced black wares of the Iron Age. The pragmatic approach of the Kastamonu Project preliminary reports identifies sites with black gloss sherds as Hellenistic, whereas a few may date to the Achaemenid half of the fourth century.

In order to clarify the ambiguity of the first millennium terminology, following the lead of Herman Genz and Roger Matthews, I adapt the Yassıhöyük stratigraphic sequence with the replacement of Phrygian with Iron Age:<sup>142</sup>

---

<sup>139</sup> Henrickson 1993:144-8, 1994:113-4.

<sup>140</sup> Henrickson 1993:144, 149; Henrickson 1994:113.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.:113.

<sup>142</sup> Genz 2004a:34, 2004b. Matthews and Glatz 2009a:149.

Early Iron Age <sup>143</sup> .....	c. 1200 - 950 BCE
Middle Iron Age .....	c. 950 - 550 BCE
Late Iron Age (Achaemenid) .....	c. 550 - 330 BCE
Hellenistic .....	c. 330 - 6 BCE

As Matthews comments, this sequence of periods does not imply that the grey ware ceramics corresponds to Phrygian ethnic and political connections to Paphlagonia.<sup>144</sup> Additionally, this sequence is pragmatic and corresponds to the groups visible in the surveyed assemblages of the Gökırmak, Araç, Devrez, and Acıçay Valleys that are at the heart of this dissertation.

The divisions in this sequence, however, do not necessarily follow the practice of archaeologists surveying on the Sinop Promontory, along the Kızılırmak River, and in the hinterland of Samsun. Painted ceramics similar to those of Alişar IV within the bend of the Kızılırmak River are the fine wares of these areas. Şevket Dönmez divides the ceramics into a Middle Iron Age (c. 850-650) and Late Iron Age (c. 650-350).<sup>145</sup> It would be particularly valuable if sites published as the late phase of the Late Iron Age (c. 500-350) would unambiguously date to the Achaemenid period.<sup>146</sup> Unfortunately, the late phase is largely defined by the introduction of ivy garlands into the repertoire of the

---

<sup>143</sup> Early Iron Age ceramics have been collected by the Kastamonu Project but their analysis has not been published in the preliminary reports. Pragmatically, settlements labeled Iron Age in the preliminary reports will have Phrygian grey wares.

<sup>144</sup> Matthews wants “to avoid ethnic or socio-cultural associations” (ibid.:149), and subsequently interprets the presence of grey ware in Çankırı Province politically, as marking the borders of a Phrygian state (ibid.:154). Unfortunately, Matthews’ opinion that “survey in Kastamonu province has detected few sites with Phrygian grey ware” is wide of the mark, and his proposed border is improbable. As Matthews himself comments, grey wares are cooking and serving vessels (ibid. 156), and indicate shared *social and cultural* commensal practices.

<sup>145</sup> Dönmez 2001b.

<sup>146</sup> As the discussion following Dönmez’s contribution to the “Identifying changes” workshop clarifies, Dönmez dates specific painted ceramics in the provinces of Samsun and Amasya to the Middle and Late Iron Ages. These same ceramics are identified as Early Iron Age by Hermann Genz, Mehmet Özsait, and Nesrin Özsait (Dönmez 2003a:224-5; cf. Genz 2003, Özsait and Özsait 2002a, Özsait 2003b). A consensus on Iron Age ceramic sequence of these areas has yet to emerge.

painted ceramics, and Dönmez's date for the introduction appears early.<sup>147</sup> A similar discrepancy in dating involves the Early Iron Age along the coast from Samsun to the Sinop Promontory.<sup>148</sup>

During the four seasons of fieldwork, the Kastamonu Project surveyed 159 sites in four of the counties of Kastamonu Province. During the first season the project concentrated on the unforested valleys, but soon realized that sites were also to be found in the forests and plateaus above elevations of 1000 m. Of the 159 sites, 21 yielded ceramic material from the Iron Age, and of these, 17 were settlements as broadly defined, 2 were tumuli, and 1 was a necropolis. What is surprising is the relative absence of settlement mounds. All the Iron Age settlements are relatively shallow deposits lying on top of natural hills, ridges, or terraces with or without equally shallow deposits of earlier occupational periods. The absence of mounds is largely a consequence of the dependence of architecture on wood and not mud brick.

From a sum of 320 sites, Project Paphlagonia surveyed 12 Middle and Late Iron Age settlements in Çankırı Province and two counties of Karabük Province during three years of extensive (1997-1999) and two years of intensive survey (2000-2001). The recent final publication of Project Paphlagonia lets us stand on firmer ground in our conclusions about the dating of Middle and Late Iron Age, and Hellenistic settlements in the area that falls within the extent of the project. The difficulty or impossibility of dating the

---

<sup>147</sup> Dönmez argues against Zoroğlu who dates the introduction of ivy to the Hellenistic period (Zoroğlu 1981:244-5; Dönmez 2007c:146). My impression is that the introduction of ivy is contemporaneous with Attic West Slope ware (cf. an early Hellenistic [c. 325-290] bowl with outturned rim with an ivy garland on the rim (Rotroff 1997:142, 308, fig. 45, pl. 60 no. 625; Özsait and Özsait 2003b:331).

<sup>148</sup> The discrepancy emerged after luminescence dating of Tingiroğlu Tepesi supported an Iron Age date for the burnished dark wares collected on the site (Doonan, Casson and Gantos 2008:136). Dönmez dates Tingiroğlu Tepesi to the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, and Late Iron Age (2000:230). Unfortunately, the Sinop Province Regional Survey's luminescence project is in its beginnings, and not statistically significant.



settlements to the Late Iron Age as opposed to the combined Middle and Late Iron Age, and of dating the tumuli more precisely than “Iron Age to Roman, however,” has led Matthews to suggest a very concise interpretation supported by a literal reading of the historical sources and von Gall’s dating of the rockcut tombs.<sup>149</sup> On only two settlement mounds within the survey borders were ceramics collected that are diagnostic of the Achaemenid period: Salman Höyük East and Saraycık Höyük. Clearly it is necessary to include the settlements not dated more precisely than the Middle and Late Iron Ages in an analysis of the Achaemenid settlement pattern.<sup>150</sup> The extensive and intensive surveys documented 7 settlement mounds, 2 fortified ridges, and 3 flat settlements.

The Ankara University project directed by Tayfun Yıldırım and Tunç Sipahi concentrated on Bronze Age sites but complemented the Project Paphlagonia with a survey of the counties of Çankırı and Çorum on the left bank of the Kızılırmak.<sup>151</sup> Yıldırım and Sipahi implemented a pragmatic approach of surveyors whose interest and expertise is not in the Iron Age. Their approach was based on a sliding scale of chronological identifications with diagnostic ceramics yielding a specific period—such as Iron Age or Hellenistic—and less diagnostic ceramics identified as first millennium or Classical.

The identification *Klasik* or Classical is of importance to the Achaemenid period, because the *Klasik Dönem* occasionally refers to the Late Iron Age (Achaemenid period) and Hellenistic period, particularly in the later preliminary reports of Yıldırım and

---

<sup>149</sup> Matthews and Glatz 2009a:155-61.

<sup>150</sup> Matthews and Glatz’s figure 8.5 misleadingly indicates a decrease in settlements (ibid.:246).

<sup>151</sup> Sipahi 2003; Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 1998, 2000, 2001, 2005, 2008; T. Yıldırım and Sipahi 1999, 2004, 2007, 2009.

Sipahi.<sup>152</sup> In the first preliminary report, however, “Klasik devirler” appears once where it loosely encompasses the Roman period, and more explicitly in the subsequent seasons’ preliminary reports.<sup>153</sup> Then, in the 1999 season preliminary report, Sipahi and Yıldırım explicitly identify “Klasik dönem” as separate from “Roma dönemi.”<sup>154</sup> Even when the written context indicates that *Klasik* refers to the Late Iron Age, without published descriptions and drawings of the ceramics, one cannot verify whether the ceramics are diagnostic of the Late Iron Age or represented in both Late Iron Age and Hellenistic assemblages.

Regardless of these difficulties in identifying Late Iron Age ceramics, the written context of *Klasik* is frequently a guide.<sup>155</sup> Additionally, with respect to Iron Age ceramics, the practice of Sipahi and Yıldırım is to identify an Iron Age occupation phase—and not the less specific first millennium—when Phrygian wares are represented at a settlement.<sup>156</sup> Yıldırım and Sipahi did not identify Early Iron Age ceramics until 2002 when they were surveying in the southeast of Çorum.<sup>157</sup> With these observations, I make many educated guesses and alter Yıldırım and Sipahi’s dating to be consistent with other subregions. Likewise, both the less specific third and second millennia, and the more specific Old Hittite and Hittite Empire periods are converted into the Early Bronze

---

<sup>152</sup> E.g. Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 2005:354-5 s.v. Konak Höyüğü.

<sup>153</sup> “Klasik devirler” is used in the 1996 season’s preliminary report to refer to Greek and Roman antiquity (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 1998:22-3). “Klasik Dönem” contains the “Roma Devri” in the 1998 season’s preliminary report (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 2000:33).

<sup>154</sup> E.g. “Klasik ve Roma dönemlerine ait yerleşim izleri” Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 2001:105.

<sup>155</sup> *Klasik* period settlements are generally considered possible Achaemenid period settlements.

<sup>156</sup> E.g. “özellikle Demir Devri/Frig seramiği” *ibid.*:105. Iron Age settlements are generally considered probable Achaemenid period settlements.

<sup>157</sup> T. Yıldırım and Sipahi 2004:310.

Age (c. 3000-2000), Middle Bronze Age (c. 2000-1600), and Late Bronze Age (c. 1600-1200).<sup>158</sup>

The Province of Samsun was surveyed by a succession of Istanbul University projects affiliated with the İkiztepe Excavations. Bahadır Alkım conducted a survey before the start of the excavations in 1974 and occasionally thereafter.<sup>159</sup> The current director of the excavations, Önder Bilgi, has initiated intensive site surveys.<sup>160</sup> Bilgi's student, Şevket Dönmez, revisited many of the sites surveyed by the earlier projects in 1997 and 1998.<sup>161</sup> Mehmet and Nesrin Özsait conducted a survey contiguous on the east with the area covered in this dissertation.<sup>162</sup>

The Sinop Province Regional Survey started an intensive survey project in 1996.<sup>163</sup> The project implemented a nested surveying methodology with intensive site surveys, intensive sampling of high probability areas, such as valley shoulders, and systematic surveying of larger areas.<sup>164</sup> The principal result of this surveying methodology is abundant evidence of settlement expansion in the middle of the fourth century. Secondarily, luminescence dating of two Iron Age settlements has further substantiated the typological dating of ceramics.<sup>165</sup> Lastly, the mapping of the Iron Age settlement of Tıngıroğlu Tepesi has shown the similarity of Tıngıroğlu Tepesi to the Akalan settlement

---

<sup>158</sup> Matthews and Glatz 2009a:109.

<sup>159</sup> Alkım 1972, 1973, 1974, 1976, 1978; Kızıltan 1992.

<sup>160</sup> Bilgi 1999a; Bilgi et al. 2002, 2003, 2004a, 2004b; Bilgi, Dönmez and Ulugergerli 2005.

<sup>161</sup> Dönmez 1999, 2000.

<sup>162</sup> Özsait 1988, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1991, 1998, 2003a, 2004; Özsait and Koçak 1996; Özsait and Dündar 1997.

<sup>163</sup> Doonan 2002, 2003, 2004b, 2007a, 2007b, 2009; Doonan, Casson and Gantos 2008; Doonan and Bauer 2005; Doonan et al. 1999, 2000, 2001a, 2001b.

<sup>164</sup> Doonan 2004a.

<sup>165</sup> Doonan, Casson and Gantos 2008.

in the hills above Samsun, and the similarity of the settlement patterns on the Sinop Promontory and the Samsun hills.<sup>166</sup>

The Cide Archaeological Project will partly fill the gap in our knowledge of settlements in the coastal valleys from the Sinop Promontory to the Bartın River. The project has conducted its first two week long field season and published very preliminary results.<sup>167</sup> Although Güngör Karağuz's ongoing surveys in the lower Filyos Valley have yet to encounter Iron Age settlements, Istanbul University's ongoing excavation at Hisarönü under the direction of Sümer Atasoy have excavated a sounding that reached disturbed layers with imported Archaic and Classical ceramics contemporaneous to the Achaemenid period (L.5). Although the excavations have placed trenches primarily in the lower Roman city, additional trenches on the acropolis at Hisarönü would become the first excavated colonial settlement on the southern Black Sea coast.

With the results of these projects, one can take another look at the Achaemenid period landscape of Paphlagonia. The catalog at the end of the dissertation collects the results into a geographical sequence that approaches each subregion separately. The differences between the subregions of Paphlagonia are thereby emphasized, and the trajectory of each subregion in response to gradual administrative incorporation in the Achaemenid Empire analyzed. In the following section, I turn to the columnar rockcut tombs of Paphlagonia in order to clarify which tombs date to the Achaemenid period.

---

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Düring and Glatz 2009.

### *G. Columnar rockcut tombs*

The columnar rockcut tombs of Paphlagonia are a significant feature of the archaeological landscape (**fig. 12**). From their first appearance in the Achaemenid Period, the tombs continue to be carved and adapted into the Roman period. As with most rockcut features, the dating of the tombs is disputed.<sup>168</sup> I argue that the earlier tombs date to the first two-thirds of the fourth century, and the majority are Hellenistic. Kalekapı, the first tomb, has sculptural reliefs that situate it in the period of coastal interaction with the Gökırmak Valley when Sinope is under tighter Achaemenid administration. Previous studies have tended to date more of the tombs to the Achaemenid period. This tendency has led to the confusion of the Achaemenid and Hellenistic landscapes of Paphlagonia. Significant increases in settlement density and in the number of accompanying forts and rockcut tombs occur in most subregions of Paphlagonia during the Hellenistic period. Whereas the increase in settlement density is partly a consequence of a more long-term process of first millennium expansion, the distribution of forts and tombs is also partly due to the administrative practices of the Pontic Kingdom.<sup>169</sup>

The Hellenistic tombs have columnar porches set within multiple rabbetted frames in smoothed vertical bedrock surfaces.<sup>170</sup> Occasionally, an inset gable is carved above the

---

<sup>168</sup> On the evidence of the history of Aegean colonization and a stylistic analysis of the column shaft proportions as well as the form of the capitals and bases, Hirschfeld, Leonhard, and Gökoğlu dated the tombs to the seventh century (Hirschfeld 1885, Leonhard 1915, Gökoğlu 1952:58-121). Kannenberg, von Gall, and Dökü preferred later and more varied dates: from the sixth century or later to the late Hellenistic and early Roman period (Kannenberg 1895a, von Gall 1966a, Dökü 2008a:108-21).

<sup>169</sup> Mitchell 1993 vol. 1:84; Özdoğan et al. 1998:79; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1999:227-8; Özdoğan et al. 2000:47; Matthews and Glatz 2009:174-7. Erciyas identifies the opposite trend to the east of the Kızılırmak River (2006b:53-62).

<sup>170</sup> Descriptions of tombs that have been dated to the Achaemenid period are in Chapter 6 (Terelikkayası [A.1], Salarköy [A.9], and Kapıkaya and Asarkale [J.14]) and the catalog (Durağan Ambarkaya [A.3],

porch. The columns have short and stocky proportions with either straight or flaring shafts. The shafts rest on high torus bases, wide half torus bases, or directly on the porch floor. If present, capitals are simple torus and abacus capitals with the exception of the three tombs with kneeling bull and kneeling winged bull capitals, and the floral capitals of Karakoyunlu (**E.1**). Square openings raised above the porch floor usually lead into a rectangular burial chamber with rockcut benches for the deceased placed along the walls. Only the benches in the central chamber at the Achaemenid Kalekapı tomb (**C.7**) and the nearby Halakayası tomb (see **C.10**) have the sculpted legs of a couch (*kline*). Ceilings vary from simple flat, pitched, or barrel vaulted, to ceilings with sculpted beams and lantern domes.

The later tombs belong to a group of Hellenistic—and even Roman—features that allude to the local Achaemenid heritage, such as the bull statues compared by Robert Donceel to the bull capitals of the tombs.<sup>171</sup> As the Achaemenid rockcut tombs remained visible through the Hellenistic and later periods, they also had an afterlife that reverberated in later tombs and sculpted monuments.

The Achaemenid tomb at Kalekapı bears numerous innovations that reimagine Achaemenid artistic and architectural practice, such as kneeling bull capitals in place of double bull protome capitals. The kneeling bull capitals are found in three of the Hellenistic rockcut tombs, at Salarköy (**A.9**), Terelikkayası (**A.1**), and İskilip (**I.11**). The Pontic kings asserted Achaemenid royal ancestry, and thus the continuation of

---

Aygırkayası [**C.8**], Evkayası [**C.18**], Kastamonu Kalesi [**C.19**], Karakoyunlu [**E.1**], Beşdut [**I.8**], İskilip [**I.12**], Osmançık [**I.16**], Kargı Ambarkaya [**I.17**], and Zindankaya [**I.18**]). Compare the description of the identifying features of Paphlagonian tombs that is given by Gökoğlu 1952:119-21, Fedak 1990:52-4.

<sup>171</sup> Donceel 1983b; additional statues published by Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996:283.

Achaemenid emblems in Hellenistic Paphlagonia is to be expected.<sup>172</sup> The continuities within the local practices of carving tombs are also not surprising. The kingdom was founded in western Paphlagonia at Kimista, and had an eventual capital in the center of Hellenized Paphlagonia, at Sinope.

The proportions of the column shafts and the high torus bases of the Kalekapı and later tombs are one of the primary reasons for dating the tombs earlier than the later Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods. Without the excavation of one of the monumental buildings with tiled roofs from the early Achaemenid period (**C.6, F.5, I.18, J.1, C.5?**), however, it is just as probable that the style of the columns is local and not as early as one might think.

To lift the confusion of the Achaemenid and Hellenistic landscapes of Paphlagonia, the catalog discusses the evidence for the dating of each tomb and its associated settlement, fort, or fortified settlement, as well as the tumuli. My approach is not to rely on historical arguments, but mostly on ceramics collected in the surrounding settlements, and to a lesser extent on the style of the tombs. Because of my emphasis on settlements, the tombs are located in the catalog according to their location.

#### ***H. Settlement pattern***

In the river valleys to the north, south, and east of the Ilgaz Massif, the Iron Age follows three diverging trajectories (**fig. 13**). North and south begin with continuity in settlement location from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. The transition is more definite to the south of the Ilgaz Massif due to the analysis of Early Iron Age

---

<sup>172</sup> For a discussion of the veracity of Pontic royal Achaemenid ancestry, see Erciyas 2006b:9-14.

ceramics by Hermann Genz and Roger Matthews.<sup>173</sup> Of the 7 Early Iron Age settlements surveyed by Project Paphlagonia, 5 were occupied in the Late Bronze Age.<sup>174</sup> Through the Middle and Late Iron Ages continuity in settlement location persists, although the landscape changes with the addition of a very visible mortuary practice, the tumulus. Of the 12 Middle and Late Iron Age settlements, 7 are also occupied in the Late Bronze Age.

To the north of the Ilgaz Massif the settlement pattern diverges from the south's continuity with expansion in settlement density. The first of two phases begins in the Middle Iron Age with the foundation of new settlements in locations similar to those of the Late Bronze Age: river terrace or piedmont locations with sweeping views of the landscape. In the Gökırmak Valley, Yüklütepe (**C.6**) is founded in the Middle Iron Age on a ridge surveying the valley between Kastamonu and Taşköprü, and north of the tentative lake in the Germeç Plain. The similarity of the locations of Yüklütepe and Gavurevleri (**C.21**)—a settlement mound on a ridge with continuity from the Late Bronze Age—is striking.

The continuously occupied and newly settled Middle Iron Age settlements similar to Gavurevleri and Yüklütepe have a fortified center and dominate each valley with few archaeologically visible secondary settlements. In the Daday Valley, the fortified settlement of Gavurevleri is surrounded by no known Middle Iron Age settlements. Karacaoğlu (**C.4**) is the only possible settlement on valley terraces in the middle Gökırmak Valley around Yüklütepe. A similar pattern unfolds across the landscape to the south of the Ilgaz Massif. In the central Devrez Valley, the principal settlement is

---

<sup>173</sup> Published by Matthews and Glatz 2009a:149-52.

<sup>174</sup> On the nine settlements, however, ceramics of the early phase of the Early Iron Age were not collected (ibid.:152).



Salman Höyük East (**F.5**); upstream on the Devrez River it is Kızılca (**F.3**) near the confluence with the Çerkeş River. These settlements survey the valley terraces and floors from their locations on ridges and regulate travel on routes passing through valleys and crossing mountains.

The comparison of Akalan (**J.1**), Tıngıroğlu Tepesi (**K.1**), and Yüklütepe demonstrates that the fortified settlements occupied in the Middle Iron Age are primarily located to regulate trading routes, and only secondarily defensive. The location of these three fortifications stands in contrast to the precipitous locations of the Hellenistic defensive fortresses of Büyükkale (**I.19**), Eğrikale (**A.2**), and the fortress above Çukurhan (see **A.5**, **A.8**). Akalan, Tıngıroğlu Tepesi, and Yüklütepe are located where the routes depart from agricultural terraces and begin the ascent to a mountain pass (**fig. 14**). Akalan and Tıngıroğlu Tepesi regulate trade between the coast and the interior valleys, whereas Yüklütepe regulates access to the copper mining areas of Devrekani and Küre (**B.8**).

Yüklütepe's location is only part of the evidence that the Middle Iron Age expansion in the Gökırmak Valley is in response to the intensification of copper mining in the Küre Range. Lead isotope analysis of Küre copper artifacts, the excavations of Kınık (**B.6**), and survey of Garipoğlu Kayası, Davud'un Yeri, and Küçükçat (**B.2-4**)—all three of which are mining settlements in the upper Alaçam Valley—support the argument for intensification of copper mining in the Middle Iron Age.

In the Late Iron Age, the expansion in settlement pattern takes the form of the addition of fortified outcrops and occasional shifting of the primary settlements. To the east of Yüklütepe at Kalekapı (**C.7**), the settlement on the summit and slopes of the

southwestern outcrop begins in the Late Iron Age. In all probability the shift in elite residence from Yüklütepe to Kalekapı occurred during the fourth century and was a response to the extraction of copper ore in the Karadere Valley upstream of Kalekapı. True to its contemporary place name, Kalekapı becomes the fortified gate to the copper sources.<sup>175</sup>

Although Kalekapı is the largest fortified settlement in the Gökırmak Valley with both walled southwestern and northeastern ridges and settlements on both banks of the Karadere Stream outside the walls, two additional Late Iron Age fortified hills between Taşköprü and Kastamonu are known.<sup>176</sup> Similar to Yüklütepe, they are located on not particularly precipitous outcrops where routes depart from valley terraces, but their outcrops are smaller, that is, more similar in size to Hellenistic forts, fortified residences, and naturally fortified settlements. During the Late Iron Age, the settlement at Yüklütepe is occupied and continues to be so through the Hellenistic period, but the settlement progressively becomes surrounded by these smaller fortified sites and flat settlements. The Late Iron Age forts anticipate the density of small fortified sites in the Hellenistic period.<sup>177</sup>

Similar to the Hellenistic forts, the Late Iron Age fortified settlements and forts are associated with tumuli and rockcut tombs. Although the rockcut tombs are of disputed date, and the tumuli are impossible to date without excavation, each fort and fortified settlement is associated with mortuary monuments. Consequently, these sites are the residences of elites who have aspirations to hereditary continuity. The similarity in the

---

<sup>175</sup> A possible shift in the Vezirköprü Plain is from Oymaağac (**I.20**) to Zindankaya (**I.18**).

<sup>176</sup> Both fortified sites will be published by the Kastamonu Project and the Pompeiopolis Project.

<sup>177</sup> Significant areas of the Pontic Kingdom were administered through the establishment of forts (φρούριον) (Mitchell 1993 vol. 1:84-5).

Gökırmak Valley of the Late Iron Age site locations to Middle Iron Age fortified settlements indicates that the security and productivity of the landscape was enhanced by an expansion in the landholding of the hereditary elite. Additionally, the Kovuklukaya outcrop (**A.8**) and the Tıngıroğlu Tepesi fortified settlement (**K.1**) indicate that the Sinop Promontory belongs to the sphere of the Gökırmak Valley. Because of the absence of sites similar to Kovuklukaya and Tıngıroğlu Tepesi on the Ilgaz Massif routes, I turn to the Araç Valley to address the question of the connections of the Gökırmak Valley to subregions in the west and south.

In the Araç Valley, the six Iron Age settlements on terraces overlooking the Araç River (**D.1-4**) are agricultural or forestry settlements distributed along the route westward to Safranbolu (**E.2**) in the Filyos Valley. These settlements support the evidence of the ceramics that the Gökırmak Valley had predominately western and southwestern social connections in the Iron Age. The grey ware Iron Age ceramics of the Gökırmak and Araç Valleys are most comparable to the excavated assemblage of Yassıhöyük (Gordion). The area of Safranbolu (**E.2**) in the middle Filyos Valley and Dereemail Asar Tepe (**E.5**) upstream in the Eskipazar Valley is a critical crossroads.<sup>178</sup> The Gökırmak Valley is connected to the coast through the Bartın Valley, the west through the Gerece Valley, and the south through the Çerkeş Valley. At a possible fort regulating this crossroads, Dereemail Asar Tepe (**E.5**), Iron Age grey wares were collected.<sup>179</sup>

The comparability of the Iron Age grey wares to the Yassıhöyük assemblage is reproduced in the Middle and Late Iron Age ceramics to the south of the Ilgaz Massif.

---

<sup>178</sup> Mithridates I Ktistes selected these crossroads in 302 as his base in order to gain access to these routes (McGing 1986a:13-16, 1986b:248-53; Erciyas 2006b:13-4).

<sup>179</sup> Unfortunately, the suspension of the Paphlagonia Project in the summer of 2009 resulted in the cessation of survey in this critical crossroads area.

Project Paphlagonia identified more similarities to the ceramics within the bend of the Kızılırmak in the Early Iron Age. By the Middle and Late Iron Age, however, the ceramics find more parallels to the Gökırmak Valley, and not to the painted Iron Age ceramic wares of Alişar IV that continue into the Hellenistic Period.<sup>180</sup>

These painted fine wares represent a ceramic tradition of the Kızılırmak Valley and the hills of Samsun. Whereas south of the Ilgaz Massif the Late Iron Age settlement density is stable, the Kızılırmak Valley and the hills of Samsun participate in the expansion of density in the Middle and Late Iron Ages. The settlements in the vicinity of the Astar Valley and the Tavşan Mountains indicate that these copper mining areas were probably utilized in the Middle and Late Iron Age, and copper mining was most likely a factor in this expansion.

The Hellenistic rockcut tombs near these copper mining areas are stylistically similar to the columns and faceted frames of the Gökırmak Valley. However, the tombs also shared features with the multiple columned temple tombs of the Pontic royal necropolis in Amasya. In the Hellenistic period, the Gökırmak and Kızılırmak Valleys were subregions of the Pontic Kingdom and commonality is expected.

The Middle and Late Iron Age settlements in the Kızılırmak Valley are settlement mounds on terraces on the left bank of the river near the copper sources and on low ridges on the valley floor near river crossings. Both the locations of the settlement mounds occupied in the Middle and Late Iron Age and their ceramics demonstrate that the Kızılırmak Valley and the hills of Samsun are connected to the urban settlements at the bend of the Kızılırmak. Consequently, the archaeological evidence supports placing

---

<sup>180</sup> Matthews and Glatz 2009a:152-3.

the left bank of the Kızılırmak Valley from south of Çankırı to Osmancık (**I.16**) *socially and culturally* within the Cappadocian sphere and its northward extension to the Black Sea.

North of Osmancık, archaeological evidence is absent until Erenler Tepesi (**I.17**), a fort possibly connected to a route to Zindankaya (**I.18**) and Oymaağaç (**I.20**) in the Vezirköprü Plain. Although the settlement pattern of the Vezirköprü Plain is similar to the Gökırmak Valley, with fortified settlements and copper sources (see **A.4**), both settlements are located more centrally in the plain and have access eastwards to the Havza Plain. Oymaağaç regulated a crossing on the Kızılırmak that was the start of the routes to the confluence with the Gökırmak (**A.1**) and the coast at Sivritepe (**J.12**). Despite the similarities with the Gökırmak, the ceramics connect the plain socially and culturally with the Kızılırmak Valley upstream of Osmancık, the delta downstream of the Şahinkaya and Asar Gorges, and Cappadocian sphere more generally.

The Iron Age grey ware ceramics west of the Kızılırmak Valley are cooking and serving vessels, and indicate shared cultural feasting or commensal practices. This area corresponds to the last two of the three areas of Paphlagonia as described by Strabo: the coast, the Gökırmak Valley, and the Tatlıçay and Acıçay Valleys. The painted and plain wares in the Kızılırmak Valley and to its east likewise indicate shared commensal practices. The Kızılırmak River is not, however, a boundary between ceramic assemblages; the painted wares appear to decrease in percentage in the surveyed assemblages at the west. By the middle of the Gökırmak Valley, the painted wares are probably imported. Coupled with the artifacts excavated at Kaman-Kalehöyük, whose

copper is compatible with that of Küre, the painted wares in the west present evidence of trading connections.

The analysis of ceramics offers evidence of varying social and cultural practices, as well as trade among the subregions of Paphlagonia. If the administration of the subregions is rightly assumed to be through embedded social practices, such as commensal practices, the ceramics do separate the subregions along the Kızılırmak and to its east from the subregions to the west. This evidence only connects the subregions to broader spheres. In other words, the Gökırmak Valley is connected to the west and southwest, and not with the Devrez Valley in contrast to the west. Consequently, the evidence is not relevant for the interpretation of either the relationship of the fortified settlements in the Gökırmak Valley to each other or to the Gökırmak and Devrez Valleys.

Let us examine in more depth the settlement pattern of the Gökırmak Valley. Because the geology produces a linear valley, the linear settlement pattern itself is not sufficient evidence to argue for a valley segmented into competing neighboring kingdoms as occasionally is found in long river valleys.<sup>181</sup> Unified settlements are an equally probable interpretation. The settlement pattern perhaps should not be regarded as linear. The Middle Iron Age settlements were connected to branches crossing the mountains through routes and pathways. It is the colonial and imperial perspective that asserts that routes must be suitable for the transport of goods and military wagons, and this view privileges the linearity of the Gökırmak Valley settlement pattern. Despite these doubts, Yüklütepe emerges as the central settlement in my reconstruction of the landscape. In the

---

<sup>181</sup> E.g. the Middle Iron Age sequence: Boyabat (?) – Yüklütepe – Üyüktepe – Gavurevleri – Araç Valley (A.7 – C.6 – C.15 – C.21 – D.1-4).

Late Iron Age the central settlement shifts to Kalekapı, and smaller fortified sites begin to appear as the landscape is filled in.

Secondly, the question whether the administrative stretch of Yüklütepe or Kalekapı ever extended south of the Ilgaz Massif awaits us. In the Devrez, Tatlıçay, and Acıçay Valleys only one settlement stands out as comparable to Yüklütepe and Kalekapı: Salman Höyük East (**F.5**). Not coincidentally, Salman Höyük East is the only settlement in these valleys with a ceramic vessel, the carinated bowl, associated with the commensal practices of the Achaemenid elite. Additionally, the ceramics of the other settlements and the settlement pattern do not respond to Achaemenid administration. In both the Middle and Late Iron Ages, Kızılca connects Salman Höyük East to the routes branching to the Orta Plain and the Tatlıçay and Acıçay Valleys. The continuing utilization of Dumanlı Kale Mevkii (**F.2**) and Kanlı Göl Mevkii (**G.1**) can be interpreted as protecting the routes that bind the subregions together. The continuity of these areas is in contrast to the expansion north of the Ilgaz Massif, and suggests that during the Middle and Late Iron Age the valleys south of the Ilgaz Massif took a second place behind the Gökırmak Valley.<sup>182</sup>

The question of the relationship between the Kızılırmak Valley and its western tributary valleys is primarily political. If we look forward to the Pontic Kingdom, the rockcut tombs show a connection. Therefore, it does not seem unreasonable to propose that a strong Cappadocian ruler might have added Paphlagonia to Cappadocia. Likewise, the political administration of a unified landscape north and south of the Ilgaz Massif is

---

<sup>182</sup> It is not until the primary east-west route passed through the Çerkeş and Devrez Valleys that the valleys further south around Çankırı rise in prominence.

probably brought about by broader developments around the Black Sea and on the Anatolian Peninsula, as discussed in the third and fourth chapters, respectively.

## ***I. Conclusion***

This chapter creates a palimpsest of seismicity, mining, deforestation, routes, and settlements as layers in a landscape continuously in the making. Ore deposits are discovered, lakes disappear, and settlements shift; places are made through the perpetual hybridization of natural and social processes. My emphasis has been on the historical specificity of this landscape in the Achaemenid period. Concisely, gradual expansion characterizes the changes in the settlement patterns during the first half of the first millennium. This expansion holds true in the Gökırmak Valley where the extraction of copper from mines to the north of the valley exerts a clearly discernable influence on the settlement pattern. During the Achaemenid period, copper mining continues to be a significant factor. What is new is a shift in the central settlement and the beginning of the proliferation of forts that accelerates in the Hellenistic period. The Kızılırmak Valley experiences a similar expansion, and the mining of copper and silver on the left bank is also significant. These mines and settlements on the left bank of the Kızılırmak, however, participate in the diverse Cappadocian urban sphere within the bend of the river.

The valleys to the south of the Ilgaz Massif present a contrasting pattern of continuity in settlement from the preceding period through the Achaemenid period. The western valleys and northwestern mountains of Paphlagonia are connected to the valleys on the north and south of Ilgaz. The surveys conducted in these subregions are inadequate to



support any conclusions about the settlement pattern. The long Paphlagonian coast west of the Sinop Promontory is likewise not surveyed adequately enough to be able to characterize the settlements known only for their maritime purpose.

The Sinop Promontory and the coastal hills around Samsun are, however, similar in the location of their primary fortified settlement at a distance from the sea. Particularly, Tingiroğlu Tepesi (**K.1**) indicates the probable dependency of these settlements on the valleys to their south. The density of settlement in the hills around Samsun demonstrates that the primary settlement, Akalan (**J.1**), was surrounded by contemporaneous agricultural settlements. The expansion on the Sinop Promontory, however, does not begin until Achaemenids held sway over the city and the promontory.

The following chapters rely extensively on the literary sources for Aegean colonization and Achaemenid imperialism, but my emphasis remains the specific historical situations that unfold in the diverse places of Paphlagonia.

## CHAPTER 3:

### *Colonial encounters in myth and archaeology*

#### *A. Colonial narratives: almost the same but not quite*

Near the end of the seventh century, the Aegean city of Miletos established a settlement on the southern Black Sea coast on the promontory of Sinop (**K.6**).<sup>183</sup> Roughly half a century later, we find the coastal valleys to the south of Sinop becoming part of the Achaemenid Empire following the conquest of the Lydian lands extending to the Kızılırmak River.<sup>184</sup> The convergence of these two developments brings the archaeology of the Sinop Promontory and the entire coast from the Kızılırmak River to the Bartın River into contact with scholarship on Greek colonization in the Black Sea, and the Achaemenid imperial presence on its southern coast. The characteristic tendency of this scholarship is towards splitting identities between inland rural Paphlagonians under Achaemenid administration, and coastal urban centers of Greek colonization. For example, the interpretation of the Kalekapı fort and rockcut tomb as belonging to the Paphlagonian king Korylas is very much a product of this split and derives from the assumption that Korylas' authority derived from fortified, but otherwise rural, inland valleys.<sup>185</sup> On the flip side is the consideration of Sinope as essentially a Milesian colony under the burden of paying tribute to the Achaemenid kings.<sup>186</sup> Both interpretations respond to a prejudicial perspective found in the Greek literary sources towards other

---

<sup>183</sup> The earliest ceramics are dated to the late seventh century, whereas the literary sources support the foundation of a Milesian colony in the last quarter of the seventh century (Doonan 2004b:69-71).

<sup>184</sup> The capture of Sardis by Cyrus II is dated to c. 546 (Briant 2002:34-6). With his defeat of the Median king Astyages, Cyrus II had nominally acquired the land to the east of the Kızılırmak River in c. 560/59 (ibid.:31-4). Evidence is absent about the extent of Lydian control over Paphlagonia before c. 546.

<sup>185</sup> Von Gall 1966a:54-7.

<sup>186</sup> Robinson 1902:150-3.

peoples. Additionally, both interpretations are under the lingering influence of the theoretical framework of nineteenth and early twentieth century colonialism discussed in depth in the sixth chapter.

The present chapter first attempts to analyze critically the literary sources on the southern Black Sea and suggests that these are a constellation of *colonial* geographic discourses through which a dialectic of urban Greeks and rural others is constituted.<sup>187</sup> Secondly, this chapter interprets the available material evidence in the light of this critical analysis. The archaeological investigation of the southern Black Sea coast is uneven, consisting of limited excavations of settlements, chance and unprovenanced finds, and extensive and intensive regional surveys. This chapter weaves these diverse strands of evidence together to present a picture of settlement in a contested landscape. Both the literary and archaeological discourses on Greek colonization are copious; the intention of this chapter is merely to analyze the evidence for indigenous, colonial Greek, and imperial Achaemenid interaction from the point of view of mythopoetic landscapes and archaeological places.

### *i. Mapping Homer – οἱ Παφλαγόνες*

The first references to Paphlagonia are to its people, the *Paphlagones*, in the *Iliad*. Pylaimenes, the king/leader (βασιλεύς/ἄρχος) of the Paphlagonians, and his son Harpalion appear twice in battle passages and once in the Trojan catalog.<sup>188</sup> In the latter passage, Homer describes the allies settled along the Black Sea coast: “Pylaimenes leads the Paphlagonians from the land of the Enetoi, who held Kytoros and lived around Sesamos,

---

<sup>187</sup> The fourth chapter critically assesses Achaemenid imperialism.

<sup>188</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.576-590, 13.643-662 (battle references); 2.851-855 (Trojan catalog). The references to Pylaimenes are known for his death at the hands of Menelaos occurring in the narrative (5.578-579) before appearing in battle and mourning Harpalion (13.643-662).

dwelling in famous houses around the Parthenios River, Kromna, Aigialos, and high Erythinoi.”<sup>189</sup> To the Greek speaking audiences of the *Iliad*, the Paphlagonians live in the Bartın (Parthenios) Valley and northeastward along an approximately 70 km stretch of the southern Black Sea coast. Although not in their geographical sequence in the *Iliad*, the named places belong to a maritime itinerary of natural harbors and beaches (**fig. 2**). In the southwest is the sheltered mouth of the Parthenios River (Bartın Çayı); the promontory of Sesamos (Amasra) shelters a harbor 15 km further to the northeast (**L.4**); red cliffs frame a beach at Erythinoi (Çakraz) 9 km further along; Kromna (Tekkeözü, **L.3**) and Kytoros (Gideros, **L.2**) are bays 18 km and 16 km to the east, respectively; and lastly, in the northeast are the long beaches of Aigialos (Cide, **L.2**) 12 km further along. The catalog passage is not a sequential maritime itinerary (περίπλοος), but the last three verses clearly reflect the knowledge of Greek traders in the Black Sea.<sup>190</sup> Before analyzing the passage further, however, it is necessary to respond to questions about the passage’s authenticity.

<sup>189</sup> Παφλαγόνων δ’ ἡγεῖτο Πυλαιμένεος λάσιον κῆρ  
 ἐξ Ἐνετῶν, ὅθεν ἡμιόνων γένος ἀγροτεράων,  
 οἳ ῥα Κύτωρον ἔχον καὶ Σήσαμον ἀμφεμένοντο  
 ἀμφὶ τε Παρθένιον ποταμόν κλυτὰ δώματ’ ἔναιον  
 Κρῶμνάν τ’ Αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ ὑψηλοὺς Ἐρυθίνους (Hom. *Il.* 2.851-855).

<sup>190</sup> The extant examples of maritime itineraries are lists of harbors each located one day’s sailing apart: for example, the fourth century *Periploos* of Pseudo-Skylax (Counillon 2004b:24-27) and the second century CE *Periploos* of Arrian (Liddle 2003:27-32). A translation of Counillon’s text of Pseudo-Skylax §90 on Paphlagonia is: “Paphlagonia. After Assyria are the Paphlagonian people. There is the harbor of Stephane, the Greek city of Koloussa, the Greek city of Kinolis, the Greek city of Karambis, the Greek city of Kytoris, the Greek city of Sesamos and the Parthenios River, the Greek city of Tieion and harbor of Psylla and the Kallichoros River” (ΠΑΦΛΑΓΟΝΙΑ. Μετὰ δὲ Ἀσσυρίαν ἐστὶ Παφλαγονία ἔθνος. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Στεφάνη λιμὴν, Κολοῦσσα πόλις Ἑλληνίς, Κίνωλις πόλις Ἑλληνίς, Κάραμβις πόλις Ἑλληνίς, Κύτωρις πόλις Ἑλληνίς, Σησαμός πόλις Ἑλληνίς καὶ Παρθένιος ποταμός, Τίειον πόλις Ἑλληνίς καὶ λιμὴν Ψύλλα καὶ ποταμός Καλλίχωρος [Counillon 2004b:22]).

Although an earlier generation of scholars considered the above passages as evidence for the Paphlagonians in the eighth century or earlier,<sup>191</sup> the last three verses of the catalog passage present problems for an eighth century date. The references to Kytoros, Sesamos, Kromna, Aigialos, and Erythinoi belong to the period of either Greek expansion or settlement, and several scholars have argued that one or more verses are interpolated.<sup>192</sup> Neither the dating of the composition of the *Iliad* based on Gregory Nagy's research nor the dating of Greek expansion based on archaeological research lend any credence to comments about the catalog passage "looking like a learned interpolation."<sup>193</sup> An archaeological consensus has formed around the conclusion that Greek seafaring traders first began to appear and settle in the Black Sea *at the earliest* in the last third of the seventh century.<sup>194</sup>

Nagy's research on the evolution of the *Iliad* from a flexible composition contingent on the occasion of performance to the rigid epic handed down to the present complements this consensus. Based on critical analyses of the Homeric textual tradition and comparable practices of performed poetry, Nagy defines five periods in the composition of the *Iliad*: a period of fluidity before the middle of the eighth century followed by a "formative period" lasting down to the middle of the sixth century, a "definitive period" triggered by changes in Athenian performances, a "standardizing period" that began in

---

<sup>191</sup> For example, in Saprykin's ethnogenesis of the Paphlagonians, the *Iliad* references are understood as late second millennium evidence for the migration of the Paphlagonians through the second and first millennium (1991).

<sup>192</sup> Drews discusses the posited first century interpolation, and argues that the verses are genuine. He also advocates an eighth century colonization of the Pontos Euxeinos (1976:20-2). See also Burstein 1976, Ehrhardt 1983:323 n. 368, Kirk 1985:258-9, Marek 1993:16-7, Ivantchik 1998:318-20, Counillon 2004.

<sup>193</sup> Kirk 1985:259. On Nagy, see the following discussion.

<sup>194</sup> Ivantchik 1998:326-30; Tsetskhladze 1998a:15-9; Doonan 2004b:74-6, 2007a, Morin 2009. See **J.2, K.6, L.5**. For summaries of Berezan, see Solovyov 1999:28-97, 2007; Olbia, see Bujskikh 2007; and for other Greek settlements along the Black Sea coast not in Paphlagonia, see Grammenos and Petropoulos 2003, 2007.

the second half of the fourth century, and finally a “rigid period” beginning in the middle of the second century.<sup>195</sup> Nagy’s proposed periods suggest that one would be mistaken in arguing for an interpolation before the standardizing period began in the second half of the fourth century. Furthermore, Patrick Counillon, the most recent scholar to discuss the interpolation of the Paphlagonian passage of the catalog, argues that an interpolation would have to date before the fourth century when the historian Kallisthenes commented on the passage.<sup>196</sup>

Rather than an interpolation, Counillon argues that the verses belong to another—a partly “fantastic”—Aegean landscape of the eighth century that shifted to the Black Sea after Greek settlements were founded at the end of the fourth century at the places that bear Paphlagonian place names.<sup>197</sup> His argument relies on the observation that neither the verses surrounding the passage nor the place names within it situate Paphlagonia more precisely than somewhere in Thrace or northwestern Anatolia.<sup>198</sup> Additionally, he assumes a four hundred year gap between the *Iliad*’s eighth century composition and the appearance of Greek settlements at the named places.<sup>199</sup> Of the following Paphlagonian personal and place names in the *Iliad*, only Kytoros is not Greek:

Pylaimenes – a Greek name meaning “defender of the gate” (from αἱ πύλαι “gate” and μένω “to stand fast”)

Harpalion – a Greek name meaning “attractive” (from ἄρπαλέος)<sup>200</sup>

Paphlagones – a name sometimes erroneously derived from “to stutter” (παφλάζω)<sup>201</sup>

<sup>195</sup> For summaries of the periods, see Nagy 1996a:42, 1996b:110, 2003:2-3, 2004:27. On comparable practices, see Nagy 1995.

<sup>196</sup> Counillon 2004a:116-20, referring to Strabo’s critique of Kallisthenes commentary and emendation of transposing verse 2.854 (Strabo 12.3.5 [*FGrH* 124 F 53]).

<sup>197</sup> Counillon describes the location of Aigialos and Erythinoi as “fantaisiste” (2004a:119).

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.:109-10.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.:110-1.

<sup>200</sup> The other Paphlagonian names in the *Iliad*, Mydon (5.580) and Atymnios (5.581), are not Greek (Kirk 1990:117).

Enetoi – a name derived by Counillon from “to rush in” (ἐνίημι)  
 Kytoros – a place name compared to the incomplete Hittite place name *Hutar-* and associated with a river (Devrekani) and mountain in later sources<sup>202</sup>  
 Sesamos – a place name of Semitic origin that also appears in Hittite, but is derived here from “sesame seed” (τὸ σήσαμον)<sup>203</sup>  
 Parthenios – a place name from the Greek adjective meaning “maidenly” (παρθένιος)  
 Kromna – a place name derived by Zgusta from “river bank” (ὁ κρημνός)<sup>204</sup>  
 Aigialos – a place name meaning “coastal beach” (ὁ αἰγιαλός)<sup>205</sup>  
 Erythinoi – a place name meaning “red [cliffs]” (from ἐρυθαίνω)

Counillon interprets all of the Greek place names as descriptive but without specificity, and all the Greek personal names as too common, and concludes that the passage does not indicate any real knowledge of the Paphlagonian coast.

Counillon’s proposal for the mobility of place names and their landscapes is an inadequate reading of Homer as an epic of Greek *colonization*, and has some misunderstandings generated by a lack of attention to a postcolonial theoretical framework. While one might question the relevance of the postcolonial framework on the grounds that it is anachronistic to the ancient Black Sea,<sup>206</sup> knowledge of the framework enables us to excavate colonial theories from within our own interpretations. The proposed mobility of Counillon’s place names disregards the significance of social affiliation and place in antiquity, and he describes the place names as belonging to a landscape of fantasy.<sup>207</sup> Benedict Anderson’s concept of *imagined communities* is founded on a critique of the interpretation that modern colonial nationalism “*invents nations where they do not exist*” on the grounds that invention here implies fabrication

<sup>201</sup> Counillon follows this derivation (2004a:111). Paphlagonia is discussed in more depth in the following section.

<sup>202</sup> Robert 1980:147-50, Zgusta 1984:316 §654-1, Del Monte and Tischler 1978:129 “Hutar[.]” On Kytoros as a Greek *polis*, see Avram, Hind and Tssetskhladze 2004:959 no. 724. See **L.2**.

<sup>203</sup> On Sesamos as a Greek *polis*, see Avram, Hind and Tssetskhladze 2004:960 no. 728. See **L.4**.

<sup>204</sup> Robert 1937, Zgusta 1984:303-4 §622. See **L.3**.

<sup>205</sup> See **L.2**.

<sup>206</sup> Malkin discusses the incompatibility of postcolonial theories and ancient Greek colonization (2004).

<sup>207</sup> On the significance of place in ancient colonization, see *ibid.*:343-50.

and falsity.<sup>208</sup> It is more accurate to say that if landscapes are imagined and not invented during modern colonization, as Anderson argues, we can be doubly confident in interpreting the *Iliad* as imagining, or reimagining, landscapes during the more variable ancient colonial experience.<sup>209</sup> The *Iliad*'s reimagination of the Paphlagonian coast is a colonial mapping that retains a few place names, for example Kytoros, and gives descriptive Greek names to other places.<sup>210</sup> Similar to other colonial landscapes around the Mediterranean and Black Seas, the *Iliad*'s mapping becomes a translation both in the descriptive names and their embedding in a Greek maritime and heroic mythopoetic landscape.

The translation of a landscape is beyond doubt an appropriation, but the Paphlagonians as represented in the *Iliad* are not subject to significant prejudices. Pylaimenes shares the epithet “hairy chest” (λάσιον κῆρ), which does not connote coarseness, with Patroklos and Achilles.<sup>211</sup> The *Iliad* does, however, only describe the houses of the Paphlagonians and not their monumental buildings, and, thereby, the Paphlagonians are implicitly contrasted with their urban colonizers.<sup>212</sup> The *Iliad* participates in the Milesian discourse

---

<sup>208</sup> Gellner (1964:168, italics added) critiqued by Anderson (1991:6).

<sup>209</sup> The difference between imagination and reimagination is discussed in the following chapter. Although ancient colonies differ from their modern counterparts in being outside of the administration of the city of origin of the settlers, and more similar to newly founded settlements contingent on the existing political landscape, ancient colonization is occasionally used in place of ancient expansion.

<sup>210</sup> Malkin discusses colonial descriptive Greek names (1994:95-8). Other place names, such as Kromna and Sesamos, may have been altered to allow Greek etymologies.

<sup>211</sup> The epithet is more literally “hairy heart” (Hom. *Il.* 2.851 [Pylaimenes], 16.554 [Patroklos], 1.189 [Achilleus]). In the *Iliad* λάσιος is also used to describe a ram (24.125).

<sup>212</sup> The evidence for the contrast is tenuous when limited as here to the references to the Paphlagonians, but the Argive and Trojan catalogs vary in a few striking features that hint at the broader theme of urban Greek and rural other. For example, in the catalog of Argive allies, ‘well-built city’ (ἐυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον) appears four times (2.501, 505, 546, 569), but not once in the admittedly shorter catalog of Trojan allies.



on their appropriation of the Paphlagonian coast, but the verses embrace the Paphlagones as Greek as much as they separate them out as non-urban.

The catalog passage is probably a sketch of the Paphlagones in the sixth century,<sup>213</sup> when Milesian traders were familiar with the coast, but before the epic had become more definitive.<sup>214</sup> Although the prejudicial discourse of the urban Greek and the rural other begins mildly at the entrance of the Paphlagones into the *Iliad*'s mythopoetic landscape, the discourse does influence their subsequent representation. The seventh century Paphlagones elude us, especially their self-perception and preferred name;<sup>215</sup> the sixth century Paphlagones interacting with traders along the coast began to internalize the influential *Iliad* references. They would have begun to refer to themselves as Paphlagones, and understand their local practices within a wider Aegean conceptual landscape. One wonders if the mere mention of Paphlagones in the *Iliad* exerted enough influence for a new Paphlagonian identity to have been created. In other words, the *Iliad*

---

<sup>213</sup> A close reading that supports a sixth century date finds the extant version of the *Iliad* to have been cemented in the middle of Greek expansion in the Black Sea. The evidence lies in the difference in the references to Kytoros and Sesamos; the Enetoi hold Kytoros but live around Sesamos. Kytoros, a later settlement with harbor (*emporion*) of Sinope, is considered to belong to the Paphlagones, but Sesamos to belong to others; it was perhaps already a Milesian or Carian settlement (*apoikia*). Strabo mentions that Kytoros was once an emporion of Sinope (12.3.10). Ps. Scymn. 5.1001-1008 refers to Amastris, the city synoicized from Tieion, Sesamos, Kromna, and Kytoros, as a Milesian apoikia. According to the scholiast on Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.943, Sesamos was Carian. A broader reading of the *Iliad* as a poem commemorating the Greek commercial expansion into the Black Sea and conflict over the Dardanelles also supports the specificity and length of the passages referring to the Paphlagones. The catalog passage is possibly too influenced by poetic patterns to carry the burden of either reading. The absence of excavated contexts relevant to the relations among Greek traders and Paphlagones in these settlements adds more hesitation.

<sup>214</sup> The definitive period begins in the sixth century under the Peisistratidai when poetry started to be possessed and performances of *Iliad* began to favor a preferred sequence (Nagy 1996a:65-7).

<sup>215</sup> Homer's description of the Paphlagones in the catalog passage is unclear; one cannot determine whether he refers to elite or, more broadly, local inhabitants. His coupling of the Paphlagones and Enetoi may be a confusion of two adjacent or interspersed peoples, or the Paphlagones may be the companions of Pylaimenes and Harpalion, either drawn from the elites of the Enetoi or the elites ruling over the Enetoi. The Enetoi were an enigma to ancient commentators as much as to contemporary scholars (e.g. Strabo 5.1.4, 12.3.8, 12.3.25). Hecataeos of Miletos suggested that they were located in the Kızılırmak Valley (Strabo 12.3.25 [*FGrH* 1 F 199]), but most notably they become tied into the myth of the foundation of Rome with the Enetoi's migration to the Adriatic with fleeing Trojans (e.g. Livy 1.1.2-3).

references were so influential that they constituted a reimagined poetic landscape of what existed previously. This landscape was coupled with practices that enacted and embedded the epic in the landscape. The evidence for the veneration of Homer in Paphlagonia is Roman, but the enunciation of Greek place names for settlements is an everyday practice that began much earlier.<sup>216</sup> The following section attempts to comment on the Paphlagonian landscape before, and contemporary to, the *Iliad*. The evidence is meager, but it does offer suggestions for further research. What can be written about the contemporary practices of embedding the *Iliadic* place names that took place hand-in-hand with mythopoetic translation of the place names is slightly more tangible.

## *ii. Mythical reimagination of Sinope & other landscapes*

Fortunately, continuity in place names lets us cross the silent first half of the first millennium to infer glimpses of how the landscape appeared before it was reimagined in the *Iliad*'s translation of place names. Kytoros (**L.2**) in the catalog passage is thought to be a Hittite place name that is retained in the *Iliad*, but widely separated and fragmentary evidence limits what can be said about Kytoros before the *Iliad*. It is noteworthy, however, that a Hittite sword was found by spelunkers in an exsurgence cave on a tributary of the Devrekani high in the mountains to the south.<sup>217</sup> During the Roman period Kytoros is the name of the settlement at the bay and probably the name of the mountain through which the Devrekani River flows. A narrow coastal plain separates the

---

<sup>216</sup> On the Kromna inscription (**L.3**) and Amastris coins (**L.4**), claiming that each city was the birthplace of Homer, see Robert 1937b, 1980:414-20; Marek 1993:114-5, 185 no. 109; 2003:150, 64 fig. 98, 2009.

<sup>217</sup> Harris 1992:35, 41; 1993:25; Ünal 1999:210 (with incorrect provenance). The cave overlooks the town of Pınarbaşı, 35 km from the mouth of the Devrekani River as the crow flies. Archaeological research in mountainous Pınarbaşı, Azdavay, Ağlı, and Şenpazar counties has included surveys of Roman and Byzantine epigraphy and monuments (Gökoğlu 1952:83-4; Marek 1993:66, 92; Belke 1996:157, 176, 216-7, 243, 284-5).

mouth of the river from the river's gorge through the mountain.<sup>218</sup> The Cide Archaeological Project is currently surveying the coastal plain but the results for the second and first half of the first millennium are tenuous.<sup>219</sup> The Devrekani gorge is comparable to places where practices cultivate social memories of the Hittite landscape, such as the Kazankaya Canyon discussed in the fourth chapter. Together, the place name and the gorge through the mountain linger as a memory of a place in the landscape before translation.

On a regional scale, the place name Paphlagonia itself could also be thought of as a translation of a lingering social memory. Among Anatolian linguists a consensus on the continuity of the place name “Paphlagonia” from the Hittite “Pala” allows us to sweep aside the derivation of “Paphlagones” from “to stutter” (παφλάζω).<sup>220</sup> No consensus has emerged, however, on the location of Pala. Claudia Glatz and Roger Matthews have recently entered the fray and argued for a location north of Ankara.<sup>221</sup> Following the historical geographers who argue for a more northwestern location, my preference is to locate Pala to the west of the Ilgaz Massif, possibly in the middle Filyos Valley around the city of Karabük.<sup>222</sup> My location for Blaene, a second place name derived from Hittite

---

<sup>218</sup> Plin. *HN* 6.2 “Mount Cytorus” (mons Cytorus), Catull. 4.11 “on Cytorus’ ridge” (Cytorio in iugo); Robert 1980:147-50. The mouth of the Devrekani River is approximately 6.5 km to the east of Gideros Bay. The gorge is approximately 400 m from the mouth. Marek locates Mount Cytorus south of the Okçular fortress to the west of the river and south of Gideros (1993:89). On the Okçular fortress, see Belke 1996:255, Düring and Glatz 2009.

<sup>219</sup> After the first two week season body sherds that “could belong to” this period were collected (Düring and Glatz 2009:16).

<sup>220</sup> Starke 1997:457, 2007; Hout 2004; Melchert 2004; see also Haas 1994:611-2, Strobel 2008a:126-8.

<sup>221</sup> Glatz and Matthews locate Pala in the Mürted Plain, and Çubuk and Terme Valleys (2005:64-5, 69). Alternate historical geographies are equally plausible, particularly if the route to the Gökırmak Valley through the Köçekli Plateau, and the Araç Valley route to the Çerkeş Valley though Eskipazar are considered in the Hittite military itineraries.

<sup>222</sup> I follow Forlanini’s location for the kingdom of Pala. Forlanini locates the primary settlement of Pala on the Eflani Plateau (1977:220). Semercitepe (E.3), Ören Höyük (E.4), and Çengelli (E.4) are all settlements on the plateau that are occupied in the Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages, as well as the

Pala, is roughly similar to my location for Pala.<sup>223</sup> Strabo describes the landscape of Blaene as follows: “good enough land lies around [the Ilgaz Massif], Blaene and Domanitis, through which the Amnias River flows.”<sup>224</sup> The contrast between Paphlagonia and Blaene is instructive. Blaene is a probable Achaemenid and Hellenistic administrative district mentioned only in Strabo,<sup>225</sup> whereas Paphlagonia is the place name that enters the Greek poetic landscape and becomes contested in the Greek discourse beyond the extent of Paphlagonia itself.

This landscape of the *Iliad* is an ancient colonial heterotopia not too dissimilar from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century archaeological heterotopia of Paphlagonia discussed in the sixth chapter. A heterotopia is a marginal place that is neither entirely real nor imaginary but occupies a transitory place in between.<sup>226</sup> Contemporary with Paphlagonia’s representation in the *Iliad*, at the beginning of the Achaemenid period in Anatolia, the heterotopia begins to become a coastal, real, embedded place through practices such as the everyday enunciation of the *Iliad*’s Greek place names. The process

---

Iron Age. Çengelli is located halfway between the center of the plateau and the Pınarbaşı Valley, where the Hittite sword was found.

<sup>223</sup> The etymological relationship between Blaene and Eflani is phonetically the same as between Billaios and Filyos (Tomaschek 1891:77, Forlanini 1977:220, Marek 1993:11).

<sup>224</sup> περίκειται δ’ ἰκανῶς χώρα ἀγαθὴ ἥ τε Βλαηνὴ καὶ ἡ Δομανῖτις, δι’ ἧς Ἀμνίας ῥεῖ ποταμός (Strabo 12.3.40). Because the relative pronoun ἧς is singular, one can only say that the Gökırmak flows through Domanitis.

<sup>225</sup> Mitchell follows Cumont in proposing that in Strabo’s text, where “eparchiai” appear, Strabo wrote “hyparchiai,” “a term used to describe a subdivision of a satrapy in the Seleucid and, by implication, the Persian Empire” (Mitchell 1993:91-2, Marek 1993:11).

<sup>226</sup> Foucault developed the concept of heterotopia in his critique of modernist utopias. In Foucault’s spatial metaphor, similar to your reflection in a mirror, a heterotopia is not real but influences your relationship to yourself. Heterotopias are marginalized projected spaces inaccessible yet offering an area of otherness (1986). The concept of heterotopia is dissimilar from *ancient* Homeric landscapes in respect to its dependence on Foucault’s writings on *contemporary* power-knowledge relations (Soja 1996:165-74, Preucel and Matero 2008:83-5). The applicability of Foucault’s power-knowledge relations to antiquity is concisely discussed in the fourth chapter.

of embedding the Greek colonial landscape becomes most apparent in an analysis of one of the fifth century colonial foundation myths of Sinope.

Comparable to Paphlagonia's location to the margins of the Greek landscape, the settlement of Sinope is dislocated in this myth to an Aegean landscape where the nymph Sinope becomes the daughter of the river god Asopos.<sup>227</sup>

Straightway they landed on the Assyrian land where Zeus himself had settled Sinope, daughter of Asopos, deceived by his own promises. For he longed for her love, and he promised to give her whatever her heart might wish for. And she cunningly asked for her virginity from him. And in like manner she deceived Apollo too who longed to marry her, and in addition to them the river Halys, and no man ever overcome her in desired embrace.

Αὐτίκα δ' Ἀσσυρίης ἐπέβαν χθονός, ἔνθα Σινώπην  
θυγατέρ' Ἀσωποῖο καθίσσατο καὶ οἱ ὄπασσε  
παρθενίην Ζεὺς αὐτός ὑποσχέσῃσι δολωθεῖς.  
δὴ γὰρ ὁ μὲν φιλότητος ἐέλδετο, νεῦσε δ' ὄγ' αὐτῇ  
δωσέμεναι ὅ κεν ᾗσι μετὰ φρεσὶν ἰθύσειεν·  
ἡ δέ ἐ παρθενίην ἡτήσατο κερδοσύνησιν.  
ὥς δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα παρήπαφεν, εὐνηθῆναι  
ἰέμενον, ποταμόν τ' ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἄλυν· οὐδὲ μὲν ἀνδρῶν  
τήνγε τις ἱμερτῆσιν ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσι δάμασσεν.  
(Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.946-54)

In Apollonios Rhodios' third century version above, the myth of the nymph Sinope possesses all of the characteristics of Carol Dougherty's poetics of colonization. Similar to other Greek foundation myths, "personified as a nymph, the land itself becomes virginal—fresh, green, ready to be occupied for the first time."<sup>228</sup> What is unusual in Sinope's myth is that she is not raped, not even by the Cappadocian river god Halys, nor is she born on the promontory in the *Argonautika* version. Her Aegean birth is a consequence of the assimilation of the Hittite city name Šinuwa to the Greek personal

<sup>227</sup> The myth of Zeus, Apollo, and Poseidon's abduction of Asopos' nine daughters, including Sinope, begins in the fifth century with the lyric poet Korinna, who locates the myth in Boiotia (Ivanchik 1998:300). The presence of a phyle Asopis at Miletos from the fifth century, however, suggests that the Boiotian Asopos is not referenced in Sinope's genealogy.

<sup>228</sup> Dougherty 1993:69.

name Sinope rather than the translation of Šinuwa into Greek. The cuneiform references to Šinuwa are only two, but the first mentions the gods of Šinuwa participating in the principal festival of the Hittite sacred calendar, the spring crocus festival.<sup>229</sup>

Doonan suggests that the resistance of Sinope to the three gods reflects memories of the hostility of the promontory inhabitants to the Milesian settlement.<sup>230</sup> A more probable explanation lies in the political and philosophical perspective of the *Argonautika* of sexual restraint, piety, and powerful Hellenistic women.<sup>231</sup> Askold Ivantchik's criticism of the sources of Apollonios Rhodios and other versions of the myth of Sinope *as a nymph* supports the Hellenistic literary composition of each version.<sup>232</sup> His argument that the myth is only found in literary sources and not in an embedded mythopoetic landscape reveals too much hesitation about the comparability myths and the numismatic evidence.<sup>233</sup>

---

<sup>229</sup> Šinuwa bears the determinative URU for city (Del Monte and Tischler 1978:358 "Šinuwa"). The AN.TAH.ŠUM festival was a 38 day long festival with processions from Hattusa to several cities before culminating at Nerik (Güterbock 1960:85-7, Bryce 2002:194-5). Nerik has been located near Vezirköprü at Oymaağaç Höyük in the valley 25 km downstream from the confluence of the Gökırmak and the Kızılırmak. The Oymaağaç-Nerik-Forschungsprojekt is a survey and excavation project at Oymaağaç Höyük begun in 2005 (**I.20**).

<sup>230</sup> Doonan 2004b:71.

<sup>231</sup> Mori's comparison of the third century Apollonios Rhodios with the Homeric epics yields these contrasts in Ptolemaic politics and philosophy (2008:102-113 [sexual restraint on Lemnos], 140-6 [piety of sacrifice]).

<sup>232</sup> See Stephens on the Ptolemaic aspects of Apollonios Rhodios' version (2000).

<sup>233</sup> Ivantchik (1998:305) argues that the frequency of the personal name Sinope and the early appearance of a nymph Sinope in the Corinthian epic poetry of Eumelos together with other evidence demonstrate that the mythopoetic Sinope does not relate to the history of the city. His criticism of the sources of the version of the myth where Sinope is an Amazon queen (and, therefore, local) is cogent but not his discussion of the numismatic and epigraphic evidence for the myth of Sinope as a nymph (1998:299-305). In response to Ivantchik, West connects the appearance of the nymph Sinope in the poetry attributed to Eumelos to the presence of a Greek colony on the Sinopean promontory, and he argues for a date for the poetry that agrees with the archaeological evidence for colonization (West 2002:132 n. 116).

Many of the mythopoetic foundations of colonies through the rape of a nymph are associated with the fifth century victory poetry of Pindar.<sup>234</sup> The performance of Pindar's extant victory poems commemorated victory at the four Panhellenic festivals associated with gathering the elites of the dispersed Greek colonies.<sup>235</sup> The fifth century is a second phase in Greek settlement in the Black Sea, however, and Ivantchik is judicious in not being anachronistic by dating the imagination of the Sinope nymph myth to the sixth century.<sup>236</sup> In the last decade of the fifth century Sinope begins to strike a drachm that couples the head of the nymph Sinope facing left on the obverse with the eagle of Zeus flying and grasping the dolphin of Apollo on the reverse (**fig. 15**).<sup>237</sup> The evidence is not strong, but it is sufficient to demonstrate the embedding of the myth in civic practices beyond the literary sources.

The settlement of Sinope has a complicated history of mythopoetic foundations. wherein the nymph myth coexists with a double foundation of first a Thessalian, then a second Milesian settlement during a period of Cimmerian depredations.<sup>238</sup> The first Thessalian foundation is merely a Hellenistic imagination of a heroic mythopoetic precedent for both seventh century Greek expansion and Hellenistic relations contemporary with its composition.<sup>239</sup> Ivantchik has undertaken a thorough analysis of

---

<sup>234</sup> Pindar's contemporary Korinna is possibly the first to have Sinope as the daughter of Asopos, and her abduction at the hands of Apollo related to traveling over a sea, but the poem is too fragmentary (Page 1968:195 no. 393 [654] col. ii, line 39).

<sup>235</sup> Dougherty 1993:95-8, 103-17.

<sup>236</sup> The second phase of Greek settlement at Herakleia Pontika to the west of Paphlagonia contrasts with the first phase even more than at Sinope. At Herakleia the indigenous Mariandynoi became tenant farmers subject to the polis and the members of its ruling oligarchy (Burstein 1976b:28-30, Erciyas 2003:1407-8).

<sup>237</sup> Price 1993:pls. 51-3.

<sup>238</sup> A summary of Sinope's foundation myths is in Avram, Hind and Tsetschladze 2004:960-1 no. 729.

<sup>239</sup> The founder (ὁ οἰκιστής) Autolykos was venerated in a temple with oracle. Of his brothers Deileon and Phlogios, a cult of Phlogios is known. Ivantchik argues that Autolykos and Phlogios are only Sinopean heroes with cults, and suggests that the mythopoetic history of Autolykos as a Thessalian oikistes

the historical sources on the Milesian foundation and critiques the historicity of the double foundation as reconstructed by scholars.<sup>240</sup> The discourses on colonial foundations, however, are not historical, but rather just as mythopoetic as the nymph myth, and they work together with colonial civic practices. Irad Malkin has articulated a mythopoetic middle ground where Greeks negotiated each settlement through the imagination of a mythical precedent.<sup>241</sup> Contingency and variation are characteristic of these negotiations, and Malkin advises against assuming similarities among settlements in diverse surroundings and trade networks. Doonan emphasizes Sinope's location as the ending point on the north to south route traversing the Black Sea, and the settlement's orientation towards seafaring trade.<sup>242</sup> The correspondence of Sinope with the Hittite city of Šinuwa, however, suggests that the early Greek settlement inherited the local memory of the promontory from the second millennium that places it within an Anatolian social and political context. During the foundation of the Milesian settlement at Sinope near the end of the seventh century, the place name was unlikely to have been set within a fifth century landscape-based discourse on abduction. Rather, the continuity in place name evinces negotiation with the inhabitants of the promontory.

### *iii. Athenian entanglements*

The fifth century was the beginning of the second phase in Greek settlement along the southern Black Sea coast. Both Sinope and Amisos, a colonial settlement to the southeast, (**K.6** and **J.2**) began simultaneously to take on the appearance and urban

---

begins with Apollonios Rhodios and continues in the Hellenistic period (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 946-61, Strabo 12.3.11; Ivantchik 1998:305-7).

<sup>240</sup> Ivantchik (1998:313-8) critiquing, e.g., Ehrhardt 1983, 1995. Ivantchik is thorough with the historical sources but he is an uneven skeptic of archaeological material.

<sup>241</sup> Malkin 1998:5-7, 2004:356-9.

<sup>242</sup> Doonan 2004b:18 fig. 1-15, 2007:618.



practices of Greek cities (*poleis*), such as communal cult activities and civic coinage.<sup>243</sup>

The colonial settlement at Amisos was founded in the middle of the sixth century, half a century after the settlement at Sinope.<sup>244</sup> Amisos is conventionally located to the east of Paphlagonia, and in discussions of the colonial settlements on the southern Black Sea coast, Paphlagonian Sinope is often contrasted with Cappadocian Amisos.

Founded on a plateau promontory with an adjacent harbor, Amisos is at the start of the route from the Black Sea through Cappadocia to the Cilician coast of the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>245</sup> A major Cappadocian fort occupied during the period of Amisos' foundation is located 18 km inland from Amisos at Akalan (**J.1**). Although Amisos had better overland connections, it is assumed that a colonial settlement at Amisos could have been founded only with the cooperation of Akalan's residents. In contrast, Sinope straddled an isthmus with harbors to the north and south protected by a headland (**fig. 16**). Sinope had the better harbors of the two settlements, and currents flowing from the northern coast of the Black Sea brought ships to Sinope. Additionally, Sinope was connected to numerous other trading settlements known as *apoikiai* (settlements away from home) and *emporía* (trading settlements with harbors or anchorages), such as those

---

<sup>243</sup> French 2004:1-13 nos. 1-8. Sinopean coinage begins c. 490 (Price 1993:pl. 50 nos. 1359-66).

<sup>244</sup> For a summary of the evidence for a *polis* at Amisos, see Avram, Hind and Tsetschladze 2004:954-6 no. 712.

<sup>245</sup> Hdt. 1.72; Strabo 14.3.1, 14.5.11. To follow Herodotus and consider Sinop as the end of this route disregards the topography of the Küre Mountains around the confluence of the Gökırmak with the Kızılırmak (e.g. Debord 1999:84 map 2). Numerous routes cross the Canik and Küre Mountains. The route from the Sinop Promontory to the Gökırmak Valley is a route to Paphlagonia. The routes from Sivritepe (**J.12**) to Oymaağaç Höyük (**I.20**), from the Kızılırmak Delta through Belalan Tepecik (**I.30**) to the Havza Plain, and from Kara Samsun through Akalan (**J.1**) and Kaledoruğu (**I.30**) to the Havza Plain are routes to Cappadocia.

mentioned in the *Iliad*. These settlements built Sinope's seafaring routes that allowed ships to move smoothly from one port to the next along the coast.<sup>246</sup>

The assumed contrast between Sinope and Amisos before and during the Achaemenid period involves a scholarly opinion that can be traced back to the antiquarian travelers of the first half of the nineteenth century. In their descriptions, the flip side of nineteenth century Sinop's maritime connections is difficult overland passage. After describing his passage from Sinop to Boyabat through a "narrow and rocky watercourse" followed by "a winding path amidst rugged rocks and thickly-tangled wood," Hamilton concludes that Sinop appears to be not on a promontory but an island.<sup>247</sup>

Sinope can boast but little intercourse with the interior; *its commerce and communication* with the capital are alike carried on by the sea; and the difficult nature of these mountain-passes, which during many months of the year are absolutely impracticable, gives to it, as it were, in fact, as in appearance, the qualities and characteristics of an island.<sup>248</sup>

Dan's historiographical critique of Hamilton's interpretation of Sinop as an island identifies this opinion as a product of the nineteenth century colonial capitalist framework of the antiquarian travelers.<sup>249</sup> Hamilton's own words indicate the dependency of his interpretation of Sinop on the capitalist concerns of "commerce and communication." A consequence of his interpretation is a separation of the Sinop Promontory from the Gökırmak Valley by the Küre Mountains and its dislocation as a node in colonial commercial networks. David Robinson and subsequent archaeologists continue to

---

<sup>246</sup> Karoussa (K.5), Harmene (K.7), Kinolis (L.1), Karambis (L.1), Kytoros (L.2), Kromna (L.3), Sesamos (L.4), and Tieion (L.5) are all attested during the Achaemenid period by contemporary literary (Ps-Scylax *Peripl.*, Xen. *An.*), epigraphic, and/or archaeological evidence. Cf. Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.*, Ps-Scylax *Peripl.* for descriptions of the harbors and anchorages; on the geographers and sailing cf. Arnaud 1992, Diller 1952, Hind 1995/96. In Xenophon the Sinopean *apoikiai* and *emporai* are referred to as coastal places (τὰ χωρία ἐπιθαλαττία [*An.* 5.5.23]).

<sup>247</sup> Hamilton 1842 vol. 1:316.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid:317, italics added.

<sup>249</sup> Dan 2009:119-22.

emphasize the commercial network of ancient Sinope and, thereby, maintain the interpretive framework that goes back to Hamilton.<sup>250</sup> After Dan's critique of antiquarian and later archaeological descriptions of Sinop as an island, it is necessary to undertake a fresh assessment of the contrast between Sinope and Amisos, and the characterization of their trading connections.

In particular, a fresh assessment of the literary evidence for the relationship between the Achaemenid administration and Sinope and Amisos is necessary. From Cyrus' capture of Sardis in c. 546, to Darius I's suppression of revolt in Anatolia in c. 519, the literary sources do not refer to Paphlagonia. After Darius I's subsequent tribute reforms, Sinope and Amisos become "more or less dependent" on the Paphlagonian king.<sup>251</sup> Consequently, they also become entangled in the conflict between the Achaemenids and Athens. In Sinope and Amisos, an intervention by the Athenian general Perikles occurs in c. 436. Amisos receives Athenian settlers after Perikles' intervention, as does Sinope.<sup>252</sup>

The Roman moralizing historian Plutarch is our principal literary source on this intervention, and, in Philip Stadter's euphemistic comment, the prejudices of Plutarch's passage on the intervention in Sinope are "a rhetorical elaboration."<sup>253</sup> Rhetorical the passage is, if that implies that the passage is similar to an invective. Plutarch's passage reproduces the Athenian prejudices that began during the conflict with the Achaemenids.

---

<sup>250</sup> For the framework within classical archaeology, see Robinson 1906:135-44, 152-3.

<sup>251</sup> Tsetskhladze 1998a:67.

<sup>252</sup> This episode is different from the other episodes discussed in this and the fourth chapter, in regard to Plutarch's failure to reference sources contemporary to Perikles' Black Sea expedition and the disputed historicity of the expedition. Mattingly, for example, accepts the expedition but concludes that if Athenians did settle in Sinope, they did so in the following decade. Plutarch's conflation of Perikles' expedition with the expedition of the Athenian general Lamachos in 424 seems probable (Mattingly 1996:153-4).

<sup>253</sup> Stadter 1989:217. On Perikles' Black Sea expedition, see Tsetskhladze 1997, Surikov 2001.

Malkin notes that “the closest the Greeks ever came to a colonial situation of the modern type was in the Classical period, when Athens sent out *klerouchoi*, or citizens who would live off conquered, parceled land abroad while retaining all their rights and duties as Athenians.”<sup>254</sup> After reading Plutarch’s passage, it is clear that the Athenian prejudices also are the closest to the prejudices found in the modern colonial discourses.

He sailed into the Black Sea with a large and splendidly equipped expedition. There he effected what the Greek cities desired, and dealt with them humanely, while to the neighboring barbarian peoples, their kings, and dynasts, he displayed the magnitude of his forces and the fearless courage with which they sailed wherever they pleased and brought the whole sea under their own control.

Εἰς δὲ τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλεύσας στόλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ κεκοσμημένῳ λαμπρῶς, ταῖς μὲν Ἑλληνισὶ πόλεσιν ὧν ἐδέοντο διεπράξατο καὶ προσηνέχθη φιλανθρωπῶς, τοῖς ὑπὲρ δὲ περιοικοῦσι βαρβάροις ἔθνεσι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάσταις ἐπεδείξατο μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν καὶ τὸ θάρσος, ἣ βούλοιντο πλεόντων καὶ πᾶσαν ὑφ’ αὐτοῖς πεποιημένων τὴν θάλασσαν (Plut. *Vit. Per.* 20).

Following this quotation, Plutarch describes the expulsion of the Sinopean tyrant Timesileos and his followers, and the settling of Athenians in their properties. According to Strabo, the fourth century historian Theopompos described the Athenian settlement at Amisos as effectively a refounding of the settlement with its renaming as Peiraeus.<sup>255</sup> Colonial discourses of difference that emerged in the context of these Athenian appropriations dislocate Paphlagonian subjects into a space *cleared* by the unambiguous reiteration of their nonurban and uncivilized characteristics.

In the postcolonial writing of Homi Bhabha is a stated preference to find the places where “erratic, eccentric, accidental *objets trouvés*” are found.<sup>256</sup> In these places

<sup>254</sup> Malkin 2004:352.

<sup>255</sup> “Theopompos says that ... it was settled a third time as a colony by Athenokles and Athenians and was given the new name of Peiraeus” (φησὶ δ’ αὐτὴν Θεόπομπος ... τρίτον δ’ ὑπ’ Ἀθηνοκλέους καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐποικισθεῖσαν Πειραιᾶ μετονομασθῆναι [Strabo 12.3.14]). Theopompos is discussed at greater length in the fourth chapter.

<sup>256</sup> Bhabha 1994:131.

ambivalence arises in the form of mimicry when colonial discourses represent the colonized “*as almost the same but not quite*.”<sup>257</sup> The “*not quite*” places emerge as a consequence of the ambivalent desire on the part of the colonizers to both represent the colonized as participating in similar practices, and to set themselves apart from the colonized. Additionally, the *almost the same but not quite* quality of mimicry lends a touch of menace to the colonized. The ambivalence and contingency of the ancient colonial experience generally lends itself to an analysis of the subtle menace of mimicry. Even less menace emerges in the trespass of discursive boundaries, because the boundaries in practice are themselves fluid in antiquity. But Bhabha also writes of a different kind of menace, where the violence of the discourse violates the discourse itself.<sup>258</sup> Plutarch’s passage holds this kind of menace; his discourse on the barbarian neighbors of Sinope derails the assumptions of his humane (φιλανθρωπῶς) discourse. This arises in his overarching concern to establish an oppositional dialectic between the Greek cities and their neighbors. Whereas this eruptive menace is not frequently encountered in ancient colonial discourse, it is not incongruous in the context of an Athenocentric discourse on an Athenian military expedition.

At the center of Perikles’ discourse, as represented by Plutarch, lies the far more conventional trope of the urban/coast and barbarian/upland dialectic (ἄνω-κάτω). This is the trope that is a consequence of the Greek seafaring trade, and it appeared mythopoetically in the *Iliad*’s catalog passage along with the Paphlagonians themselves. Plutarch cloaks this trope with Perikles’ new belligerent stance, and his discursive violence marginalizes the indigenous neighbors of Sinope in new ways. Are the fifth

---

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.:127, italics in the original.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.:130-1.

century urban appearance of Sinope, the Athenian intervention, and this marginalizing discourse a coincidence? The answer to this question is more productively to be sought in the epigraphic and archaeological evidence discussed in the second half of the chapter, particularly the Sinopean grave markers.

It is the political, economic, and philosophical interests of the wider Achaemenid and Athenian conflict that are to be sought in this new marginalizing discourse. In recent decades, the analysis of othering and marginalizing discourses has emerged as an aspect of postcolonial studies on cultural identities.<sup>259</sup> For the analysis of Plutarch's passage, an important result of these studies is the recognition of the recursivity of the center and the margin. Firstly, if the margin is included in the construction of the identity of the center, the margin is part of the center. In other words, indigenous identities imagined within a Greek colonial discourse such as Plutarch's *Perikles* are likely to be responding to Athenian constituencies. Secondly, marginalizing discourses do not remain fixed in the center; the discourse returns to, and is effective in, the margin. In the process, the discourse loses its pejorative fixed meanings, and, through recovery of its flexibility, is re-imagined in the margin. Although the absence of Paphlagonian literary sources restricts our pursuing the second half of the discourse, the last section of the chapter analyzes a material example of situated re-imagination of a conventional Greek composition.

In modern colonial frameworks such as Hamilton's, marginalizing discourses are paired to exploitive commercial networks where the center extracts commodities from the periphery. It is probable that the intention and effect of the Athenian intervention in

---

<sup>259</sup> E.g. *ibid.*:94-120.

Sinope and Amisos was commercial as much as it was political, and Athens was interested in regulating maritime trading routes along the southern Black Sea coast. The coast around Kytoros was known for its boxwood (**L.2**).<sup>260</sup> Sinope was known for its timber and the pigment realgar mined near the confluence of the Gökırmak and the Kızılırmak (**A.4**).<sup>261</sup> Lead isotope analysis of copper artifacts and survey of mining settlements provide ample evidence of copper mining in the Küre Mountains from west of Küre to southwest of Sinop in the first millennium (**B.1-9**).

Throughout the Black Sea, the quantity of goods traded does not begin to increase before the fourth century, and the scale of olives and wheat never approach modern levels.<sup>262</sup> The difficulty of interpreting Paphlagonia as a copper, timber, and later olive producing periphery derives from the as yet unquantified impact of trade on Paphlagonian settlement history.<sup>263</sup> Both during the expansion of Greek trading settlements along the southern Black Sea coast in the sixth century and Achaemenid administrative presence in the last quarter of the century, authority is more likely to have been derived not only from trade, but from control over the productive landscape: mostly agricultural, and to a lesser extent metallurgical. The diverse trade was probably seasonal, both over the mountains and along the coast but not on a scale comparable to the nineteenth century.

---

<sup>260</sup> Robert 1980:147-50. Paphlagonia is also renowned for other forest products such as hazelnuts and almonds (Hermippus apud Athenaeus 1.27e-28a=Kassel and Austin 2001:fr. 63).

<sup>261</sup> Kannenberg identified the location of the realgar mines (1894:191 n. 2, 1895a:104). On Sinopean timber, see Hannestad 2007:86-7.

<sup>262</sup> Additionally, it is not probable that the intention of the Athenian intervention was exclusively the protection of the northern Black Sea grain trade. In the fifth century the grain trade was not extensive enough to dominate trade (Moreno 2007a, 2007b:144-209).

<sup>263</sup> Analysis and comparison of the provenance of Aegean and Anatolian fine wares from the Kastamonu Project would help to clarify the impact of Black Sea trade in the Gökırmak Valley.

#### *iv. Aristophanes – ὁ Παφλαγών*

The violent discourse of Plutarch's *Perikles* episode suggested that the subject of Athenocentric literary sources was Athenian identities and constituencies. The comedies of Aristophanes illustrate just how completely the stereotype of the barbarian Paphlagonian emerges in Athenian discourse. In Aristophanes' *Knights*, a comedy performed in 424, the Athenian general Kleon is caricaturized as a slave named 'Paphlagon'.<sup>264</sup> Kleon probably had no connections to Paphlagonia. Aristophanes' selection of 'Paphlagon' for his caricature is inspired by several other characteristics of the Athenian stereotype of the Paphlagonian.

Firstly, rather than implying Paphlagonian or more broadly foreign descent, Aristophanes is alluding to Kleon's inferior descent and his father's occupation as a tanner. In the comedy, Paphlagon is a newly arrived slave in the household of Demos of Pynx, a personification of the Athenian democratic assembly. When two slaves who are longer members in the household, Demosthenes and Nikias (the names of Athenian politicians), grumble to each other, Paphlagon is introduced as a tanner and described as "most unscrupulous" among several other pejorative characteristics.<sup>265</sup> In the *Knights*, Paphlagon is a generic caricature of the foreign slave. Secondly, Aristophanes and other opponents of Kleon describe him as violent and angry. The implication of Thucydides' statement that Kleon is "the most violent of the citizens" is that Kleon is most similar to

---

<sup>264</sup> Aristophanes *Eq.* 40-72, *passim* (hereafter, Ar.).

<sup>265</sup> Demosthenes introduces the new slave as a Paphlagonian tanner (βυρσοδέψην Παφλαγόνᾱ [ibid. 44]) and describes him as "most unscrupulous," or "most ready to do any job" (πανουργότατον [ibid. 45]). Aristophanes also refers to Kleon as "the Paphlagonian tanner odious to the gods" in the *Clouds* (τὸν θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸν βυρσοδέψην Παφλαγόνᾱ [Nub. 581]).



foreigners.<sup>266</sup> These are the fixed stereotypes of the judicious Athenian and the violent foreigner that the Plutarch episode violates. In policing the separation of Athenian allies and barbarians, Perikles becomes as violent as a barbarian.

The name Paphlagon is particularly suitable for a politician who presents himself as angry when addressing the democratic assembly.<sup>267</sup> The verb παφλάζειν literally means “to sputter like a boiling pot of water:”

The man is boiling, stop, stop, he is boiling over; one must pull away the wood; one must skim off his threats.

άνήρ παφλάζει, παῦε παῦ',  
ὑπερζέων· ὑφελκτέον  
τῶν δαδίων ἀπαρυστέον  
τε τῶν ἀπειλῶν ταυτηί  
(Ar. *Eq.* 919-22)

Thirdly, therefore, Aristophanes is making a pun on the false etymology of Paphlagon from παφλάζειν, which figuratively means “to stutter, bluster, or stammer.” Paphlagon in the *Knights* becomes another representation of the barbarian speaking gibberish. The consensus is that Aristophanes names his caricature of Kleon “Paphlagon” for literary purposes.<sup>268</sup> The unscrupulousness, violence, anger, and stuttering Greek of the caricature are shared, however, with the Athenian stereotype of the Paphlagonian. Whereas Kleon probably had no connections to Paphlagonia, Aristophanes’ caricature has intimate connections with Paphlagonians.

In an aspiring colonial and imperial *polis* as Athens, Paphlagonians were not a rarely encountered people living on the fringes of the Athenian world. Aristophanes’ stereotype

---

<sup>266</sup> Thucydides describes him as “the most violent of the citizens” (βιαίότατος τῶν πολιτῶν [3.36.6]).

<sup>267</sup> Writing a century later, Aristotle records Kleon’s reputation for an angry rhetorical style ([*Ath. Pol.*] 28.3).

<sup>268</sup> Following a suggestion of Victor Ehrenberg, many scholars agree that Aristophanes names his caricature of Kleon “Paphlagon” to make a pun on παφλάζειν (Long 1986:114, Bäbler 1998:94, Avram 2007:245).

was performed in the Dionysia, the second most important festival of the Athenian calendar. Paphlagonian slaves were also probably present in the city, although Aristophanes' Paphlagon is the only evidence of a Paphlagonian slave in the fifth century Athens. Tsatskheladze is of the opinion that slaves were not exported from Paphlagonia or elsewhere in the Black Sea in high numbers, but Thompson observes that more slaves from Paphlagonia and other mining regions may be working in the silver mines at Laureion in Attika.<sup>269</sup> Four or five Paphlagonian slaves are attested in fourth century lists from Laureion.<sup>270</sup> With respect to slavery, it is possible that Paphlagonia is more comparable to other Anatolian regions; Phrygians and Thracians along with Carians comprised the highest proportion of Athens' large slave population.<sup>271</sup>

Although the quantity of Paphlagonian slaves residing in Athens and Laureion is elusive, the numbers were never high enough to support a narrative of slave raiders marauding in the Paphlagonian coast and causing insecurity on the part of the inhabitants. Paphlagonia was clearly not suffering from such dislocations. In place of dislocations in Paphlagonia, a negotiation was the cause for the reemergence of local Achaemenid political organization. One must assume that this level of organization also involved a significant amount of competition among various elites, but there were social ways to assuage competition through means other than military conflict: feasting, burial practices, and embodied landscapes with people not dislocated to a distant mythopoetic landscape.

---

<sup>269</sup> Tsatskheladze 1998a:66, Thompson 2003:18. Hind notes that export of Paphlagonian slaves "is amply attested" in the Classical and Hellenistic periods (1995/96:122).

<sup>270</sup> Lauffer 1979:140-1, tab. 80; Miller 1997:82-5, Avram 2007:245.

<sup>271</sup> Thompson 2004:18, Miller 1997:82-3.

### v. *Xenophon – ἡ Παφλαγονία*

The end of the fifth century is the approximate beginning of the third phase in Greek settlement on the southern coast. Achaemenid administration was consolidated along the coast during the fourth century, and the *poleis* of Sinope and Amisos are not “more or less dependent” but simply “more dependent.” The dependence of Sinope varied from an appearance of independence under Korylas, who ensured his presence in the polis through his representative (*proxenos*) Hekatonymos,<sup>272</sup> and dependence under Datames, who issued coins with the Sinope legend replaced by his name.<sup>273</sup>

Korylas appears during Xenophon’s narration of the return of the Greek mercenaries of Cyrus, after his unsuccessful resistance in 401 to Artaxerxes II accession. The episode with Korylas, however, is made difficult to interpret because of the “rhetorical elaboration” of Xenophon’s speeches with a similar perspective to Plutarch’s episode on Perikles in Sinope.

Then Hekatonymos rose and, in the first place, defended himself in the matter of his remark that they would make a friend of the Paphlagonian, by saying that he did not mean that his own people would make war upon the Greeks, but rather that despite the opportunity they had to be friends of the barbarians they would choose the Greeks instead.

Ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἑκατόνυμος πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελογήσατο περὶ οὗ εἶπεν ὡς τὸν Παφλαγὸνα φίλον ποιήσονται, ὅτι οὐχ ὡς τοῖς Ἕλλησι πολεμησόντων σφῶν εἴποι, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἐξὸν τοῖς βαρβάροις φίλους εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας αἰρήσονται.  
(Xen. An. 5.6.3)

The rhetorical elaboration of this passage resides in the philosophical context of Xenophon’s historical writing and the didactic intent of the *Anabasis*.<sup>274</sup> Xenophon is reporting on a speech of the Sinopean proxenos of the Paphlagonian king Korylas to

---

<sup>272</sup> Xen. An. 5.6.3-11.

<sup>273</sup> Maussollos and his successors also applied the policy of subjugating some Greek poleis and influencing others through the mediation of proxenoi (Hornblower 1982:107-37).

<sup>274</sup> Pownall 2004:65-112, Dillery 1995:127-30.

Xenophon and the other leaders of the mercenaries. The trope of the reported speech is didactic in itself. The *Anabasis* is similarly a didactic history with a moralizing perspective, as is Xenophon's entire oeuvre. In particular, Xenophon takes the opportunity of narrating the passage of Greek mercenaries through barbarian lands to present his philosophy of Panhellenism founded on Greek unity and the exclusion of barbarians.<sup>275</sup>

Xenophon's Panhellenic unity is menaced by the presence of barbarians more than internal dissent. The ambassadors from Sinope had objected to the pillaging of the settlements of the Paphlagonians and the land of the Sinopean *apoikia* of Kotyora (Ordu) for provisions. Xenophon justifies pillaging by his mercenaries with the statement that it was necessary when camped outside the walls of Kotyora because of their inability to purchase provisions from the settlement.<sup>276</sup> In this episode the barbarians are less menacing in their hostility to the mercenaries, than in their ability to cause the Greeks to fragment into opposing constituencies. In contrast to the violence of the pillaging, the eruptive menace of the discourse is directed back at the discourse itself, and emerges in the disagreement between the Sinopean ambassadors and Xenophon as the leader of the mercenaries. What is more, the menace derives not from the inhospitable inhabitants; rather, the Greek violence elicits it, and the philosophy of unity condones it.

In a further attempt to establish a binary opposition and counter to Panhellenic unity, Xenophon creates a unified enemy that controls all of the valleys and mountains along the route of the mercenaries' return. In the speech of Hekatonymos, Korylas is reported to possess the mountains in the vicinity of Kotyora and the plains spreading around the

---

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.:59-65.

<sup>276</sup> Xen. *An.* 5.5.6.

Thermodon (Terme), Iris (Yeşilırmak), Halys (Kızılırmak), and Parthenios (Bartın) Rivers,<sup>277</sup> although generally Paphlagonian kings possessed, at the most, the plains around the Kızılırmak in the east to the Bartın and Filyos in the west.<sup>278</sup> In their speeches concerning Korylas, Xenophon and Hekatonymos allude to their Greek identity, which they express as common opposition to the foreigner, in order to negotiate their conflict over the depredations of the mercenaries. Because of Xenophon's philosophy of Panhellenic unity in confrontation with a unified enemy that structures the perspective of the episode, it is necessary to disregard his statements about the extent of Korylas' control.

Xenophon's philosophy also obscures the relations between Korylas and Sinope.<sup>279</sup> It is probable that Korylas is in control of the mountains and plains nearer to Kotyora. If so, it becomes clear that Korylas' control of these lands—notably the deltas of the Thermodon, Iris, and Halys—severed Cappadocia's connection to the Black Sea at Amisos. This interpretation is confirmed by Xenophon's neglect to mention Amisos anywhere during the negotiations between the Sinopeans and the mercenaries. Additionally, Xenophon reports fluidity in the kingship of Korylas, who “happened by chance then to be the king of Paphlagonia” (ἐτύγχανε τότε Παφλαγονίας ἄρχων).<sup>280</sup> Rather than serving as a comment on the fluidity of Paphlagonian kingship, as it is often interpreted, Xenophon's statement reflects the ambiguity between Daskyleion's

---

<sup>277</sup> Ibid. 5.6.9 (Paphlagonian mountains between Kotyora and the river Thermodon), 5.6.11 (Hekatonymos as proxenos of Korylas).

<sup>278</sup> Ibid. 5.6.8-9, Strabo 12.3.15 on the grazing of cattle and horses around the Thermodon; Robert 1980:195-96, *supra* on borders and cavalry. Strabo also mentions the grazing of horses and other animals in the valleys of Amaseia (Amasya), although it seems the valleys were not noted for numerous horses (12.3.39).

<sup>279</sup> Xen. *An.* 5.5.7-25, Hind 1995/96:113-5.

<sup>280</sup> Xen. *An.* 6.1.2.

administration of Sinope and Paphlagonia, and Amisos' inclusion in Cappadocia. Contingency, at least in the later fifth century, derived from imperial responses to developments, but has less to do with instability of kingship in the Kızılırmak Valley.

A comparison to Colchis is helpful in this regard. Kohl and Tsetskhladze state the following concerning Colchian kingship: “archaeological materials, primarily mortuary evidence, reveal marked social differentiation and the emergence of a local Colchian elite in the late sixth and early fifth century BC, and it is probable that a Colchian state, ruled by a king, existed at this time.”<sup>281</sup> In Kohl and Tsetskhladze's archaeological discourse, Colchian kingship is characterized as a state, whereas in Xenophon's discursive representation Paphlagonian kingship is unstable. It is the practices manifest in the archaeological patterns and assemblages through which we would be able to argue for alternatives to instability. An alternative is continuity in kingship and contingency in response to the historical developments such as the accession of Artaxerxes II or the retreat of 10,000 of mercenaries.

Not only does knowledge of the philosophy of Xenophon's *Anabasis* inform a less Athenocentric historical interpretation, but a second and equally significant consequence of Xenophon's Panhellenism emerges from Xenophon's philosophy. Through the fifth century only the people 'Paphlagonians' and the phrase the 'land of the Paphlagonians' appear in the Greek literary tradition; Xenophon is the first known author to employ the place name Paphlagonia (ἡ Παφλαγονία) and the adjectival Paphlagonian (Παφλαγονικός) in the *Anabasis*.<sup>282</sup> The appearance of a place name and an adjectival place name is due, no doubt, to Xenophon's familiarity with the region, and to the

---

<sup>281</sup> Kohl and Tsetskhladze 1994:165.

<sup>282</sup> Ἡ Παφλαγονία (Xen. *An.* 5.5.6, 5.6.1, 6.1.1, 2, 14); Παφλαγονικός (ibid. 5.2.22, 5.4.13, 6.1.15).

conceptual emergence of the region itself subsequent to Darius' administrative inclusion of Paphlagonia within the Daskyleion satrapy. In addition, the philosophical perspective of Xenophon's histories follows along with changes in Greek language toward more abstract categories.<sup>283</sup> Mostly, however, the Korylas episode demonstrates that the appearance of the place name "Paphlagonia" is a consequence of its standing as a mirror of the unified Panhellenic mercenaries.<sup>284</sup> The episode steadfastly maintains a dialectic and oppositional relationship between the urban Greeks and rural others. The relationship has the give and take of dialectic, since each narrative is a contingent negotiation of identity. Because the imagination of an urban identity often implies its opposite, the rural Paphlagonian is inevitably constructed in this oppositional relationship.

In the negotiations of the *proxenos* Hekatonymos, Xenophon represents a Sinopean discourse that is plausible in a Panhellenic context. As the *proxenos* of the Paphlagonian king, however, Hekatonymos, similar to most residents of Sinope, lived in a Paphlagonian context. To discover the Sinopean discourses plausible in a Paphlagonian context, we have to abandon the literary sources and turn to epigraphic and archaeological evidence for the periods preceding and coinciding with Greek settlement.

---

<sup>283</sup> The formation of abstract nouns with -ία and adjectives with -ικός is common in Greek dialects during all periods, but becomes more numerous in the fifth and fourth centuries with an increase in neologisms (Chantraine 1933:78-86, Rodríguez Adrados 2005:169-70). The new Greek regional ethnic name (ethnikon) for Paphlagonia was formed partly by analogy with civic ethnic names (for a discussion of *ethnika*, see Avram, Hind and Tsetskhladze 2004:60-6).

<sup>284</sup> Under the Pontic kings, who drew upon their Achaemenid and Paphlagonian heritage, Achaemenid period Paphlagonian culture, such as Paphlagonian tombs, retained its popularity, and the description of Strabo reflects the effects of this (12.3.8-12, 40-42). Romanization and urbanization occur together in Paphlagonia, and there develops vernacular Paphlagonian identities in the first and second century C.E. (Mitchell 1993:91-3).

## ***B. Material narratives: the Sinop Promontory***

Material cultures imagine their own stories, political discourses, and mythologies, and thus build up a plethora of narratives. In this second half of the chapter, I turn to material evidence to trace various trajectories of cultural and social patterns and affiliations.

Up to a few years ago an archaeologist could say with confidence that no evidence existed for the Old Hittite or Hittite Imperial period on the Sinop promontory.<sup>285</sup> Through survey and salvage excavation, the Sinop Regional Survey has recently begun to discover evidence of both periods in the scarp under the lighthouse at Gerze (**K.5**) and under the bus station in Sinop (**K.6**).<sup>286</sup> Both are promontory locations similar to the later Milesian settlements. Low lying Late Bronze Age coastal settlements may have been submerged during a rise in relative sea levels c. 1000. Although the submerged Bronze Age settlements on the western Black Sea coast are interpreted as evidence of local tectonic subsidence, Mehmet Özdoğan tentatively argues that they are evidence of a sea level rise caused by closure of the connection between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara.<sup>287</sup> A second possibility for the Late Bronze Age is that the only settlements archaeologically identifiable are the fortified promontories adjacent to harbors: Sinop, Gerze, and Kara Samsun.<sup>288</sup>

The most significant continuously occupied settlement from the Late Bronze Age through Iron Age is probably Sinop. Unfortunately, the evidence for the Early Iron Age

---

<sup>285</sup> Dönmez 2004b:11-2, Dönmez 2005c:263-4. The Hittite Old Kingdom is 1620-1400; the Hittite New Kingdom is 1400 to 1175 (see Bryce 2005:xv).

<sup>286</sup> Bauer 2006:236.

<sup>287</sup> Özdoğan 2003:116-20, 2007:663-5. A project affiliated with the Sinop Province Regional Survey sampled a submerged paleoshoreline, and remotely recorded one possible prehistoric archaeological settlement (Ballard, Coleman and Rosenberg 2000, Ballard et al. 2001, Coleman and Ballard 2007).

<sup>288</sup> The excavations in 1908 (unpublished) and later salvage excavations of the promontory of Kara Samsun (**J.2**) are too haphazard to confirm or reject this hypothesis.



is absent. Sinop Regional Survey has surveyed a settlement tentatively founded in the Early Iron Age and with continuous occupation through the Hellenistic period at Tingiroğlu Tepesi (**K.1**). Similar to Akalan (**J.1**), Tingiroğlu Tepesi is located where the route from the coast to the Gökırmak Valley enters the mountains. The settlement has a fortified central hill with defensive walls and tower built with naturally cleaved blocks.

As the Sinop Regional Survey sheds light on continuity from the Late Bronze Age and the obscure periods in the settlement history of the Sinop Promontory such as the Early Iron Age, the promontory is gradually losing its appearance as a deserted place in pre-Achaemenid periods. Tingiroğlu Tepesi was probably the residence of a local leader affiliated with the leader of the Gökırmak Valley. The late seventh century settlement of the Milesians and other Greek traders on the isthmus at Sinop occurred through negotiation with such a local leader.

The excavations conducted by Ekrem Akurgal in the 1950s in the Hellenistic temple area revealed unstratified sixth century ceramics, and excavations in the necropolis found sixth through fourth century burials.<sup>289</sup> Akurgal published two stelai dating to around 460 and depicting scenes of mourning, and Ludwig Budde published a sculpted pediment of a burial monument dating to the fourth century and featuring a lion and deer in combat.<sup>290</sup> David French later published an additional 22 burial stelai dating to the Classical

---

<sup>289</sup> Akurgal 1955b, 1956; Akurgal and Budde 1956; Boysal 1958, 1959; Budde 1956, 1963; Erzen 1956; Jones 1988.

<sup>290</sup> Akurgal 1955b, Budde 1963. The stelai dating to around 460 are stylistically similar to the so-called Graeco-Persian stelai and differ only in the scene represented. Root's discussion of the misappropriation of Achaemenid art as Greek in classical art historical scholarship, and the problems in the archaeological articulation of style (the inept simplicity of the shoe is Lydian, drapery Greek, artisan Phrygian, etc.) suggests that perhaps, along with the silver objects discussed in this chapter, the two stelai may be another example of Achaemenid receptivity at Sinope (Nollé 1992 on Graeco-Persian stelai with earlier bibliography; Root 1991:11-15).

period.<sup>291</sup> The burial stelai and monuments place Sinop within the artistic *koiné* of the Greek colonial world during the Achaemenid period. The archaeological evidence for the first phase of Greek settlement on the isthmus is very limited and interpretation is difficult.

Among the sixth century ceramics excavated at Sinop are Attic, Ionian, and Corinthian imports, and the northern Anatolian bichrome wares associated by some archaeologists with the Paphlagonian residents of Sinope. The deposits are either related to burial or unstratified.<sup>292</sup> Unfortunately, the publication of the burials is too vague to help—a consequence of the problems of using material culture to answer historical questions. A similar ceramic assemblage was also excavated at Akalan<sup>293</sup>—where the architecture does not suggest Greek settlers—and brings into question the association of the Sinop ceramics with Greek settlers except through comparison to the northern Black Sea and by reference to literary evidence on Greek expansion.

The Sinop Regional Survey also encountered an eroding scarp below the standing Hellenistic tower on the northwestern corner of the defensive walls of Sinop. Exposed in the scarp were second and first millennium layers, between which was a dry stone wall socle. Doonan has compared the wall to the stone retaining walls of the dugout buildings

---

<sup>291</sup> French 2004:32-43 nos. 50-72.

<sup>292</sup> Akurgal 1955a:51, pl. 33; Akurgal and Budde 1956:7, 30, pl. 3; French 1991a:238.

<sup>293</sup> Cf. French 1991a:238. French argues from the distribution of the northern Anatolian bichrome and Phrygian grey wares dated to the sixth century that the bichrome ware reflects the regions where Paphlagonian and another language was spoken, and the grey ware the regions where Phrygian was spoken. If French's argument is sound, the bichrome ware would be evidence of a shared Paphlagonian material culture and identity. The recent finding of grey ware in the Amnias valley, however, breaks French's distribution pattern, and methodologically it is also flawed, in that he equates ceramics, people, and language. The distribution of a ceramic ware is too unrefined a class of evidence, and French also assumes a homogenous language spoken where the ceramics are found.

of the early Greek settlements on the northern Black Sea coast.<sup>294</sup> His argument rests on the observation that the vernacular architecture of the Sinop promontory during the early phases of Greek settlement would not have consisted of an above ground stone wall socle.<sup>295</sup> In consideration of the possibility of a continuous settlement and building practices on the Sinop isthmus, and in light of the Iron Age walls of Tıngiroğlu Tepesi, however, such a conclusion does not seem to be supported by archaeological evidence.

#### *i. Settlement on Berezan Island*

In interpretations of Sinop, archaeologists often emphasize how it is an early colonial settlement that establishes the precedent for Greek colonization in the southern Black Sea. Consequently, they tend to neglect the particularity of the colonial situation at Sinop and depend on comparability of Sinop to other colonial settlements, primarily the earliest settlement on the northern Black Sea coast on Berezan Island. Not surprisingly, and similar to the arguments of Robinson a century earlier, the tendency to consider Sinop as an island continues in these interpretations.

Excavations on Berezan Island and in other early colonial settlements in the northern Black Sea demonstrates that Greek urbanism appeared at the end of the sixth century after an initial phase of mixed communities of traders and indigenous peoples.<sup>296</sup> The settlers adopted local building techniques and were pursuing trading relationships more than agricultural land. Excavations at Kara Samsun (**J.2**), Sinop (**K.6**), Hisarönü (**L.5**), and smaller settlements along the Paphlagonian coast are too cursory to show such

---

<sup>294</sup> Houses built into shallow rectangular pits were excavated in the Early Iron Age (level 7) levels at Yassihöyük (Voigt and Henrickson 2000b:42-6). The material from Yassihöyük dated between c. 1100 and 950 does not, however, clarify Sinop in the seventh and sixth centuries.

<sup>295</sup> Doonan 2004b:56-9, 2007, 2009:71.

<sup>296</sup> Solovyov concludes that the assemblage of artifacts associated with houses indicates predominately indigenous people of Dnieper-Bug Estuary residing on Berezan until the end of the sixth century (1999:58-9).

phases, and surveys have encountered few settlements dating to the seventh and sixth centuries. In this initial settlement phase on Berezan from the late seventh through the first quarter of the sixth century—comparable to others in the northern Black Sea—houses were simple dugouts (**fig. 17**).<sup>297</sup> Tsetskhladze suggests that dugout construction was an indigenous building technique adopted by the first traders and settlers, whereas Solovyov prefers a greater indigenous representation in the population.<sup>298</sup> In the third quarter of the sixth century houses built above ground with undressed cut stone blocks appear, and residential neighborhoods begin to be planned in approximately rectangular blocks of houses (**fig. 18**). On Berezan the new building practices are associated with the arrival of new Greek settlers that replace the indigenous residents of the island and the beginning of Greek urban culture.

The relatively well-known seventh and sixth century occupational history of Berezan stands in contrast to the less well-known southern coast of the Black Sea. Berezan is, however, in the flat estuary landscape of the Dnieper-Bug Rivers and not at the foot of the Küre Mountains. Neither was Berezan Island a part of the Hittite sacred landscape, nor was it nominally within the embrace of the Lydian Kingdom during the arrival of traders from another Lydian dependency, Miletos. More than incomparability, however, interpretations of Berezan were too tightly bound to representations of the island as an example of generalized Greek colonization. Before comparison to Sinope, recognition of the contingency of the colonial situation on Berezan is necessary. Statements about “the absence of a permanent and numerically significant local population” in the estuary

---

<sup>297</sup> Solovyov 1999:28-63. Dugouts have been excavated at more than 10 Greek colonial and indigenous settlements along the northern Black Sea coast (Kryžickij and Lejpunskaja 2010:41 n. 101).

<sup>298</sup> Tsetskhladze 1998a:19-22, 2004; see Tsetskhladze 1994 for a discourse on the phases of colonization as waves of penetration. Solovyov 1999:58-9.

surrounding the island, furthermore, reveal uncritical assumptions about the colonial situation.<sup>299</sup> These assumptions adversely influence the interpretation of the transition to Greek urban culture. Rather than similarities with the Sinop Promontory, the real advantage of the Berezan excavations is in demonstrating how mixed the ‘colonial’ artifact assemblage could be.

## *ii. Sinopean residents: columnar grave markers and stelai*

While neither ceramics nor architecture identify people, Paphlagonian names are represented among the fifth century and later Sinopean burial stelai and grave markers. This later epigraphic evidence suggests the residence of people *nominally* identifiable as Paphlagonians in Sinope during the sixth century. French identifies the personal name Gaga on a funerary stele dated to the first half of the fifth century as possibly Paphlagonian, and there are additional Paphlagonian names on stelai and columnar burial monuments dating from the last quarter of the fifth to the beginning of the third century.<sup>300</sup> The style of the columnar monuments follows the Athenian mortuary practices dating after the inauguration of sumptuary reforms (**fig. 19**).<sup>301</sup> The existence of this particular style suggests the presence of Athenian settlers at Sinope. Three Athenian citizens also were commemorated on funerary stelai published by French.<sup>302</sup>

<sup>299</sup> Solovyov’s interpretations are not informed by scholarship on ‘vacant’ agricultural landscapes (*terra nullius*), indigenous consensual displacement, and other concepts justifying modern colonization (1999:28).

<sup>300</sup> On Gaga, see French 1991c:148-9 no. 16, 153; 2004:35-6 no. 58. A second personal name identified by French as possibly Paphlagonian is Manes (1990b:47 no. 3, 61; 1991c:142 no. 2; 2004:22 no. 28, 38 no. 63). A personal name known in Bithynia, Bas, also appears on two columnar monuments (1990b:53 no. 16, 61; French 2004:15-6 nos. 12-3).

<sup>301</sup> Demetrios of Phaleron enacted the sumptuary reforms in Athens at the end of the fourth century (C.P. Jones 1988:193-4, French 1990b:62).

<sup>302</sup> Chairis (French 1991c:141 no. 1, 150-3; 2004:37 no. 61), Demotian (French 1991c:142-3 no. 3, 150-3; 2004:33-4 no. 54), and Euthykrates (French 1991c:143-4 no. 5, 150-3; 2004:34-5 no. 57). The Carian personal name Ada (French 2004:14 no. 9) and a citizen from Cyma (French 1991c:144-5 no. 7) also appear on a columnar monument and a funerary stele.

Despite the colonial narrative's emphasis on mimicry and eruptive menace, the oppositional dialectic is neither implemented in the colonial settlement nor visible in the archaeological evidence. Paphlagonian names persist among Sinopean citizens, and the three Athenians who were commemorated with stelai are not the only foreigners commemorated. The columnar burial markers and Athenian citizens together, however, do support the historicity of Athenian settlers in the fifth century.

### *iii. Sinopean leaders: numismatic and epigraphic evidence*

The cessation of the hostilities between Athens and Sparta at the end of the fifth century approximately coincides with the third phase in Greek colonial settlement on the Sinop Promontory. In the fourth century the Sinopean *polis* gradually increases its agricultural lands and simultaneously becomes more dependent on the Paphlagonian and Achaemenid leaders.

In the first chapter, Datames was introduced as the Paphlagonian and Achaemenid leader central to the gradual administrative incorporation of Paphlagonia into the Achaemenid Empire. As the son of an Achaemenid governor of a region to the south of Paphlagonia and a Paphlagonian princess, Datames was often given assignments in Paphlagonia and his participation in the incorporation is analyzed in the fourth chapter.<sup>303</sup> This section covers the numismatic and epigraphic evidence for the relations between the Achaemenid leaders of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia and the *poleis* of Sinope and Amisos.

After 368 when he was the satrap of Cappadocia, Datames extended his possessions into the Paphlagonian lands neighboring Cappadocia and besieged Sinope. Although the

---

<sup>303</sup> Nep. *Datames* 1.1, 2.4.

historical context for the siege is unknown, the siege dates before the wider satrapal revolts from Artaxerxes II in the 360s.<sup>304</sup> Datames issued Sinopean coins with his name (ΔATAMA or ΔATA) replacing the Sinope legend (ΣΙΝΟ) under the eagle grasping the dolphin on the reverse (**fig. 20**).<sup>305</sup> These coins are generally dated to the 360s, during Datames' revolt from Artaxerxes II. No convincing reason exists not to interpret the coins as minted during the course of Datames' satrapal military operations after the siege of Sinope or earlier.

Military anecdotes related by Polyaeus supply additional information about Datames' relations to Sinope and Amisos. The first anecdote suggests that Datames planned to campaign together with the Sinopean fleet but turned the ships built by Sinope for him against Sinope.<sup>306</sup> A second anecdote indicates that Datames may have also issued coins at the Amisos mint when he was the satrap of Cappadocia.<sup>307</sup> A third anecdote describes the arrival of a letter from Artaxerxes II to Datames during the siege of Sinope. The letter demands Datames' withdrawal, and he complies. These anecdotes indicate that in the fourth century the relations between Datames and the Greek *poleis* consisted of cooperation and antagonism, but never apparently dependency.

The recourse of Sinope to Artaxerxes II during Datames' siege is reflected in the treaty of military alliance (*symmachia*) between the Sinopeans and the family ruling Herakleia. The reference to the Herakleian regent Satyros and his brother Klearchos'

---

<sup>304</sup> Nep. *Datames* 5.6; Polyaeus *Strat.* 7.21.2, 5. See Briant 2002:656-62; Sekunda 1988b:45-6 with other primary references. Nepos describes Datames as in secret revolt, but a secret revolt seems to be a literary and historical elaboration that fits Nepos' characterization of Datames and the intrigues of the Achaemenid Empire.

<sup>305</sup> Price 1993:pl. 53 nos. 1446-7; Harrison 1982:181 (Datames on Sinopean coins); Keleş 2006.

<sup>306</sup> Polyaeus *Strat.* 7.21.2.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid. 7.21.1.

sons dates the treaty between Klearchos' death in 353/2 and Satyros' death in 346/5. The treaty specifies the following:

...if anyone attacks Satyros or the sons of Klearchos or Herakleia or its territory, except the king, the Sinopeans are to help with all their strength according to their ability and if anyone attacks Sinopeans or their territory, except the king, Satyros and the sons of Klearchos are to help with all their strength according to their ability... (trans. adapted from French 2004:3)

ἄν τις ἐπὶ]

Σάτυρον ἢ τοὺς Κλεάρχου παῖδας ἢ Ἡρ[α]κλείαν ἢ [τὴν]  
χώρ[ην] ἐπιστρατεύεται πλὴν βασιλέως βοηθεῖν  
Σιν[ωπ]έας παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν καὶ ἄν τις ἐπὶ]  
Σ[ιν]ωπέας στρατεύεται ἢ τὴν χώραν πλὴν βασιλέω[ς]  
[βο]ηθεῖν Σάτυρον καὶ τοὺς Κλεάρχου παῖδας παντὶ σθ[ένει]  
κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.  
(French 2004:1 no. 1 lines 2-8)

The treaty continues with further specifications about sending envoys to the king and the level of military cooperation with a clause allowing Sesamos and Kromna to enter into the alliance. One would expect Sinope to negotiate a treaty such as this after Datames' siege. This treaty appears to grant Sinope, Herakleia, Sesamos, and Kromna independence from the Achaemenid leaders of Paphlagonia in return for submission to the Achaemenid king.

Nevertheless, Achaemenid leaders continue to have coins issued by the Sinopean mint. Five Aramaic legends appear on the fourth century coin type with the head of the nymph Sinope facing left on the obverse with an eagle flying and grasping a dolphin on the reverse. A leader in northern Cappadocia after the end of the Achaemenid Empire, Ariarathes, probably issued the latest coin of this type with an Aramaic legend.<sup>308</sup> Cynthia Harrison has argued that Achaemenid leaders possibly issued the other four coins of this type with Aramaic legends during the organization of Achaemenid resistance to

---

<sup>308</sup> Harrison 1982:181.



Alexander after the defeat at Issos in 333.<sup>309</sup> The name of the son of the satrap residing at Daskyleion, Mithropastes, is the legend on one of the coins. At the battle of Granikos River in 334, his father, Arsites, had commanded the Paphlagonian cavalry.<sup>310</sup> The other issuers with Aramaic names are Orontobates, Hydarnes, and a third legend that is not a known name (*tyryn*). All the coins date between c. 360 and c. 330, and Harrison is possibly correct in grouping the coins in the 330s. The coins, however, are also possibly issued during earlier military conscriptions conducted by Achaemenid leaders in Paphlagonia.

#### *iv. Sinopean landscapes*

Despite the independence granted to Sinope in the treaty of military alliance, the residents of Sinope always had reasons to cooperate with Paphlagonians and their leaders: realgar, timber, copper, and the supply of the everyday necessities of the settlement. In the fourth century, this cooperation becomes more productive as settlement density and agricultural production on the promontory increases.

Sinope did not possess an extensive hinterland until the third quarter of the fourth century. During these years Sinopean amphorae for the transport of agricultural products began to appear in large quantities around the Black Sea.<sup>311</sup> The Sinop Regional Survey has also confirmed the amphora evidence for agricultural expansion. The survey has documented expansion in settlement densities beginning in c. 350 in the Karasu Valley in the center of the promontory (**K.4**) and in the Demirci Valley on the eastern coast of the promontory. It is remarkable that this expansion coincides with increased Achaemenid

---

<sup>309</sup> Ibid.:187-8, 190-4.

<sup>310</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.8, 16.3; Diod. 17.19.4.

<sup>311</sup> Conovici 1998:50-51 on the dating of Sinopean amphoras; Tsatskheladze 1998a:67-68 on the extent of Sinope's hinterland.

involvement in Sinope, as evinced by the coinage of Datames and the Achaemenid leaders. This expansion also coincides with plundered fourth century tumuli from the promontory that are discussed in the following section.

### *C. Material narratives: Samsun landscapes*

#### *i. Achaemenid elites: tumuli*

The agricultural expansion on the Sinop Promontory is contemporary with plundered fourth century Achaemenid tumuli both on the promontory and in the hills south of Samsun. Achaemenid silver objects from these tumuli, many of which have appeared on the art market, hint at the wealth that they contained. No comparable evidence for Achaemenid elite culture documented through excavation or survey is available. Von der Osten observes that the infamously looted tumuli around Amisos form several groups, but “the landmarks of Samsun are two very large tumuli ... surely royal tombs, [they] are to be seen from the south by one approaching along the Amasia road.”<sup>312</sup> Tentative evidence from these prominent İkiztepeler (J.6) tumuli located on a ridge between Akalan and Kara Samsun (J.1-2) suggests that the tumuli date to the fifth century. Evidence on the coast for the practice of tumulus burials before the fifth century is absent.<sup>313</sup> The Sinop Promontory, Kızılırmak Delta, and hills south of Samsun abound in

---

<sup>312</sup> Von der Osten 1929:29. Von der Osten observes that “Samsun is ... famous for the tumuli in its vicinity,” and now, I would add, infamous for its plundering of them (ibid.:29).

<sup>313</sup> Tumuli are notoriously difficult to date. The two excavated Middle and Late Iron Age tumuli nearest to the coast are located in the Yeşilırmak Valley near Amasya. Dated to the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century, the first contained an iron sword, iron and bronze maces, a bronze snaffle bit, and some bronze arrowheads. Ünal interpreted the tumulus as the burial of a horse-riding nomad, and Ivantchik as a Cimmerian burial. The second burial Ünal dated to fifth or fourth century. Although disturbed, it contained around 250 bronze arrowheads (Ivantchik 1997:25-8, Ünal 1982). Ivantchik’s interpretation of Herodotus’ narration of a Cimmerian foundation on the Sinopean peninsula as historical evidence of Cimmerian nomads near Sinop is improbable (Hdt. 4.12). Tentatively, I would

tumuli, but all of them are confidently dated by artifacts or architecture to the Hellenistic period or later (**J.2, J.8, K.6-7, I-29, I-33**).

Amandry mentions a selection of approximately 400 artifacts assembled at Samsun for sale in 1930 and known to be plundered from tumuli in the vicinity of the city: diadems, pendant earrings, necklaces, bracelets, pins, two small ovoid amphorae, a leaping ibex figurine, and two feet with curled toes (around 6 cm in height).<sup>314</sup> One gilt silver amphora-rhyton from the coast between Sinop and Trabzon, dated to the first half of the fourth century, derives from another assemblage of Achaemenid silver artifacts (**fig. 21**). The amphora has a fluted body, a rounded base with rosette and two spouts, and a lotus and palmette frieze on the shoulder. An egg-and-dart astragal defines the base of the neck, and two engraved ibex handles—both with their heads turning right—are attached to the lip of the neck. The type, proportions, and style of the vessel are Achaemenid.<sup>315</sup> The relevance of von der Osten's observation regarding Achaemenid Paphlagonia lies in how the abundance of tumuli or the prominence of a few asserts possession of a landscape. The Achaemenid leaders of the Paphlagonian coast preferred tumulus burials, and the wealth of the commensal culture is amply evoked by the lists and descriptions of these artifacts.

Comparable Achaemenid silver objects from Sinope that appeared on the art market have confounded scholars who have difficulty imagining Sinopeans consuming luxurious

---

argue that Strabo's description of Italian Cyme (where he places Cimmerian miners) suggests a connection between Cimmerians and mining (Strabo 5.4.5). Herodotus' narration would then be evidence of Sinope's connections with copper in the Küre Mountains and arsenic mining near the confluence of the Gökırmak with the Kızılırmak.

<sup>314</sup> Amandry 1959:54 n. 115. The assemblage appears to be mostly fourth century.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid.:48-50, 52-54, pls. 24-25, 28.1-2, 30.4; Paspalas 2000:142 no. 10; Summerer 2003:32-3. General studies of Achaemenid silver vessels are Boardman 2000:184-94 and Moorey 1985. An Achaemenid object signifies an object made in a workshop producing objects in an imperial style.

Achaemenid objects. For example, Terrace published a gilt silver phiale with flaring rim and shallow dish, fluted on the exterior, with an interior omphalos decorated with a rosette surrounded by a spider web pattern and lotus and palmette frieze (**fig. 22**). Although easily datable stylistically to the fifth century, Terrace hesitated: “it would be well, were it possible to ascribe a date in the fourth century to the bowl, because it could then be suggested that the object came to Sinope with the equipment of the Persian satrap of Asia Minor, Datames...”<sup>316</sup> Margaret Miller’s discussion of Athenian receptivity to Achaemenid culture suggests that Terrace’s hesitation is misguided, and the question should be rephrased: how did Sinope, under closer Achaemenid pressure but with seafaring imperial aspirations, differ from Athens in the consumption of Achaemenid commodities.<sup>317</sup>

Other published Achaemenid silver objects from Sinope are known to have been plundered from two tombs and date to the fifth century, possibly the first half.<sup>318</sup> The first tomb contained seven silver objects: a bulbous phiale with the bulbs separated by lotuses in low relief; a silver oinochoe with bead and reel astragal at the base of the neck, and a calf’s head terminal on the handle; the neck of a vessel; a fragmentary alabastron with four bands of geometric patterns; a bowl and cup; and a ladle with a swan head handle with bead and fillet at the junction with the spoon. The second tomb contained two silver objects: an oinochoe with two fillets on the shoulder and a platter with egg and dart border and concentric fillets. The phiale and the two tomb assemblages suggest that the consumption of Achaemenid silver objects was common at Sinope, and that the

---

<sup>316</sup> Terrace 1963:76; 72-76, pls. 29-30.

<sup>317</sup> Miller 1996:135-52.

<sup>318</sup> Amandry 1963.

Sinopeans were employing the objects to signal their status. Furthermore, it supports my epigraphic argument that the prejudice against Achaemenid leaders expressed in the Greek literary sources, such as Xenophon's narration of his debate with the Sinopean embassy, only obscures a far more pervasive emulation of Achaemenids.

## *ii. Fortified settlements*

Although conclusions about surveyed and plundered tumuli are very tentative, extensive and intensive survey has documented the fortified settlements contemporaneous with the tumuli. The settlements dated to both the long Late Iron Age (c. 650 – 350 BCE) and the Late Iron Age (c. 550 - 330 BCE) are sufficiently well surveyed to allow a discussion of the settlement pattern. Sivritepe (**J.12**), a fortified settlement at the northern terminus of the mountain route to Vezirköprü Plain can now be added to the list of fortified settlements similar to Akalan (**J.1**) and Tıngıroğlu Tepesi (**K.1**). Four additional possible forts or small settlement mounds in naturally fortified locations have been surveyed: Tekkeköy (**J.3**), Kızkayası (**J.10**), Kocakaya (**J.13**), and Gerze Burnu (**K.5**). Kocakaya's location at the gorge where the Kızılırmak River debouches onto its delta is the northern terminus of the mountain route to the Havza Plain. The fortified settlements and forts of the Late Iron Age vary in their continuity from the preceding Middle Iron Age. Continuity of settlement on ridge locations with springs or other water sources, however, is the prevalent pattern for settlement mounds with Late Iron Age occupational levels. Ten such settlement mounds have been surveyed: Göktepe (**J.4**), Bağtepe and Dedeüstü Tepesi (**J.5**), Beylik Tepecik (**J.7**), Bafra İkiztepe III (**J.8**), Şirlektepe (**J.9**), Alaçam Dedetepe (**J.11**), Maltepe-Tepealtı (**K.2**), Gavurtepe (**K.3**), and Nohutluk/Karapınar (**K.4**). These settlements both cluster in

the vicinity of the fortified settlements (**J.4-5** between Akalan and Kara Samsun and **K.2** near Tıngıroğlu Tepesi) and are spread across the landscape. Two of the forts and the majority of the latter settlement mounds are located on the coast (**K.5, J.8-9?**), low ridges above the coastal plain (**J.3, J.7, J.11**), and in river estuaries (**K.4, J.8-9?**).<sup>319</sup> The Greek colonial settlements developed out of this diverse settlement pattern spread along the coast and in the foothills of the Küre and Canik Mountain Ranges.

The fortified settlements and forts in the foothills regulated access between the Sinop Promontory, Kızılırmak Delta, and the hills south of Samsun. The characterization of the relationship of these settlements to the inland valleys to the south of the Küre and Canik is difficult. This is especially true for Sivritepe, Kocakaya, and Tıngıroğlu. For Akalan, however, the architecture of the defensive walls and the architectural terracottas of the monumental buildings within the walls allow us to argue for a dependent or affiliated relationship between Akalan and the contemporaneous walled city on Kerkenes Dağı.

The fortified settlement at Akalan located approximately 18 km inland and to the west of Kara Samsun. The defensive walls were built to regulate the route from Kara Samsun to the Havza Plain and southwards to the highlands within the bend in the Kızılırmak River. The masonry of the glacis of the defensive walls at Akalan is nearly identical in style and design to the glacis of the walls of the Phrygian city on Kerkenes Dağı. Theodor Macridy excavated architectural terracottas dated to the middle of the sixth century belonging to two buildings. The architectural terracottas connect Akalan to the fortified settlement of Pazarlı, located 60 km to the north of Kerkenes Dağı.<sup>320</sup> The recent earlier dates for habitation at Kerkenes Dağı inserts possible inconsistency

---

<sup>319</sup> See Chapter 2, section D, where the geomorphology of the Kızılırmak Delta is discussed.

<sup>320</sup> Koşay 1941, Summers 2006a.

between the dates for the defensive walls and monumental buildings at Akalan, or more probably, a longer Iron Age occupational history for the settlement.<sup>321</sup>

Geoffrey Summers has interpreted Kerkenes Dağı as the capital of Cappadocia after the expansion of the Median Kingdom to the Kızılırmak.<sup>322</sup> Recent scholarship has cast doubt on the very existence of the Median Kingdom in Anatolia and the historical reliability of Herodotus so far east and so much earlier than his fifth century Aegean experience.<sup>323</sup> If Kerkenes is interpreted as the capital of a Phrygian kingdom in Cappadocia, Akalan may also be interpreted as a fort on the border between Cappadocia and Lydia, and may supply evidence supporting Herodotus' view that the Kızılırmak River formed a border.<sup>324</sup>

A range of theories have been advanced to explain why the Late Iron Age fortress at Akalan was constructed. It may have been built by colonists at Amisos to defend the southern trade route, or by the local inhabitants to protect against horse-riding Eurasians.<sup>325</sup> Some have seen the local inhabitants adhering to Anatolian architectural traditions of architectural terracottas and defensive architecture, whereas others view the fortress as following Anatolian architectural traditions of defensive architecture but

---

<sup>321</sup> Macridy-Bey 1907. Herodotus mentions the Halys corridor from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea through Cappadocia and Cilicia (1.72). Schirmer describes the masonry as Phrygian (1980); on Kerkenes dağı, see G.D. Summers 1995, 1997, 2000; G.D. and M.E.F. Summers 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999; G.D. Summers et al. 1996, 1998); on the architectural terracottas, see Winter 1993:243, 246, 253, and 264, who dates the terracottas c. 530; Åkerström 1966:127-33, who dates them to 550-525; Cummer 1976:35, who dates the pottery and terracottas to the early sixth century; Summerer 2005b.

<sup>322</sup> G.D. Summers 1997, 2000.

<sup>323</sup> Hdt. 1.6, 28, 72; Rollinger 2003a:305-19, 2003b; Tuplin 2004:232-48.

<sup>324</sup> Rollinger questions Herodotus' geographical knowledge of Anatolia and his description of the Kızılırmak River as a border before the Achaemenid period (Rollinger 2003a:305-13). Herodotus' knowledge is more credible near the mouth of the river.

<sup>325</sup> On Akalan as a colonial foundation, see Atasoy 2003:1347; on Eurasians, see Dönmez 2004a:72-4.

adapting Greek architectural terracottas.<sup>326</sup> Although a comparison of the architectural terracottas of Akalan and Pazarlı supports the last interpretation, it is more interesting to note here that there are the strong connections between Akalan and Iron Age fortified settlements and cities at the bend of the Kızılırmak. Secondly, Akalan in conjunction with the numerous other Late Iron Age settlements and forts in the hills above Samsun and the Kızılırmak Delta demonstrate the possible southern political connections and the density of settlements that Aegean traders encountered in the middle of the southern Black Sea coast.

#### ***D. Herakles in Paphlagonia***

##### ***i. Iconography and style***

The material narratives demonstrate the fluidity of boundaries between indigenous, colonial Greek, and imperial Achaemenid identities and affiliations in the coastal landscapes of Paphlagonia. Particularly in the third phase of Greek settlement, beginning at the end of the fifth century, Sinope and Amisos become more connected with the Anatolian Achaemenid elite. Survey ceramics and the Kalekapı rockcut tomb demonstrate that the elites of the Gökırmak Valley also become connected with Sinope. Through Sinope, the Kalekapı tomb stylistically and iconographically participates in the shared artistic language, or *koiné*, of the Black Sea, Aegean, and Mediterranean worlds. In the following chapter, the process of carving and innovation at Kalekapı is described in depth. In this section, the style and iconography of the Kalekapı tomb are analyzed

---

<sup>326</sup> On the architecture and terracottas as Anatolian, see Dönmez 2004a:69-72; on the architecture as Anatolian and the terracottas as Greek, see Summerer 2005b.



briefly, in order to address the question of the means of stylistic and iconographic transmission and assess the character of Kalekapi's participation in the wider world.

In previous scholarship, the minor arts, particularly toreutics and coinage, were argued to be the means of transmission.<sup>327</sup> A consequence of transmission through the minor arts is often thought to be the loss of meaning in the style and iconography. After a discussion of the connections among inhabitants and the fluidity of affiliation in the coastal landscape, it is relevant to analyze how the elite of the valley just over the coastal mountain range responded to the artistic *koiné*. My concern here is not to discuss all aspects of the artistic *koiné*, but only to highlight those aspects probably transmitted through Sinope, that is, Greek style and iconography in a Paphlagonian context.<sup>328</sup>

The fort, settlement, and rockcut tomb of Kalekapi were introduced in the second chapter. The rockcut tomb features a columnar porch and a gabled roof defined by a channel for rain water. Relief sculpture fills the gable and a series of panels surrounding the porch. Beneath the gable is a frontally depicted eagle with outstretched wings and grasping the heads of two lions in opposition with frontal heads and bodies in profile (**fig. 6**). Below the lions is a Herakles and the Nemean lion combat scene framed by lion-griffins in profile (**fig. 23**). Facing the porch on the northeast are a lion in profile above an unfinished bull, and on the southwest is a finished bull charging with its head lowered. Of the reliefs, two have clear stylistic and iconographic similarities to the Greek artistic *koiné*: the charging bull panel and the Herakles and the Nemean lion combat scene.

---

<sup>327</sup> E.g. von Gall 1966a:24.

<sup>328</sup> Greek style is so dispersed in the *koiné* that identifying it as Greek may obscure its contextual significance. If Greco-Persian art is defined as Greek style with Achaemenid iconography, Kalekapi does not closely meet the definition.

Kalekapı relief sculpture is most often singled out as belonging to the Greek *koiné*, especially with regard to the charging bull (**fig. 24**). The early art historical analyses of Ekrem Akurgal and Ludwig Budde compare the charging bull to the fourth century statue of a bull in the burial enclosure of Dionysios of Kollytos in the Athenian Kerameikos.<sup>329</sup> On first impression, the Kalekapı bull, lions, and even lion-griffin can be broadly compared to the bull of Dionysios and numerous other animal reliefs and statues on Athenian funerary monuments of the fourth century.<sup>330</sup> The pose of the Kalekapı bull, however, is with raised hoof and bent hock, whereas the bull of Dionysios has all four legs firmly placed on the ground.<sup>331</sup> Additionally, although the Kalekapı bull does represent a twisting pose, the body is in profile and the lowered head is frontal. Von Gall compares the Kalekapı bull to the coins of Herakleia Pontika with proportions and pose more similar to Kalekapı.<sup>332</sup> Several types of fourth century coins exist with the head of Herakles wearing the lion's skin helmet on the obverse and a charging bull on the reverse. They represent the bull with raised hoof and lowered frontal head.<sup>333</sup> Both of these features are shared by the coins and the Kalekapı relief.

My documentation of the Kalekapı bull, however, shows features of the bull that are invisible on a coin, such as the lozenge pattern on the lock between the horns and the tongue protruding from the mouth. The tongue can be compared to the bull dedicated by the Marathonians on the Athenian acropolis.<sup>334</sup> The muzzle of this bull is, however,

---

<sup>329</sup> Akurgal 1955a:65 n.35, Budde 1963:73. Both also compare the opposing lions to the reclining lions on the corners of the retaining wall of the enclosure of Dionysios.

<sup>330</sup> Luschey 1954.

<sup>331</sup> The legs are reconstructed, but the base is preserved.

<sup>332</sup> Von Gall 1966a:29.

<sup>333</sup> Price 1993:no. 1581, 1583. The coins of Herakleia Pontika vary in how the head is represented; only a few have a frontal head similar to Kalekapı.

<sup>334</sup> Shapiro 1988:375 fig. 4.

pressed into the ground, which suggests that the bull is vanquished by Theseus, or a bull dependent on that iconography. Although the Kalekapı bull's muzzle is raised as would be the case for a charging bull, the protruding tongue suggests the bull is being vanquished by the lion on the northeastern side of the porch. Details in the carving demonstrate that the bull shares its proportions and pose with the coinage of Herakleia Pontika and other cities. It is the innovations in the Kalekapı relief, however, that indicate how the bull ought to be interpreted within the composition. The bull of Dionysios is a statue placed in a burial enclosure, but it does not participate in a composition with multiple figures. The Marathonian bull on the acropolis commemorates a myth, and because it stands alone, it serves as a distinctive sacrificial dedication.<sup>335</sup> The Kalekapı bull is engaged in combat with the lion but they are separated by the porch, almost daring any being to pass between the combatants.<sup>336</sup> Consequently, Kalekapı's bull stands apart from the other representations with which it has been compared. I argue in the fifth chapter that the separation of the bull and lion only becomes intelligible if the arrangement of the relief is taken into consideration, and if the porch is remembered to be a passageway into the afterworld that is not to be trespassed.

More recently, with the identification of the figures in combat above the porch as a male figure and lion, and their identification as compositionally similar to the scene of

---

<sup>335</sup> Because the muzzle is not pressed to the ground, the bull does not stand alone as a representation of a heroic combat, with Herakles, for example. Keesling discusses the original purpose of the statues as perpetual sacrifices and their Roman description (2009).

<sup>336</sup> A comparable lion and bull composition is part of a frieze of animal combats on the gold gorytos cover from Chertomlyk and the three other covers from the same mold (Rolle, Murzin and Alekseev 1998:130-8 no. 189, Aruz et al. 2000:229-33 no. 162). In earlier interpretations a combat scene composed of the bull and lion panels were hesitantly suggested, and the arrangement of the reliefs, particularly the panels (charging bull, lion, and unfinished bull), were considered less connected to each other (e.g. von Gall 1966a:17-8).

Herakles and the Nemean lion, the façade is now understood as participating more fully in the Greek artistic *koiné*. Particularly, the composition on the tomb appears to be similar to the combat of Herakles wrestling the lion to the ground, as represented on Attic ceramics.<sup>337</sup> The composition has no known comparisons from within the pediments of burial monuments, despite the similarity of the combat to other triangular pediment compositions, such as the fourth century funerary pediment with lion and deer combat from Sinope.<sup>338</sup>

Located in a section of the façade with a large vertical crack where water is channeled through the molding, and where flaking and rills are common, the male figure and the lion's mane are severely eroded. Despite the preservation, the comparison of the Kalekapı combat with Athenian ceramics yields numerous discrepancies. First, the style and pose of the lion have more in common with the other five felines on the façade. All four paws are braced against the frame of the porch, and only the mouth is open in a snarl. The sculptors were clearly not imitating the more conventional contorted body of the lion wrestling Herakles. Secondly, the back of the male figure's head and the area of the eye are preserved, and the relief lines do not allow the reconstruction of a bare head but suggest a lion's skin or leather helmet similar to a tiara.<sup>339</sup> Thirdly, the figure's right leg is represented frontally with all five toes visible, and the left leg is in profile with the ball of the foot braced against the frame of the porch.<sup>340</sup> The composition and style is

---

<sup>337</sup> The rear left foot of the lion is usually represented as pushing against Herakles' head in the Athenian composition (Felten 1990:Herakles 1864-8).

<sup>338</sup> A standing male figure wrestling a lion frames the opening on the west face on the sixth century Lion Tomb at Xanthos. On the south face of the tomb is a recumbent lion in profile with a frontal head (Deltour-Levie 1982:156-9, Draycott 2007:107-8). The tomb is much earlier and reflects Syrian and Cretan combat myths.

<sup>339</sup> A round bump on the top of the helmet could be related to either the lion's skin helmet or a tiara.

<sup>340</sup> Scalloped edges on the thigh of the left leg suggest a kilt.

similar to but not identical with Attic designs. Most of all, without comparable funerary monuments or a tradition of representations of Herakles in Anatolia, the similarity does not necessarily make the composition more intelligible. Herakles is represented prominently in the frieze on the Temple of Athena at Assos, however, pedimental compositions are not present in Anatolia.<sup>341</sup> Why do we have Herakles on the Kalekapı tomb in Paphlagonia?

Herakles is often defined as the deity of geographical expansion, with his Peloponnesian labors establishing a mythopoetic precedent for the expansion of Elis, and his Mediterranean labors a precedent for colonial expansion.<sup>342</sup> Since Herakles is a distinctly Greek hero, and since there were Athenian settlers at Sinope in the fifth century, some scholars have argued that the appearance of Herakles in pre-Hellenistic Anatolian monuments should be interpreted as an anti-Achaemenid reference, as popularized by Isocrates.<sup>343</sup> The Herakles of sixth century leaders, such as Peisistratos, and the Herakles of colonization, however, was not viewed the same way in the fourth century.<sup>344</sup> Herakles is popular within the iconography of fourth century rulers as a precedent for divine descent, apotheosis, and ruler cults, but there is no evidence that he was regarded as a sign of Achaemenid resistance. The rulers of Herakleia Pontika also drew on Herakles in their iconography, and Kalekapı may indeed have been allied with

---

<sup>341</sup> Comstock and Vermeule 1976:13 no. 19. Herakles is also represented engaged in combat with Geryon in the scenes painted on the interior wooden walls of the burial chamber at Tatarlı (*Tatarlı - renklerin dönüşü/Tatarlı - the return of colours*, Vedat Nedim Tör Müzesi, Istanbul, 17 June-26 September 2010, curated by Latife Summerer).

<sup>342</sup> Cohen 1994:695, Malkin 2005.

<sup>343</sup> Isocrates *Ad Philippum* 32 (hereafter, Isoc.); Vollkommer 1988, Huttner 1997.

<sup>344</sup> Boardman 1975, Malkin 2005.

Herakleia Pontika.<sup>345</sup> At the very least, the relief shows the Paphlagonians as receptive to the political language of the fourth century Aegean world, and particularly the language of ruler cults.

It is not just in the figure of Herakles that Kalekapı participates in the shared language of ruler cults; the relief sculptures within the gable share many stylistic and iconographic features, surprisingly enough, with the Alexander sarcophagus from the necropolis of Sidon.<sup>346</sup> Osman Hamdi Bey excavated the sarcophagus in a rockcut tomb dating to the end of the Achaemenid period, and possibly belonging to the last king of Sidon. Although the reliefs along the long and short sides of the sarcophagus are what the sarcophagus is rightly noted for, it is the sculpted pedimental lid that shares the same iconographic repertoire as the reliefs below the gable at Kalekapı.

On the lid of the Alexander sarcophagus, the central acroteria consist of two opposing lion-griffins flanking a palmette (**fig. 25**). At Kalekapı, rather than flanking a palmette, the lion-griffins face each other and each rests paw on the upper corners of the porch frame. On the sarcophagus, the corner acroteria of reclining lions with their heads facing outward correspond to the Kalekapı opposed lions with bodies in profile and frontal heads (**fig. 26**). The roof sculptures of five eagles with outstretched wings compare closely with the eagle in the upper center of the Kalekapı gable. Alternating with the eagles on the sarcophagus are personified sun anthemion sculptures (**fig. 27**), which also

---

<sup>345</sup> Natural caves in a valley to the northwest of the acropolis of Herakleia Pontika were associated with Herakles' entrance into the underworld to capture Kerberos (Xen. *An.* 6.2.2; Hoepfner 1966, Asheri and Hoepfner 1972:38-41, Erciyas 2003:1417).

<sup>346</sup> On the Alexander sarcophagus, see von Graeve 1970. The temple tomb at Belevi with its opposing lion-griffins flanking urns along the roof of the peristyle is a similar but not as comprehensive a comparison (Praschniker and Theuer 1979:86-91, 142-5). Polat identifies the intended occupant of the temple tomb as Autophradates, the satrap of Sardis (2001, 2005).

appear as antefixes placed between lion griffin-headed spouts (**fig. 26**).<sup>347</sup> Alexander wears the lion skin helmet of his alleged ancestor Herakles, in the battle scene on a long side of the sarcophagus, and the same helmet was featured on Alexander's coins.<sup>348</sup> Herakles' popularity spread among rulers in the fourth century, whether or not they could trace their ancestry back to Herakles. It looks as if the patron of the Kalekapı tomb was responding closely to contemporary political and artistic language, and, more specifically, the language of ruler cults. The eagles and the personified sun refer to the apotheosis of the deceased, and Herakles' apotheosis constitutes a precedent in myth.<sup>349</sup>

## *ii. Situated interpretations*

The innovative placing of the Herakles and Nemean lion composition has yet to be made intelligible either within the Kalekapı tomb context or the Gökırmak Valley. Although the male figure in the combat is dependent on depictions of Herakles wrestling the Nemean lion, the figure being represented is ambiguous. Is the figure Herakles, a local hero assimilated to Herakles, similar to the Lydian Tylos, or an indigenous reimagination of the animal combat of the Achaemenid king?<sup>350</sup> Regardless of the ambiguity, however, the composition places the male figure squarely in the realm of the artistic *koiné* and its representations of Herakles, and it behooves us to find a cogent explanation as to why Herakles is represented at Kalekapı.

Kalekapı is the location of the tomb, but it is also a place constituted by an assemblage of physical features in the landscape. Particularly, the fortified settlement

<sup>347</sup> Schefold 1968:figs. 32, 47,78-80.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid.:fig. 52.

<sup>349</sup> A second burial monument in the Gökırmak Valley, the Afirözü relief is also associated with apotheosis through the lotus imagery (Şahin 1994:51).

<sup>350</sup> On Tylos, see Hanfmann 1958:68-72; Hanfmann, Mierse and Foss 1983:132-3.

that surrounds the tomb regulates access to a mountainous mining valley. Should Herakles be connected to the local mining activities? There is no concrete evidence that Herakles was regarded as the patron god of mining in the *Greek* world, but there is some evidence in favor of a link between the two in Anatolia.<sup>351</sup>

In the Kalekapı tomb Herakles is associated with a phreatic limestone aquifer and a mining landscape. The evidence as to whether Herakles was regarded as a god of mining and smelting in the Paphlagonian landscape rests in the Hittite god of mining and smelting, Nergal. Although there is some disagreement about the linguistic derivation of Herakles from Nergal, Stephanie Dalley argues that the absence of Herakles in Semitic texts supports their linguistic equivalence.<sup>352</sup> Consequently, in the Paphlagonian landscape, Herakles was probably seen as the local continuation of Nergal, a Late Bronze through Middle Iron Age deity of mining and smelting. Despite the Gökırmak Valley's gradual participation in the Aegean artistic *koiné* as manifested in the Herakles composition, the significance of Herakles in a rockcut tomb in a mining landscape only emerges through a situated interpretation of the composition.

When we analyze the Alexander sarcophagus, the picture of the artistic *koiné* that emerges overlaps with the discursive imagination of a ruler in the heart of the Mediterranean world. The Kalekapı reliefs, in contrast, are similar to the discourse of 'almost the same but not quite,' except they are a reimagination from the local perspective. For Kalekapı, the discourse is 'almost the same but *other*,' where "other" is

---

<sup>351</sup> Dalley 1987:65.

<sup>352</sup> Ibid.:64-5, cf. Burkert 1986:17. Melqart, "ruler of the city," is the translation of Nergal, "lord of the great city," and both Nergal and Herakles were additionally associated with lions (Dalley 1987:63-4).



the indigenous, local, and situated practice that configures the imagination of the ruler cult in the Gökırmak Valley.

The elite burial practices change with the adaptation to the artistic *koiné* and the resistance to their marginalization beyond the borders of Paphlagonia. This is possible only with an affirmation of their participation in the wider world. If the margin is included in the construction of the identity of the center, as we have seen in the false etymology of Paphlagon, then the margin is part of the center. Such identity construction is, however, about Athenian constituencies. If frequent contact exists between the margin and the center, as was the case along the southern Black Sea coast beginning in the sixth century, the effects of marginalization ought to be visible. Rather than marginalization, however, an indigenous identity emerges not from acquiescence to their stuttering stereotype, but from the reimagination of a local identity for the local elites.

### ***E. Conclusion***

Homi Bhabha notes that modern colonial discourse articulates a certain fixity of cultural, historical, and racial difference.<sup>353</sup> In the ancient Paphlagonian colonial experience, in contrast, the quality of difference and the categories of othering are neither essentialist nor exclusionary. The Paphlagonians of Homer remain within a mythopoetic discursive place-world, but they eventually become dislocated. The first references to Paphlagonia are in the canonical Greek colonial epic, the *Iliad*, where Pylaimenes, the king and leader of the Paphlagonians, and his son Harpalion appear twice in battle and once

---

<sup>353</sup> Bhabha 1994:94-131.

in the Trojan catalog where Homer lists the allies along the Pontic coast.<sup>354</sup> Locales are reimagined with new place names as the landscape is incorporated into a mythopoetic world whose center is located in the Aegean. With the refoundation of Sinope as a Greek colony, for example, the Hittite place name Šinuwa is translated into the nymph Sinope, a daughter of an Aegean river, Asopos.<sup>355</sup>

Along with the dislocation of the landscape, the discourse also reiterates an ambivalent fixity of the difference between the colonizers and the colonized. The principal trope of the colonial discourse points to the stereotypical urban/coast and barbarian/upland contrast (ἄνω-κάτω), and is a consequence of the Greek maritime worldview revealed mythopoetically in Apollonios Rhodios' *Argonatika*, and practically in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Skylax. The Paphlagonians in these narratives are not derived from essentialist categories, and they differ from their colonizers only in their discursive expulsion from coastal urban life. When Paphlagonians “come down from the mountains” they become Hellenized.

The archaeological record of colonization in the Black Sea increasingly demonstrates the intermingling and hybridization of locals and Aegeans in the excavated colonial settlements on the northern Black Sea coast. The Sinop Regional Survey has found no evidence before the middle of the fourth century for agricultural expansion of Sinope into the promontory.<sup>356</sup> Without an expansionist policy before then, Sinope seems to have traded with its Paphlagonian hinterland. Paphlagonian names are also represented among

---

<sup>354</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.576-577 (ἄρχος), 13.643-662 (βασιλεύς), 2.851-855 (catalog). In contrast to Counillon, who argues that the catalog is false and imaginary (2004), the reimagination of the landscape proposed here involves a colonial mythopoetic reconfiguration.

<sup>355</sup> Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.946-954. Asopos rivers are found in the lands on both shores of the Aegean.

<sup>356</sup> Doonan 2004b:91-2.

the fifth century and later Sinopean grave markers, and suggest the residence of people nominally identifiable as Paphlagonians in Sinope—then, and also during the sixth century. In discussing the processes of Hellenization in Paphlagonia in this way, one can move away from the Greek prejudices founded on the ἄνω-κάτω divide, and the modern imagination of fixity in these prejudices.

**CHAPTER 4:**  
***Chieftdoms within the Empire?***<sup>357</sup>

**A. Introduction**

In his magisterial history of the Achaemenid Empire *From Cyrus to Alexander*, Pierre Briant writes that “Paphlagonia must have been split among several rival chieftdoms.” He then adds the comment that “multiple local chieftdoms” could be found in various other regions in Anatolia.<sup>358</sup> Briant’s comments belong to the predominant perspective on the Achaemenid Empire and other early empires that is held by historians and archaeologists who argue that the administration of empires was undertaken through the adoption of preexisting sociopolitical structures.<sup>359</sup> His comments also implicitly refer to the archaeological theories on sociopolitical complexity and secondary state formation on imperial frontiers.<sup>360</sup> Except for his discussion of how anthropological research on the pastoralists of the Zagros Mountains exposes the historiographical biases of the classical

---

<sup>357</sup> I dedicate this chapter to the memory of Keith DeVries, who, when we were discussing Briant’s use of *chefferies* in the 1996 *Histoire de l’empire perse de Cyrus à Alexander*, raised an eyebrow and asked, “do you think that there were chieftdoms in Paphlagonia?” This chapter is my attempt to answer that question.

<sup>358</sup> In Peter Daniels’s English translation the sentence reads “Paphlagonia must have been split among several rival chieftains” (Briant 2002:642); the original French edition reads “la Paphlagonie devait être partagée entre plusieurs chefferies [chieftdoms] rivales” (Briant 1996:661). Briant identifies chieftdoms in Mysia in Anatolia (he uses Asia Minor in place of Anatolia) and in Cadusia to the east (2002:642, 732). Briant is here drawing on the dissertation of Michael Weiskopf, who finds no evidence of a single leader of Paphlagonia and instead repeatedly speaks of tribal chieftains (1982:11, 22, 62-4, 75-6 n. 20, 201-3, 208-9, 218-9 n.4 §d). “Paphlagonia was a sector in which the basic political unit was the tribe. Tribes may or may not be unified at a given time, and Achaemenid personnel had the option of playing tribes against each other or exploiting intra-tribal rivalry as a means of directing disorder away from more settled regions” (ibid.:201).

<sup>359</sup> Briant 2002:410-2 (Darius I), 729-33 (“mountain people”), 754 (Bactria), 762-8 (summary). Sinopoli exemplifies the archaeological approach to empires (1994:164-6, 1995:5-6, 2001:444-6); see also Thapar 1981:411, Claessen 1989, Alcock et al. 2001.

<sup>360</sup> For example, Joffe 2006, B.J. Parker 2003, Wittke 2007. Briant himself comments on the explanatory inadequacies of these theories (2002:804, 1038).

historians against the inhabitants of mountainous regions,<sup>361</sup> Briant does not explicitly address these theories on sociopolitical complexity and imperial frontiers, especially not with respect to chiefdoms in Anatolia. In a reflection of his classical historical expertise Briant often prefers *dynast* to *chieftain* and writes of *ethne* (peoples/tribes) where an anthropological archaeologist might write of chiefdoms.<sup>362</sup> In this chapter I initially planned to bring together evidence largely in support of Briant's offhand identification of the anthropologically derived concept of chiefdoms in Paphlagonia,<sup>363</sup> and address questions brought up by his identification concerning the administration of the empire in a mountainous frontier without urban settlements.<sup>364</sup> While researching the history of scholarship on chiefdoms within anthropological archaeology, however, it became apparent that this discourse is largely irrelevant in the postcolonial disciplinary climate, and the study of chiefdoms in the frontier regions of the Achaemenid Empire is no exception.

I propose in this chapter that a sweeping revision is necessary in our understanding of mountainous regions within the universalizing political discourses of empires. I question

---

<sup>361</sup> Briant 2002:726-33. His discussion derives from his research conducted in the 1970s and published in *Etat et pasteurs au Moyen-Orient ancien* (1982a) on the implications Jean-Pierre Digard's work on the Bakhtiari and Anatoly M. Khazanov's work on Eurasian nomads for Achaemenid history (Briant 1982a:1-7, 2002:3).

<sup>362</sup> The *dynast* of the Paphlagonians: Briant 2002:198, 334, 378, 411, 498, 642, 644, 650-1; the "Paphlagonians:" *ibid.*:620, 642, 644, 698. In Briant's *From Cyrus to Alexander* *dynast* and *people/tribe* are translations of *δυναστής* and *ἔθνος*; *dynast* is understood as a local ruler and *tribe* is not an archaeological type of simple society (cf. *ibid.*:393, 410-1, 497-8, 510-1). Briant's understanding is far more flexible than the concept of the *dynast* in other scholarship on Achaemenid Anatolia that has the *dynast* installed by, or ruling at the discretion of, a king or satrap (Keen 1992:61, 1998:34-56, 2000:270-7; Draycott 2007:103-5).

<sup>363</sup> Following the argument of Chapter 1, Paphlagonia is retained here to refer to the landscape from Sinop to Çankırı and from the Kızılırmak to Bartın River.

<sup>364</sup> The absence of urban settlements in interior Paphlagonia is founded on negative evidence; at Pompeiopolis the late Roman overlay has scared away surveyors interested in the Bronze Age and earlier, and the excavations under Summerer have not yet yielded material earlier than Roman. The modern city of Çankırı covers the ancient Gangra.

the evolutionary models of state formation and imperial complexity, and, therefore, reject the *existence* of chiefdoms in Achaemenid Paphlagonia. I affirm similarities to European colonial discourses on chiefdoms in the historical references, but ultimately reject, again, the relevance of these similarities to the interpretation of Paphlagonian material discourses with Achaemenid references.

## ***B. Archaeological discourse on change and complexity***

### ***i. Chiefdoms in archaeological discourse***

In anthropological literature chiefdoms are defined as a primitive political organization that is not quite a state and more grounded in kinship structures where all members are supposedly ranked according to their relation to founding ancestors.<sup>365</sup> Within anthropological archaeology many revisions to this concept of chiefdom have been proposed since chiefdoms first found a position between tribes and states in the 1962 evolutionary typology of Elman Service. To Service's definition of chiefdoms as ranked societies with redistributive economies, Colin Renfrew added eighteen additional characteristics ranging from distinctive dress to increased craft specialization.<sup>366</sup> The first crack in the concept of chiefdom appeared with Timothy Earle's work on Hawaiian chiefdoms where the central economic characteristic of chiefdoms, redistribution, was not found.<sup>367</sup> In Gary Feinman and Jill Neitzel's subsequent survey of ethnographically or ethnohistorically known chiefdoms in the Americas, redistribution was found in few of

---

<sup>365</sup> Yoffee 2005:23.

<sup>366</sup> Service 1971, Renfrew 1973:543. Service's typology is founded on the 1950s "neo"-evolutionary theories of Leslie White and Julian Steward whose concepts in turn draw on evolutionary writings from the 1880s.

<sup>367</sup> Earle 1977:225-7. Because Polynesian societies were so influential in the articulation of the concept of chiefdom and its redistributive economy so central to its definition, Earle's finding was particularly damning.

the surveyed chiefdoms.<sup>368</sup> What is more, their survey found a diversity of characteristics with a continuous distribution that did not fall into discrete types, and in their conclusion they argue against typological approaches to the study of chiefdoms.<sup>369</sup> Anthropologists working in other regions have published similar results, such as Peter Skalník's review of emic African societies that fall under the umbrella of chiefdom.<sup>370</sup> All of these scholars maintain that the chiefdom is a meaningful concept for the study of society despite an overwhelming diversity among the examples. Feinman and Neitzel's results, however, present a far more substantial critique to the theoretical trend started by Service in employing chiefdoms in evolutionary typologies than they themselves concede.

Chiefdoms are a unitary concept despite their diversity of characteristics (although perhaps not a type, as Feinman and Neitzel argue), because chiefdoms are now understood to be a construct belonging to the time of European colonization when the concept of "traditional" societies was also invented. Chiefdoms are a unitary concept because chiefdoms themselves belong to the invention of societies encountered during European colonization as traditional. Feinman and Neitzel emphasize that contact with European ethnographers did not affect their analysis of the chiefdoms that are considered in their survey; "the utilized information pertains to the early contact period because later societies were affected by depopulation and often were incorporated into European colonial systems."<sup>371</sup> The Achilles' heel of unitary concepts of chiefdoms, however, lies not in whether the societies were altered so much as the continuing influence of the

---

<sup>368</sup> Feinman and Neitzel 1984.

<sup>369</sup> For additional discussions against typological approaches, see Yoffee (1993:63-5, 2005:5-7); typological approaches are defended by Earle (1987:279-81).

<sup>370</sup> Skalník 2004:79-88.

<sup>371</sup> Feinman and Neitzel 1984:46.

European colonial frame of reference on anthropological concepts. The ways in which European colonization altered societies, and the ways in which chiefdoms form part of the colonial invention of traditional societies turn the concept of the chiefdom into a particularly sharp lens to use when focusing on the invention of Paphlagonia in the Greek literary sources of the Achaemenid period.

## *ii. Tradition and the traditional*

It is crucial to turn briefly to scholarship on African societies in order to trace the genealogy of the term “chiefdom” in anthropological literature. In the 1980s, the direction of anthropological research on African societies turned historiographical with a critical focus on the discipline’s colonial past.<sup>372</sup> The anthropologist Johannes Fabian and the historian Terence Ranger became influential players in this research. In Fabian’s writings on anthropology as a colonial discipline, he discusses how anthropology situated other societies in a timelessness that contrasted with European historicity.<sup>373</sup> For his part, Ranger first documents how colonial administrations denied historicity to colonized societies by inventing the concept of the timeless traditional society, such as chiefdoms, and, second, how the colonized appropriated the concept to strengthen their legitimacy to their colonizers.<sup>374</sup> Building on Johannes Fabian’s critique of the timeless object of anthropological research and Terence Ranger’s discussion of the invention of traditions, Sean Hawkins more recently has delineated the historical processes through which a

---

<sup>372</sup> Bourdieu’s 1972 *Esquisse d’une théorie de la pratique* and its 1977 English translation were the theoretical beginnings of the 1980s critical focus. On anthropological time, see Bourdieu 1977:3-9.

<sup>373</sup> Fabian 1983. Fabian’s “other societies” are anthropology’s “primitive societies” (ibid.:63, 68, 138-9). Fabian mentions the influence of his Wesleyan University colleague Hayden White on his perspective. Presumably, White’s influence lies in his commentaries that attempt to interpret the framework that authorizes any particular historical (or anthropological) discourse. Fabian also credits the influence of Foucault on himself and Edward Said for the convergence of their thought (ibid.:xiii-xv).

<sup>374</sup> Ranger [1983] 1992:237-62.



tradition of chiefs is invented in a region where the colonial administration designated the chiefs.<sup>375</sup> The administration was not undertaken through the adoption of preexisting sociopolitical structures; on the contrary, the administration needed chiefs, designated them, and invented traditions that included them to lessen the sense of discontinuity.<sup>376</sup> A similarity is apparent between the arguments for continuity between ancient pre-colonial and colonial chiefs, and the arguments against the temporal dislocations of the modern colonial experience. Consequently, the perspective that the administration of early empires was undertaken through the adoption of preexisting sociopolitical structures causes warning bells to ring.<sup>377</sup> Was it really just business as usual in Paphlagonia, or were the Achaemenids attempting to invent political leaders for Paphlagonia as they imagined it? When Briant writes that Paphlagonia was divided among several rival chiefdoms, he implies that the absence of political unification under Achaemenid imperialism means continuity in the chiefdoms of Paphlagonia. Knowledge of the modern colonial discourse, from which our concepts such as chiefdom and empire are drawn, compels us to examine by what variables we determine that the changes wrought by Achaemenid imperial administration, or Aegean colonization for that matter, were slight.

### *iii. Chiefdom as a heuristic concept*

When chiefdoms are the archaeological type separating simple and complex societies in evolutionary models of state formation, they often surrender themselves in the

---

<sup>375</sup> S. Hawkins (1996; 2002:20-3, 116-22) writing on the LoDagaa of upper Volta River valley and referring to especially to Fabian (1983), Hobsbawm ([1983] 1992), and Ranger (1992, 1993). Dijk and Rouveroy van Nieuwaal provide an overview of Hawkins and other comparable approaches to chiefdoms (1999:1-5).

<sup>376</sup> S. Hawkins 1996:202-3, 2002:116-22.

<sup>377</sup> Compare Newbury who insists on continuity in a recent apology for colonialism (2003) with Given's fifth chapter on British colonialism in Cyprus (2004:69-92).

application of the model. As Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley have noted with regard to Colin Renfrew's identification of chiefdoms in the Neolithic of southern England, the model so limits Renfrew that the identification of the type of society with its list of twenty characteristics "somehow constitutes an explanation."<sup>378</sup> It is this sacrifice of chiefdoms in the application of models that makes much of the archaeological scholarship on chiefdoms irrelevant to Achaemenid Paphlagonia and the study of imperialism in frontier regions.<sup>379</sup>

The way forward, however, is not located in arguments against models of sociopolitical evolution as a sequence of ethnographically defined types. In Norman Yoffee's argument, for example, chiefdoms are merely divorced from his model of sociopolitical evolution.<sup>380</sup> A consequence of chiefdoms' absence from his model is that chiefdoms cannot be analyzed *through* his model, and his model cannot be reworked in the light of postcolonial research on chiefdoms. More particularly, Yoffee argues that the lack of correspondence between the various models and the archaeological evidence for the chiefdom to state transition in Mesopotamia is reason enough to cut the chiefdom from the models. He replaces chiefdoms and other ethnographic types with the processual trinity of economic, social or ideological, and political sources for change.<sup>381</sup>

---

<sup>378</sup> Shanks and Tilley (1987:37) referring to Renfrew (1973).

<sup>379</sup> Compare Kuhrt's comments on the usefulness of Claessen's early state model in the study of the Achaemenid Empire (Kuhrt 1989:217).

<sup>380</sup> Yoffee proposes a "new social evolutionary theory (1993:71-2, 2005:31-41). Skalník makes a similar appeal to anthropology to release the study of chiefdoms "from the teleology of the state" (2004:76).

<sup>381</sup> The framing of the theory of sociopolitical evolution as a processual transition from simple to complex societies based on this trinity is a translation of the nineteenth and early twentieth century colonial discourse on primitive and civilized societies into the late twentieth and twenty-first century neoimperial discourse (Rowlands 1989:36-8; Hamilakis 2002:8, 11-5; Chapman 2003:4-8). Earle's writings on the political economy of chiefdoms is a similar translation with a quartet of social, economic, military, and ideological sources of power (1997:4-14), except that Earle retains the concept of the chiefdom on the grounds that it helps comparison of societies (1987:280). A possible reinterpretation of the diversity found by Feinman and Neitzel's survey (1984) that does not reify

As I have argued in Chapter 2, however, archaeological research has not found significant quantifiable variations in these economic, social or ideological, and political sources in the evidence from Paphlagonia during the Achaemenid period. The settlement structure undergoes few changes, copper continues to be mined, pastoralism remains widespread in the south, and representations of Achaemenid iconography are rare; in other words, the impact of imperialism appears to be slight just as in an application of the model of sociopolitical evolution with ethnographic types.

Processual models and their variables—regardless of how finely they are adjusted—are too reductive and essentialist to reveal the nature of Achaemenid imperialism in Paphlagonia.<sup>382</sup> If archaeology, as a discipline dedicated to the study of change in societies through time, is unable to find change, then the processual frame of reference that has dominated chiefdom studies needs to be replaced. Although it is possible to abandon the concept of chiefdom as an irredeemable processual type, after a postcolonial genealogy—as Hawkins and others have done for ethnographically known chiefdoms—the chiefdom just might yield insights into changes in Paphlagonian society during the Achaemenid period. I admit that after reading Hawkins my first response was to throw the baby out with the bathwater and return to Briant’s preference for *dynast*.<sup>383</sup> On second thought it occurred to me that the chiefdom might be useful as a heuristic

---

ne imperialism would recognize the heterarchy within a complex society as a trade off for the heterarchy between simple societies, that is, intrasocietal for intersocietal complexity.

<sup>382</sup> Cf. Hamilakis’s discussion of the problems with processual interpretations of the Minoan Bronze Age (2002:10-2).

<sup>383</sup> The attitude among classical archaeologists is often that their rich documentation renders the theories of anthropological archaeology unnecessary. My attitude is that for all descriptions and interpretations, whether theoretically informed or not, historiographical analysis is not enough, and postcolonial critique is necessary. Unlike Earle I do not consider these critiques “devastating” nor do they make chiefdom “something of a “dirty word”” (1987:280, referring to Flannery’s comment that “eventually “chiefdom” was a dirty word” (1983:1)); they merely make us more fully aware of the earlier reincarnations of our heuristically significant terms.

concept<sup>384</sup> to explore the colonial and imperial relationships of Paphlagonian leaders to the Achaemenid administration.

### ***C. Achaemenid relations with Paphlagonia***

How Paphlagonian leaders related to the Achaemenid administration is one of the few questions that the extant textual sources let us address; the sources only refer to Paphlagonians when they appear on the wider Achaemenid stage in Anatolia. Without even a condensed history of Paphlagonia, such as Pompeius Trogus' background on the Paphlagonians mentioned in the summary of his tenth book,<sup>385</sup> we are restricted to discussing mere fragments of political *and social* relations when we focus on the textual sources alone. In the introduction and Chapter 6, I deconstruct Paphlagonia as a bounded region inhabited by ethnic Paphlagonians; I would therefore not want to write a history *of* Paphlagonia even if it were possible, but rather histories *in* Paphlagonia.<sup>386</sup> Neither a history of—nor histories in—Paphlagonia are possible in the light of the textual sources dealt with here. Rather, our fragmented sources and disintegrated landscapes let us write a history around Paphlagonia or on Achaemenid relations with Paphlagonia.

---

<sup>384</sup> In studies of chiefdoms and similar archaeological concepts, such as states, resides a misunderstanding of conceptual reality. Chiefdoms do not have reality but rather are concepts that are reified through scholarly arguments in the present and may approximate social relations in the past. Whereas contemporary states make themselves visible through institutions, spectacles, and monuments, for Paphlagonia, the ancient chiefdom is a more intangible concept. It would be a mistake to merely identify chiefdoms and describe them; it is necessary to specify what aspects of social relations they help explain and suggest other perspectives for the understanding of the society.

<sup>385</sup> Paphlagonon origo repetita (prol. libri 10 l. 6, Seel 1956:309). His background may have helped us discuss Paphlagonian dynastic histories.

<sup>386</sup> In Mediterranean histories before Fernand Braudel's *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II*, history was written as if set *in* the Mediterranean region. In Braudel's history of the Mediterranean the ecology binds the region and brings out structures of the *longue durée* (1972:23-4, 25-102 passim). In Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell's revision of Braudel for the medieval and ancient Mediterranean they return to a discussion of the fragmented histories of microecologies set in the Mediterranean. Here, in contrast, we are discussing history in the region formerly occupied by Paphlagonia in the modern historical imagination.

### *i. Achaemenid administration*

Unfortunately, when we turn to the scholarship on the administrative organization of the empire to find Paphlagonia's position within it, we find instead that the scholarship is itself plagued with conflicting interpretations of the textual sources. Conflicting positions for Paphlagonia are the result; they vary from repeated assertions that the Paphlagonians were a dependency of Daskyleion<sup>387</sup> to "[Paphlagonia] had always belonged to the satrapy of Cappadocia."<sup>388</sup> According to both, Paphlagonia occupies a similarly dependent position in the administrative hierarchy,<sup>389</sup> but the orientation of the landscape changes from the Black Sea to the basin of the Kızılırmak. Fortunately, a fragile consensus on the satrapal organization of the empire and its development in Anatolia under the Achaemenids and Alexander the Great has emerged.<sup>390</sup> The consensus is most prominently articulated in Briant's *From Cyrus to Alexander*, and founded on qualified acceptance of Herodotus' description of the tribute reforms of Darius I and interpretation

---

<sup>387</sup> For example, Briant 2002:698, Klinkott 2000:88.

<sup>388</sup> "Paphlagonien, das von jeher zur Satrapie Kappadokien gehört hatte, wurde nun dem Calas unterstellt, weil der übergeordnete Satrapensitz in Kappadokien am Pontus 'noch' nicht in makedonischer Hand war" (Jacobs 1994:57).

<sup>389</sup> Paphlagonia's position in both variations is similar only in so far as Paphlagonia is dependent on a satrapy. In Briant the satrapies are not arranged hierarchically and Daskyleion is only dependent on the imperial center (2002:390-3); in Jacobs Paphlagonia is a *Kleinsatrapie* dependent on the *Hauptsatrapie* of Cappadocia/Katpatuka which is itself under the *Grosssatrapie* of Lydia/Sparda (1994:118-46).

<sup>390</sup> Jacobs who refers to the consensus as "deceptive" (trügerisch) is the principal dissenting voice. He argues for continuity in the administrative organization from the kingdoms conquered by the Achaemenids through the two centuries of Achaemenid rule and down to Alexander. This perspective is yet another example of the static orient where flexibility and change are "stolen" in western historical interpretation (Goody 2006:185-7). Jacobs arbitrarily rejects Herodotus as a source on account of his Homeric references and insists that the country lists along with the historians of Alexander are "primary" sources (1994, 2003a, 2003b). His arguments reveal that by "primary" he means that a source can be (ab)used without first clarifying how ritual, literary characteristics or any other factor influences the source. The role played by the country lists in the ritual mapping of the empire precludes their adjustment in response to every administrative exigency. He concludes with an elaborate (and rigid) hierarchical organization of nested satrapies (compare Weiskopf 1982:71, Debord 1999:23), whereas the sources demand a heterarchical interpretation of Achaemenid administration with a judicious review of every source.

of the country lists of the Achaemenid royal inscriptions in their ritual context.<sup>391</sup> Pierre Debord's subsequent in-depth comparison of the geographical aspects of Herodotus, the royal inscriptions, and the historians of Alexander, which treats the satrapal organization throughout the empire, reaches an assessment similar to Briant's, and argues for Paphlagonia's fluctuating affiliation with the Daskyleion satrapy from Darius I through Alexander.<sup>392</sup>

In Herodotus' description of the tribute reforms, Darius I groups Paphlagonians with the peoples on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmara and the Black sea in the third satrapy with its satrapal residence at Daskyleion.<sup>393</sup> Following Darius's institution of twenty satrapies and his appointment of their governors, Herodotus then describes Darius as assessing the tribute obligations of each of the satrapies.<sup>394</sup> During the assessment Darius "attached to each people their neighbors, and moving beyond those nearby, he

<sup>391</sup> Following Armayor (1978:7-9) historians often discredit Herodotus as a source on satrapal organization and tribute collection due to his mirroring the catalog of ships in the *Iliad* in his list of satrapies. Briant accepts the Hellenization of the list with an Aegean centered numbering and literary characteristics similar to the catalog of ships. He also admits that Herodotus' description likely reflects the changes in the organization between Darius I's reforms and the time at which Herodotus was writing (2002:172-86, 908-10). Darius I possibly begins to resemble in Herodotus an eponymous founder who has ascribed to him incremental and subsequent changes. Briant quite wisely omits a detailed study of the "geographical aspects" of Herodotus with the excuse that such a study is out of place in his general history (2002:931).

<sup>392</sup> Debord 1999:110-5; see also Klinkott 2000:79, 88, 91, 99 (table with results summarized); 2005:458-9. Briant 2002:698 (Paphlagonians were a dependency of Daskyleion), 743 (Paphlagonia subject to Daskyleion under Alexander), 796 (Paphlagonians commanded by Daskyleion satrap Arsites at Granikos).

<sup>393</sup> "The third nome was the Hellespontians on the right as you sail in, Phrygians, Thracians in Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians, and their tribute was 360 talents" ('Απὸ δὲ Ἑλλησποντίων τῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσπλέοντι καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Θρηίκων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν καὶ Συρίων ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ἦν φόρος νομὸς τρίτος οὗτος, Hdt. 3.90.7-10). See also 3.89.1-7 on satrapies, 3.120.9 on Daskyleion as the capital of the province/nome (under Cambyses), 3.126.6 on the governor/hyparchos from Daskyleion (under Cambyses), 6.33.18 on the governor/hyparchos in Daskyleion. Cyrus II added the Lydian province of Daskyleion to the Achaemenid possessions in the 540s, and Paphlagonians are mentioned as living on the west bank of the Kızılırmak and affiliated, possibly loosely, with Lydia before Lydia's defeat by Cyrus II (Hdt. 1.6, 28, 72; Xen. *Cyr.* 2.1.5, 8.6.7-8 [Xenophon's passages arguably reflect events later than Cyrus II]).

<sup>394</sup> Tribute in kind from Paphlagonia could have included agricultural and pastoral products, copper, forest resources; but transport either through Gangra to the royal road or from Sinope to Daskyleion by sea would have presented some difficulties.

distributed those farther on to one or another people.”<sup>395</sup> The description of the constitution of each satrapy through the grouping of peoples with their neighbors introduces a list of the twenty satrapies and presumably explains the description of Daskyleion in the list as the satrapal center in charge of the “Hellespontians on the right as you sail in, Phrygians, Thracians in Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians.” It is probable that the Paphlagonians were imagined as an administrative entity through the same grouping procedure of the peoples on the coast, in the Gökırmak catchment, and the Gangra vicinity.<sup>396</sup>

The Daskyleion satrapy had both a European and maritime orientation that the name of the satrapy in the Old Persian royal inscriptions reflects, “the people near the sea” (*tayaīy drayahyā*).<sup>397</sup> Although Herodotus includes Phrygia in the Daskyleion satrapy, references around the end of the fifth century to the expeditions and relations of its satrap

<sup>395</sup> ἡ Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα, ἐν Πέρσῃσι ἀρχὰς κατεστήσατο εἴκοσι, τὰς αὐτοὶ καλέουσι σατραπείας· καταστήσας δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἱρχοντας ἐπιστήσας ἐτάξατο φόρους οἱ προσιέναι κατὰ ἔθνεά τε καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ἔθνεσι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους προστάσσω, καὶ ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς προσεχέας τὰ ἐκαστέρῳ ἴλλοισι ἴλλα ἔθνεα νέμων (Hdt. 3.89). Note how Herodotus describes the grouping of peoples, and not regions, in satrapies.

<sup>396</sup> Although it is possible that Herodotus’ explanation is a rationalization from the perceived pattern of the satrapies, it is more probable that it is derived from the Achaemenid ideology reported by Herodotus (1.134) on honoring neighbors over more distant peoples. The discussion in the previous chapter of how the earliest attestations of the name *Paphlagon* after Homer are in Herodotus and the first references to *Paphlagonia* and *Paphlagonians* are by Xenophon is also relevant to the Achaemenid imagination of Paphlagonia.

<sup>397</sup> On *tayaīy drayahyā*, see Schmitt 1972; Debord summarizes further points in support of the identification of *tayaīy drayahyā* as the Daskyleion satrapy (1999:70-2), whereas Lewis (1977:83 n. 10), Petit (1990:136, 182-3), and Lecoq (1997:141) question the identification. Sancisi-Weerdenburg’s unconvincing argument against the identification (2001a) disregards how the country lists ritually map the empire and are meaningfully constitutive of it. Additionally, her argument assumes a maritime orientation in the Behistun country lists from Egypt to Yauna through eastern Mediterranean coastal peoples and Lydia (2001a:3, 2001b:324-33; DB I §6 [col. 1.15] in Kent 1953:117-9, Kuhrt 2007b, vol. 1:141 no. 5.1 [Old Persian list]). Weiskopf notes the decrease in Daskyleion’s stature relative to Sparda when the Achaemenids withdrew from Europe (1982:349-50). The satrapal residence at Daskyleion has seen two phases of archaeological investigation. The first phase was directed by Ekrem Akurgal from 1954 to 1960, and the second phase, ongoing since 1980, under the direction of Tomris Bakır. For a bibliography of the Akurgal’s excavations, see Bakır 1995. On the Achaemenid satrapal palace and the ongoing excavations more generally, see Bakır 2003, 2007. For the most recent of the annual reports published in the proceedings of the *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, see Bakır 2009.

Pharnabazus indicate that Daskyleion's reach a century after Darius's reforms did not extend much beyond the Sakarya River at Gordion. The city was the crossroads where the road from Daskyleion joined with a royal road from Sardis.<sup>398</sup> Herodotus' Phrygia is, without question, far more extensive, and consists of both lands south of the sea of Marmara *and the vast extent* of the Anatolian plateau southwest of the Kızılırmak from south of the Paphlagonian mountains, north of the Taurus Mountain Range, and as far west as the tributaries of the western Anatolian rivers.<sup>399</sup>

As early as the 460s, a satrap of Phrygian lands on the plateau, Epixues, was reportedly hostile to Themistokles and impeded his passage on the royal road in the vicinity of the fort at Leontonkephalai.<sup>400</sup> A Phrygian satrapy on the plateau could have seceded from Daskyleion between Darius's reforms and Pharnabazus,<sup>401</sup> but Herodotus' sometimes overly conventional, sometimes muddled knowledge of the Anatolian plateau

<sup>398</sup> On Pharnabazus (satrap ?-388) in Bithynia, see Xen. *An.* 6.4.24; in Gordion, see Xen. *Hel.* 1.4.1; in Phrygia, see *Hell. Oxy.* 24.3-25.1 (Chambers 1993:46-8), Xen. *Hel.* 4.1.1; other more ambiguous passages appear in Xen. *Hel.* 3.1.13 (see Debord 1999:94-5 n. 100, Lewis 1977:56 n. 39). Compare with Debord, who places Leontonkephalai under Pharnabazos (1999:94-6). Arrian reports that Gordion is in Hellespontine Phrygia (the Daskyleion satrapy) and the upper Sakarya River is in Phrygia (on the plateau) under Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* 1.29.5).

<sup>399</sup> Phrygia on the plateau: Hdt. 1.72; 5.49, 52; 7.26, 30-1.

<sup>400</sup> "Ruling as satrap of upper Phrygia" σατραπεύων τῆς ἄνω Φρυγίας (Plut. *Vit. Them.* 30.1). Briant notes that although Herodotus credits Darius I with the reforms, their description may reflect changes in the organization between Darius I and when Herodotus is writing in the third quarter of the fifth century (2002:392). The reference to a satrap of upper Phrygia, however, casts doubt on whether this explanation is cogent for the omission of the Anatolian plateau satrapies. Klinkott errs when he describes upper Phrygia as the Daskyleion satrapy (2005:459); ἄνω, the opposite of κάτω (the coast), means the plateau. Petit identifies Epixues as a satrap of Sardis (1990:appendix 2). Whether Xenophon's reference to the greater Phrygian satrapy on the plateau under Cyrus II (Xen. *Cyr.* 8.6.7) reflects the satrapal organization of Artaxerxes II is debated (Debord 1999:80). The appointment of Cyrus III as the satrap of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia can be argued as evidence that the satrapy of Greater Phrygia existed before his appointment (Xen. *An.* 1.9.7). Other sources refer a ruler, but not a satrap, of Greater Phrygia (Xen. *An.* 7.8.25, Polyanius *Strat.* 7.28.2) but is clear that if Greater Phrygia was affiliated with a satrapy and subsequently seceded, then the affiliated satrapy was Sardis, not Daskyleion (compare Hdt. 3.127).

<sup>401</sup> Debord 1999:77, 91-6, 155, Klinkott 2005. Briant comments that the date of the foundation of a Phrygian satrapy with its center at Kelainai is unknown; "perhaps it was during the fourth century" (2002:706). In 518-517 Darius began his reforms after his suppression of the rebellions that arose after his accession (see Briant 2002:390).



reveals him to be an unreliable source for the satrapal organization of the plateau from the end of the sixth century to the middle of the fifth century, precisely when he was conducting his inquiries.<sup>402</sup> In addition to a Phrygian satrapy on the Anatolian plateau, Herodotus does not mention a satrapy of Cappadocia, but rather includes Syrians (Cappadocians, as Herodotus explains they were also known) in the Daskyleion satrapy.<sup>403</sup> Historians rarely have any hesitation about either removing Herodotus' Syrians from the Daskyleion satrapy or restricting Herodotus' reference to Syrians near the Black sea. The reasons given are many; a few are as follows: first, the inconsistency between the descriptions of the eastern boundary of Paphlagonia as the Kızılırmak and a reference to Syrians between the Terme and Bartın Rivers; secondly, the improbably extensive range of both Herodotus' Syrians and his Armenian satrapy; and last, the presence of Cappadocians in the country lists of the royal inscriptions.<sup>404</sup> Nothing is

---

<sup>402</sup> Herodotus' boundaries between Anatolian peoples, such as Phrygians and Lydians, are embedded in natural features, ritual practices, political histories, and literary topoi, and should not be expected to closely reflect narrated events, such as Darius' tribute assessment. Debord's exercises in mapping Herodotus compounds the inconsistencies and results in some preposterous boundaries and routes, especially the Sinope to Cilicia route (1999:84 map2, 32 map 1), and emphasizes the need for an acceptance of Herodotus as a source *with modifications*. Summers provides a cautionary example of the identification of an Anatolian plateau city, Kerkenes Dağı/Pteria, on the evidence of a single passage in Herodotus. Summers' historical argument is now improbable with the redating of the relevant Yassihöyük/Gordion and Boğazköy/Hattusha ceramic sequences (G.D. Summers 1997, 2000; cf. Rollinger 2003a:305-19, 2003b; Tuplin 2004:247-8), but the identification is still probable.

<sup>403</sup> Hdt. 1.72, 76; 5.49; 7.72.

<sup>404</sup> Debord 1999:83-8. Kızılırmak as boundary under Kroisos: Hdt. 1.6, 28, 72, 75-6; Syrians on the coast up to the Bartın River: Hdt. 2.104; Syria bordering Egypt (Hdt. 2.116, for example). Herodotus' Black sea Syrians/Cappadocians are also known as Assyrians (Pseudo-Skylax *Perieg.* 89-90, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.964) and Leukosyrians (Hecataeus *FGrH* 1.7a, etc.). In the majority of sources they inhabit the deltas of the Kızılırmak, Yeşilırmak, and Terme River. Regardless, Herodotus is probably not inconsistent; it is historians who are comparing apples and oranges. The Syrians on the "Paphlagonian" coast appear in a passage about the spread of circumcision, and Syrians to the east of the Kızılırmak appear in a passage describing a *political* boundary. Compare Debord's discussion of the two variants as derived from literary traditions begun by Hecataeus and Eumelus (1999:85-6). Katpatuka/Cappadocia is present in most of the country lists of the royal inscriptions (summaries of the lists are on Klinkott 2005:70-3), and historians following Laird (1921:306-8, 324) argue that the Paktiuke appearing in Herodotus' description of the thirteenth satrapy is a corruption of Katpatuka (Debord:83-8, Klinkott 2005:107). Because Herodotus does not use Katpatuka elsewhere, rather than a textual corruption of Katpatuka, Paktiuke seems to reflect Herodotus' muddled knowledge about the

certain about the satrapies on the plateau, but with all the reasons for a Cappadocia satrapy separate from Daskyleion, and all of the problems with the Phrygian lands on the plateau within Daskyleion, Herodotus seems to have merged the plateau satrapies into a satrapy with a more familiar European and maritime orientation.

Herodotus' omission of the Phrygian and Cappadocian satrapies on the Anatolian plateau is not extraordinary, however, if we consider that the sources of Greek (and Carian) knowledge on Anatolia were restricted to coastal navigation and settlements with harbors. This maritime knowledge is reflected directly in Herodotus' description of the Daskyleion satrapy, and indirectly in the Homeric catalog of ships and other literary sources on which Herodotus draws.<sup>405</sup> Herodotus, therefore, cannot stand alone as evidence of the Daskyleion satrapy's maritime orientation, but this is nevertheless a proposition that I will explore further through Paphlagonian relations to the plateau and the coast.<sup>406</sup>

Many Achaemenid historians have embraced Michael Weiskopf's caveat against the drawing of satrapal boundaries. Due to the scarcity of the historical sources on Achaemenid Anatolia, Weiskopf argues that historians ought to research the personal relations of elites and not the empire's administrative organization or boundaries. Although Weiskopf's argument is well taken, his concern with the flexibility of empires

---

Katpatuka/Cappadocia (cf. Casabonne 2007:105). Ktesias also refers to the satrap of Cappadocia, Ariaramnes, under Darius I (*FGrH* 688 F 13 §20, see Debord 1999:89-90 for discussion).

<sup>405</sup> Herodotus' references to the Greek literary sources are discussed in the second chapter. Herodotus alludes not only to the Greek literary and mythical tradition but also to the Achaemenid; the number of satrapies Herodotus mentions conforms to Achaemenid myths with the number twenty—for example, twenty names of Ahura Mazda and the twenty sons of the eponymous founder of Parsa (Pirart 1995:65-8).

<sup>406</sup> In addition to its maritime orientation towards the sea of Marmara and Black Sea, Weiskopf argues that the satrapy was originally conceived as a bridge for Achaemenid expansion into Europe, and Daskyleion's diminished stature once expansion ended in the 470s led to the competition that emerged in the 360s (1982:349-50).

is drawn more from contemporary ideological sources and not the scarcity of ancient historical sources.<sup>407</sup> Furthermore, rejection of more precise descriptions of the Daskyleion satrapy and discussions of its geographical orientation do not allow us to approach the question of why the Achaemenids were the first, according to our knowledge, to consider Paphlagonia an entity.<sup>408</sup> With Daskyleion's maritime orientation and administration of the Anatolian plateau as far as Gordion and Ankara, Paphlagonia may have been merely an administrative region of convenience with access from the royal road at Ankara to Çankırı, the Paphlagonian city in the south, and from the Black sea harbors to the Gökırmak valley. To this landscape we add the Greek mythical name, at the very least, for the people on a short stretch of the coast, Paphlagonians, and, voilà, an imagined administrative entity is born.

---

<sup>407</sup> Weiskopf argues that the primary sources do not allow him to “establish a single theoretical hierarchy of imperial administration or fix boundaries of individual administrative units” (1982:69). It is clear, however, that his indifference to administrative organization and boundaries is more accurately understood as a consequence of his broader perspective on the flexibility of Achaemenid administration and the satrapies as “spheres of influence” (ibid.:70). To Weiskopf, flexibility is both an imperial strategy and reflection of diachronic changes in the empire (ibid.:69-70). He rightly holds that a description of the spheres of influence emerges during his discussion of the personal relations of Achaemenid elites as they perform the administration of the empire. His study of personal relations of the elites is surely a positive contribution of his dissertation, but on governance and organization he is not reflective enough of his assumptions or the genealogy of his concepts. My hesitation to draw boundaries is related to my view that it is an archaeological practice merely validating modernism as discussed in the first chapter. I also accept Weiskopf's emphasis on flexibility. My acceptance is qualified, however, by a concern for a deeper appreciation of organization and governance and by less dependence on competition (cf. Debord 1999:11, 22-3, 24-5). Although Weiskopf (1982, 1989) does not reference Edward Luttwak's *Grand strategy of the Roman Empire from the first century A.D. to the third*, his understanding of the flexibility of empires bears a remarkable similarity to the “loose” administration of hegemonic empires developed in Luttwak's cold-war influenced and American neoimperialism-dependent writing on the Roman empire (1976:18-30, 49-50; Sinopoli 2001:439). My hesitation, however, does not extend to the description of places. The postcolonial critique emphasizes the necessity of recognizing the place of the imperial encounter.

<sup>408</sup> Despite Herodotus' inclusion of Paphlagonia within Lydia, we have no knowledge of Paphlagonian kingdoms during the Phrygian or Lydian periods that preceded the Achaemenid. The settlement history of Paphlagonia discussed in the second chapter addresses issues of continuity from the Lydian period to the Achaemenid.

## *ii. Models of imperial administration*

Herodotus suggests that what the Achaemenid administration required of Paphlagonians was not more than their tribute obligations to Daskyleion and their military levies in the imperial army. Their contingent in the army of Xerxes also supports their participation in the levies.<sup>409</sup> The requirements are not the limit of Achaemenid relations with Paphlagonia; rather, they are the limit set by Herodotus' interest in the hostilities between Greeks and others. His interest in Paphlagonians is political and military. The limit of the requirements at tribute and military levies, however, seamlessly fits into the various theoretical models on early empires where the impact of imperialism is slight, especially in mountainous frontiers such as Paphlagonia. In the sociologist Shmuel Eisenstadt's model of empires, the Achaemenid Empire in Paphlagonia falls into the patrimonial type where restructuring of sociopolitical structures is limited and the relations between conquerors and conquered leaders are not institutionalized.<sup>410</sup> Another model that was popular among archaeologists in the 1980s and 1990s belongs to the military historian Edward Luttwak. In his model of territorial and hegemonic imperial systems, tribute obligations and military levies are often the limit of the imperial

---

<sup>409</sup> Hdt. 7.72-3. The Paphlagonians are grouped with the Matieneans, a people from around Lake Urmia in northwestern Iran, under the command of otherwise unknown Dotos the son of Megasidros. The Mariandynians are under the command of Gobryas, the son of Darius I. Bosworth and Wheatley comment that "it is not implausible that [Gobryas] had received extensive domains in the area" (1998:159). Although it is also not implausible that Dotos was granted estates in Paphlagonia, we have no evidence of such estate landholding patterns in the fifth century and only inconclusive evidence of non-local elite landholding outside of the Sinope Promontory in the fourth century.

<sup>410</sup> Eisenstadt characterizes the Achaemenid empire as part patrimonial type and part centralized historical bureaucratic type; Achaemenid relations with Paphlagonia fall into the latter (1963:10-1). On institutionalization, see *ibid.*:105-7. The patrimonial empire is, of course, drawn from the writings of Weber on the patrimonial society as the bureaucratic type of traditional society (Weber 1978:228-41, 1006-69). See also Sinopoli 1995:6.

administration's requirements from client states in the hegemonic system just as in Herodotus' description of Achaemenid Paphlagonia.<sup>411</sup>

Similar to Luttwak's model, the historian Michael Mann in his 1986 study of power distinguished between territorial empires and what he referred to as empires of domination. Among the models, Mann's is the only one to discuss the Achaemenid Empire at any length, and yet it is ironically the most problematic for Achaemenid studies because of its overt promotion of the biases of nineteenth century Hellenocentrism.<sup>412</sup> Mann characterizes the Achaemenids as a "revitalized empire of domination" ruled through subjugated elites with a combination of compulsory cooperation and the spread of an emerging imperial elite culture.<sup>413</sup> What is problematic is his application of the concept of compulsory cooperation to economic relations after imperial expansion. Whereas the surplus extracted can be said to increase after expansion and the imperial administration can be said to receive a share of the surplus as in the model, compulsory cooperation contrasts the exploitative and coerced qualities of the economic relations in militarized empires of domination to the economic relations of the decentralized Greek *civilization*.<sup>414</sup>

---

<sup>411</sup> Luttwak 1976:27, 30. Luttwak distinguishes between client states and client tribes; from the tribes neither tribute nor levies were expected (32-8). The relationship between Luttwak's hegemonic empire and the concept of the informal empire and its application to the contemporary United States is also remarkable. For examples of archaeological applications of Luttwak's model, see Sinopoli 1994:160-1, 1995:6.

<sup>412</sup> Mann's influence is widespread because of the popularity of his replacement of models of empires based on types with a model—in the Weberian scholarly tradition—of imperial networks of intersecting sources of power (economic, military, political, and ideological [1986:1-33]) that Yoffee, for example, responded to (1993:69-71). Whereas Mann's writings promote Hellenocentrism, they are more accurately characterized as strongly Eurocentric with a teleology of constitutionality.

<sup>413</sup> Mann 1986:231, 237-49.

<sup>414</sup> Mann emphasizes how his characterization of "the inseparability of naked repression and exploitation from more or less common benefit" distinguishes compulsory cooperation from the models with exploitation, coercion, and no benefit of "specialist scholars of the ancient Near East (1986:146-8). But Mann's model offers only superficial adjustments to a long Eurocentric tradition of scholarship on

Briant levels a critique at this contrast, specifically at the scholarly perspective concerning the Achaemenids' overly exploitative tribute economy that drains wealth from the subjugated peoples and therefore leads to instability in the empire. Briant follows the perspective from Albert Olmstead back to J.G. Droysen's characterization of Alexander as an enlightened conqueror who brought economic progress to the former Achaemenid empire. He observes that, historiographically, the perspective is so obviously related to Europe's search for historical antecedents to an expansionist, commercial, and culturally superior Europe that further comment is unnecessary.<sup>415</sup>

Generated under the same period of colonialism, Marxist theories on stagnation in the Asiatic mode of production formed the basis of similar characterizations of the Achaemenid Empire as despotic.<sup>416</sup> Whereas Briant and other Marxist or historical materialist scholars have abandoned economic stagnation and political despotism,<sup>417</sup> traces of this perspective remain in Briant's "distrust" of an ideology that "conceals" the

---

despotic oriental rulers of militarized societies. Another such model is Wittfogel's hydraulic despotism (1957). The contrast between the revitalized empires of domination of the Assyrians and Achaemenids, and the decentralized multi-power-actor civilizations of the Phoenicians and Greeks is one of polar opposites (1986:231).

<sup>415</sup> Briant 2002:800-4, 809-12, 1038, 1040-1. For a discussion of, not a passing comment on, the historiographical influence of colonialism, see Briant's articles compiled in 1982b (passim, especially 281-90, 291-6, 478-9) and his later historiographical articles such as 2005 (267-72).

<sup>416</sup> The most conspicuous example of Marxist writing on economic stagnation and political despotism is Wittfogel's 1957 *Oriental despotism*. Similar to Luttwak's model, Wittfogel's model of hydraulic despotism is a thinly veiled rant against the communism of the Soviet Union and China (on Lenin and Stalin, see 389-411; on the Soviets and communist China as "Asiatic restorations," see 436-46). Wittfogel concludes with a quotation from Herodotus on the slavery of the Achaemenid commander Hydarnes (Hdt. 7.135) as the example of the oppressiveness of hydraulic despotism and the Achaemenid empire (1957:448-9). On oriental despotism from an archaeological perspective, see Liverani 2005:228-31.

<sup>417</sup> Briant 1982b:298, 405-30, 433-4, 477-9. For a postcolonial critique of the Asiatic mode of production as "a venerable moment in the theorizing the other" into a "para-geographical space/time that mark[s] the outside of the feudalism-capitalism circuit," see Spivak (1999:71-111, quotations from 72, 83). The historical materialist tradition spawned by Marx is also referred to here as Marxism.

function of tribute in funding the empire.<sup>418</sup> Despite the many nuances revealed in this in-depth historical description of the Achaemenid Empire, and his misgivings about what he finds as inadequate and simplistic theoretical models, Briant is still clearly dependent on Marxist models of exploitative and coerced imperialism.<sup>419</sup> Compared to Romila Thapar's more classical Marxist model of empires as expanding states, however, Briant's approach to Marxism departs from the classical Marxist emphasis on economic production.

In Thapar's model, increased tribute motivates the conquest of territories with economic potential and the encouragement of agrarian intensification in the periphery. Paphlagonia would be characterized in her model as an area without economic potential and "would be left relatively untouched provided they recognized the sovereignty of the ... state".<sup>420</sup> As in other classical Marxist models, exploitation and coercion rises from the division of society into dominant classes removed from production versus the oppressed, producing classes. Imperial ideology, additionally, masks the appropriation of surplus by the dominant from the oppressed.<sup>421</sup> On a very simplistic level, Briant's historical interpretation comes close to Thapar's model, given his interests in agrarian intensification through imperial support for irrigation and agricultural estates.

---

<sup>418</sup> Briant 2002:805-6 (the original French edition reads "à l'inverse, on tend à se défier des principes de l'idéologie monarchique" (Briant 1996:825) and "le thème idéologique de la «défense des paysans» recouvre une nécessité pratique, celle que les terres et paysans alimentent régulièrement les caisses royales par le biais du tribut" (ibid.:826). On Marxism and concealment, see Eagleton's chapter "Ideological strategies" (2007:33-61, especially 51-8).

<sup>419</sup> Comparison of Briant's comments on the inadequacy of models (2002:804) to his publications in the 1970s and early 1980s (for example, the papers collected in 1982b) illustrates how Briant's Marxism has changed, but his distrust of the repressive state remains. Sancisi-Weerdenburg is another historian who frequently brought models of the state (Claessen and Skalnik's early state model among others) into her analyses of the Achaemenid Empire (for example, 1987:43, 1990, 1994).

<sup>420</sup> Thapar 1981:410-3.

<sup>421</sup> Chapman 2003:95-100.

Following Louis Althusser, however, Briant refuses to consider the imperial administration as a material outcome of economic structures, and finds reciprocity between the economic, political, and ideological levels in an Achaemenid empire that is historically specific and diverse.<sup>422</sup> His prose is peppered with statements, such as, “the imperial administration cannot be reduced to extracting of tribute,” and “the ideology of peace is not a simple distortion of the truth: the king and his satraps were ‘protectors of the peasants.’”<sup>423</sup> Althusser argues that lived relations do not exist outside of ideology; therefore, ideology is not a distortion.<sup>424</sup>

But is it an illusion or a reality? To Althusser, ideology is not an illusion tenuously connected to reality; on the contrary, it is always realized in an institutional apparatus. Nevertheless, a paradox emerges in Althusser’s insistence that ideology is both a realization (material, not ideal) and a representation of lived relations in the real economic and political worlds.<sup>425</sup> The precedence given to economic and political relations is inescapable in Althusser and Briant. Because of this precedence, the Marxist frame of reference is to be scrapped as a means for the archaeological interpretation of antiquity. What it comes down to is that this precedence is also the foundation for the causal relationship of the class struggle over production to exploitation and coercion. The concepts of production, class and so on are all grounded in the historical specificity

---

<sup>422</sup> In contrast, Thapar argues for economic determinism; “the political economy of the expansion would determine the structure of relations between the ... state and the areas sought to be controlled” (1981:410).

<sup>423</sup> Briant 2002:808, 806 (the original French edition reads “l’administration impériale n’est pas réductible à la ponction tribulaire” [Briant 1996:828] and “l’idéologie de la paix n’est pas simple déformation du réel: en tant que «protecteurs des paysans», le roi et ses satrapes [contribuent au maintien du niveau des forces productives, garant des récoltes et du tribute]” [ibid.:826]).

<sup>424</sup> Ideology as lived reality (i.e., both imaginary and material) derives from Althusser’s discussion of the reproduction of the means of production and ideological state apparatuses ([1970] 1994):102-4, 109-13). See also Eagleton 2007:12-22 (18-22 on Althusser) and Montag 1995:59-62.

<sup>425</sup> Althusser 1994:122-8



of capitalism.<sup>426</sup> Additionally, the state—itself grounded in historical specificity—and the concept of the state (and by extension, empire) are reified through Marxism.<sup>427</sup> Reducing historical discourse to a coherent frame of reference, be it Marxist or other, fails to recognize the heterogeneous character of power in the past and to address the necessity of uncovering the divergent discourses of Achaemenid imperialism.<sup>428</sup>

As Michel Foucault suggests, “maybe, after all, the state is no more than a composite reality and a mythicized abstraction, whose importance is a lot more limited than many of us think.”<sup>429</sup> The state, in other words, is not more than a concept reified through discourse on the state whereas power lies in all discourses in society.<sup>430</sup> Scholars working within both Marxist and postcolonial frames of reference object to Foucault’s evisceration of the state and argue that by locating power everywhere, he constructs a frame of reference “congenial to the ruling order.”<sup>431</sup> The sociologist Philip Abrams

---

<sup>426</sup> Although components of Marxist frame of reference slips into my interpretation, it seems impossible to for archaeology to attempt a discourse of difference about the past through the frame of reference. Briant has used Marxist theory, however, to brilliant effect in his incorporation of the Persepolis fortification and Babylonian tablets with archaeological evidence into his history of the Achaemenid “tribute economy” (2002:422-71). What is truly compelling in Briant’s writing is how he addresses historiographical biases of the Marxist frame of reference through a reworking of the original frame of reference to show that they are not essential.

<sup>427</sup> Routledge’s argument on the “need to theorize the diversity of complex hierarchical polities [states and empires]” such that we can explain “representations of collectivized power” does not convince me that the Marxist frame of reference is the route to take (2004:21). Despite the intertwined characterization of economy, politics, and culture in Gramsci’s thought—the Marxist that is the springboard for Routledge’s interpretation—economic determinism is still foundational and constrains interpretation (Routledge 2004:27-8, 32-3).

<sup>428</sup> Foucault 1983.

<sup>429</sup> Foucault 1991a:103.

<sup>430</sup> Foucault’s nominalism comes through in this quotation on the modern state. Foucault admits that for communication names are needed, but when discussing his own central concepts, such as power, he prefers to speak of strategies; “one needs to be nominalistic, no doubt: power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategic situation in a particular society” (1978:93).

<sup>431</sup> Eagleton 2007:8. Although both frames of reference voice their objections by identifying inconsistencies and adverse consequences in Foucault’s writings, their central objection is that Foucault’s discourses are not useful in critiques of the contemporary state, which, however constituted, is a powerful and repressive. For example, the Marxist Eagleton identifies a consequence of Foucault’s concept of power with the analogy of power to torture: if it is “an instance of compassion, the word

overcomes these objections by connecting a reified concept of the state to political practice and governmental institutions but without requiring the state to be a masquerade in front of economic relations as in the Marxist frame of reference.<sup>432</sup> Although Abrams's refusal to characterize a state such as the Achaemenid Empire as tributary, and his emphasis on political relations and institutions is salutary, I retain Foucault's preference for not confining power to military and political institutions and expanding it to a capillary network of "continuous and uninterrupted processes which subject our bodies, govern our gestures, [and] dictate our behaviours."<sup>433</sup>

Foucault's understanding of the Marxist limitation of power to the economic and political is itself an ideological stance that conceals the diffuseness of power's operations in contemporary society and obscures power's operations in societies in antiquity.<sup>434</sup> Rejecting the Marxist frame of reference permits one to study the Achaemenid relations

---

compassion shrinks to an empty signifier" (2007:7-8). The postcolonial deconstructionist Spivak, in contrast, objects that Foucault's dismissal of Marxism as "dated analytic machinery" participates in the continuation of capitalist exploitation (1999:265-6).

<sup>432</sup> Abrams 1988:75-7. Abrams is just one of numerous scholars who have contributed to this debate on the state; Mitchell (1999) and Bourdieu (1999) are comparable essays on the theoretical debate swirling around the modern state. Routledge provides a commentary on the relevancy of the debate to the state in antiquity (2004:14-26). His stance takes the theories as tools that help theorize ancient and modern "complex hierarchical polities" (2004:21). My stance takes the historical specificity of the theories of the modern state as a problem to be excavated out of ancient societies.

<sup>433</sup> Foucault 1980:97. Abrams (1988) adopts the Marxist conception of ideology as a mask, but according to Abrams, the mask hides the political practice and not economic relations as in the Marxist frame of reference. It is the inseparability of ideology from concealment, masks, and illusions that motivates me to abandon the concept of ideology in favor of Foucauldian discourses.

<sup>434</sup> As will become clear later, my perspective of the diffuseness of power in antiquity contrasts sharply with Foucault's reasoning where "in the modern period to which he belongs there is an unremitting and unstoppable expansion of power favoring the administrators, managers, and technocrats of what he calls disciplinary society. Power,..., is everywhere. It is overcoming, co-opting, infinitely detailed, and ineluctable in the growth of its domination" (Said 1986:150).

in Paphlagonia as neither equivalent to, nor concealed by, the Achaemenid administration and its establishment of Paphlagonia and its tribute and military obligations.<sup>435</sup>

Implicated in the state is empire; both concepts developed together in the nineteenth century with the nation state embodying a universal norm of governance that had to be applied to colonies characterized by deviation from the norm.<sup>436</sup> Whereas nineteenth century imperialism is universalizing, Achaemenid imperialism is often described as diverse or eclectic;<sup>437</sup> that is, when reflected in the mirror of modern imperialism, Achaemenid imperialism appears eclectic. Whether empire is a useful heuristic concept for the Achaemenids, however, is not at all clear. Darius I refers to himself as the king of countries, and the empire perhaps is better referred to as an expansionist kingdom.<sup>438</sup> In contrast to my retention of Paphlagonia as a contemporary and ancient heterotopia, as discussed in the third chapter, I use “empire” and “imperialism” here as heuristic concepts similar to my use of chiefdoms. The totalizing and universalizing character of the discourse on empire<sup>439</sup> is relevant to Achaemenid studies in the interpretation of imperial inscriptions as well as the process of expansion.

---

<sup>435</sup> Foucault’s critique is directed to both Marxist analyses that focus on the economic relations of the state and capitalist analyses that are concerned with efficient bureaucracies and light states, while ignoring the diffuseness of power in society.

<sup>436</sup> Bourdieu, P. 1999:62, 71-3; Chatterjee [1986] 1999b:7-17, 36-43, 167-70; [1993] 1999a:16-8, 26-7.

<sup>437</sup> In addition to Weiskopf’s previously discussed diversity and flexibility (1982:69-71), Henkelman and Stolper argue for an ideology of ethnic diversity (2009), and Dussinberre describes an eclectic, imperial material culture at Sardis (1999:100-1; 2003:45, 75-7, 108-12, 145-7, 156-7). Root opposes artistic eclecticism at Persepolis on the grounds that the architectural sculpture is programmatically planned (1979:15-6, 23-4; 1990:127-30).

<sup>438</sup> The Old Persian *dahyu-* means both country and people (DB I §1 [col. 1.2] in Kent 1953:116, 119; Kuhrt 2007b, vol. 1:141 no. 5.1. Whereas Sinopoli defines empire as an expansionist or territorial state (1994:160-1, 1995:5-6, 2001:444-6), Van De Mieroop separates earlier territorial states, such as the Hittite, from empires, such as the Achaemenid (2007). Although I suggest an expansionist kingdom here, kingdom is as tricky a concept as empire. Compare Skalník’s survey of kingdom in African anthropology (2004:79-80).

<sup>439</sup> For example, Hardt and Negri describe empire as a concept that “posits a regime that effectively encompasses the spatial totality” and “presents itself not as a historical regime originating in conquest,

In the following section I return to the literary and historical sources on the relations of Paphlagonia to the Achaemenid Empire, not to discover the actual relations themselves as historical facts but to uncover how particular discourses, imperial Achaemenid or Greek literary, characterize those relations. Analysis of those discourses will help to understand how Paphlagonians came into being as Achaemenid subjects. The critical perspective offered above on chiefdoms has suggested that chiefdoms are not necessarily indigenous types ethnographically discovered in remote mountainous landscapes, but they are colonial and imperial administrative tools to structure the frontiers of empires, an administrative and ideological tool that discursively and in practice reduces the marginal regions into pre-state political structures such as chiefdoms. If the ideology of the Achaemenid Empire can be understood as a complex, capillary power structure, in the Foucauldian sense, such power relations should be found in the discursive construction of a region such as Paphlagonia.

### *iii. Paphlagonia in the empire: evidence from imperial histories*

When I began to write a history around the disintegrated landscape of Paphlagonia, I emphasized that the process would consist of gathering fragmented sources on Achaemenid relations with Paphlagonia. I must also emphasize that the sources derive from Achaemenid imperial histories: both imperial histories disseminated by the Achaemenid kings themselves, such as the Behistun inscriptions, and imperial histories heard through Greek voices, such as Ktesias's history of Persia. Ktesias and other sources with more tenuous connections to the Achaemenid empire are often disparaged as

---

but rather as an order that effectively suspends history and thereby fixes the existing state of affairs for eternity" (2000:xiv).

historical sources,<sup>440</sup> but as historical discourses, all are the products of specific imperial practices and intelligible within the imperial situation. Before turning to the literary and historical sources beyond Herodotus, I address the question of what is a discourse.

In defining what is discourse, I follow Foucault's historically situated definition of discourse—a study of how humans become subjects through discourses. This is useful in working with the variety of imperial and historical discourses that construct an Achaemenid Paphlagonia in the margins of the empire. Discourses themselves are composed of statements which can be sentences or sculptured reliefs that derive their meaning from their context among other statements and practices, and are validated by authorities or institutions.<sup>441</sup> The same statement can have different meanings in different contexts; the description of a Paphlagonian as wild can be part of a discourse on the othering of the colonial subject or part of a discourse on the power of wildness. The statement as an instance of knowledge carries power through this authority to differentiate, and as a consequence, the discourse formed of statements has power to effect change within society.

While marrying Foucault's critical methodology and theory with agency and practice theory, and responding to the critique of subaltern studies, I analyze the Achaemenid discourse on Paphlagonia below. In this way, discourse can be studied as constituting Achaemenid relations with Paphlagonia in a more recursive relationship with artifacts and practice; at the same time it enables one to seek the 'non-sense' of a Paphlagonian

---

<sup>440</sup> Ktesias has not been received favorably as a historical source (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987), but he was a member of the Achaemenid court and claims to have consulted royal annals recorded on parchment (Diod. Sic. 2.32.4).

<sup>441</sup> Foucault does not incorporate everyday acts or performative language into his critical methodology on discourse. Bhabha (1994) and Butler (e.g. 1993) among others have taken Foucault in these directions, but a more strictly Foucauldian perspective is appropriate to the literary and historical sources analyzed in this chapter.

perspective and insist on the disjunction between historical discourse and practice as a way of recognizing the rupture of imperial gaze to local history. Paphlagonia as constituted in the Achaemenid sources is after all a heterotopia—a discursive space that correlates real and imaginary landscapes—where the effective quality of discourse remains, but where ruptures, substitutions, and alterations mar the connection between discursive and experienced places called Paphlagonia. How discursive institutions, such as the Achaemenid administration, construct meaningful narratives through the specialized knowledge of history and literature is what Foucauldian critical methodology and theory studies. Meaning and truth are not the object of this methodology and theory,<sup>442</sup> nor is the object to find the most accurate historical description through the philological or historical search for kernels of truth in the sources. I regard as irrelevant such disparaging comments as “but it is clear that this work is more in the nature of a philosophical novel on the ideal ruler than a history grounded on facts.”<sup>443</sup> The condition that history and literature are intelligible finds the sources in their entirety as part of a larger narrative leading to the imperial incorporation of Paphlagonia.

#### ***D. Discourses of difference***

In this section, I bring together classical and Achaemenid imperial statements on Paphlagonia in order to discuss the various discourses of difference relating to Paphlagonia and the Paphlagonians. In Chapter 3, I discussed how the *Iliad* references to

---

<sup>442</sup> The quest for meaning is also the disagreement between Foucault and hermeneutics, where indeterminacy in historical meaning is grasped through the process of dialectics between past and present (Foucault 1983:209).

<sup>443</sup> Kuhrt 2007a:173, cf. Shaw 1990:210-1 n. 32. The literary genre, such as philosophical novel, and the history of textual transmission are in discourse studies, of course, relevant to a discourse’s intelligibility, just not its truth value. In contrast to seeking out the truth value of a textual source, self-reflexive analyses make explicit how a scholar’s expertise sets the truth value of sources.

the Paphlagonians in Homer's catalog of the allies along the Pontic coast becomes one of the seminal *myths* of the Hellenizing Paphlagonians. Their reimagination of themselves within a Greek mythopoetic landscape contrasts to Hawkins' modern ethnohistorical study. Historicism and the invention of tradition are concepts that, as previously noted, Ranger insists are situated in the modern colonial discourse and not applicable to societies where practices often respond to continuously changing conditions.<sup>444</sup> In Paphlagonia the mythical frame of reference is not discarded, but rather myths are translated into the Greek *koiné* in a gesture of appropriation and incorporation. Similar to the colonial discourses, imperial discourses of difference emerged in the imperial centers and have had their broad dispersal within the "imperial" *koiné*. Often transmitted through the classical historians, who are also part of this imperial *koiné*, the discourses locate Paphlagonian subjects into a space cleared by the reiteration of their nonurban and uncivilized characteristics.

After Herodotus, Paphlagonian leaders are described in four historical episodes involving wider disturbances in the imperial administration: during the period between Cyrus's resistance in 401 and Artaxerxes II's accession; in 395, when the Spartan king Agesilaos was marauding through the satrapy of Pharnabazos; in the 380s, when Artaxerxes II was facing multiple rebellions; and during the expedition of Alexander.<sup>445</sup> In the episodes that relate to the first quarter of the fourth century, Paphlagonian leaders

---

<sup>444</sup> Ranger 1993:62-3.

<sup>445</sup> The first episode is discussed Chapter 3, Section A.v; the last episode is discussed along with Achaemenid coins issued at Sinope in Chapter 3, section B.iii.

appear to have taken advantage of the wider disturbances to break away from the regular payment of tribute.<sup>446</sup>

In each episode, the Paphlagonian leader is presented as a stereotyped barbarian. Hawkins describes a similar representation of stereotyped “barbarous tribes” in the earliest references to indigenous inhabitants at the beginning of colonial expansion. Such tribes could not conduct political negotiations with Europeans and could be civilized only by military force because of their nudity and bellicose character.<sup>447</sup> From the perspective of imperial administration, the disjunction between the concerns of Paphlagonian leaders and the Achaemenid administration often leads to statements that the Paphlagonians could not negotiate with Daskyleion. The reasons were often that the Paphlagonians did not dress well and their nature was bellicose. In Paphlagonia, this is most clearly seen in the representations of Thys at the moment of his capture.<sup>448</sup>

---

<sup>446</sup> Cf. Diodorus 15.90-3. Briant argues that the Hellenocentric evidence for the revolts in the 380s and the Satraps’ Revolt in the 360s described in Diodorus exaggerates the extent of the revolts (2002:649-51, 656-9). Rather than having “broken away,” the Paphlagonians could also have been resisting new and greater satrapal oversight.

<sup>447</sup> Hawkins 1996:204. If the discourses on modern and ancient state relations with ‘chiefdoms’ were similar, relations between the imperial administration and Greek poleis would be more lasting with treaties and enforceable through state institutions. A survey of truces (σπονδαί) negotiated between the king or his representative, often a satrap, and the corporate body of poleis in Briant, however, finds that the Achaemenids negotiated comparably lasting truces with the Cadusians and Paphlagonians, and Athens and Ephesos (2002:591, 642, 732, 766-7).

<sup>448</sup> Robert argues that epigraphic sources from the Black sea coast support Θυς as the standard Greek spelling of the Paphlagonian name (1963:453-7). It is probable that the gluttonous Thys mentioned by Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 179; Athenaeus 4.25.9 [144f], 10.8.21 [415d], hereafter, Ath.) and Aelian (*VH* 1.27) and the gluttonous *and* hairy Thys mentioned by Cornelius Nepos (*Datames* 2-3) are the same as the Otys mentioned by Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.1), the Kotys mentioned by Xenophon (*Ages.* 3.4) and Plutarch (*Ages.* 11), and the Gyes mentioned in *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (25.2 [Chambers 1993:48]) in the context of Agesilaos’ marauding. Cf. Bruce’s conclusion based on the literary sources alone that “there can, further, be no real certainty which attempt to transliterate into Greek the barbarian name comes closest to the original” (1967:143). A Hellenistic funerary stele found in 1981, possibly in the 25 Mayis neighborhood of Havza, commemorates ΒΑΓΗΣ ΘΥΟΣ “Bages, the son of Thys” (Olshausen 1990).



*i. Thys – othering the Paphlagonian*

To understand the extent of the marginalization of Paphlagonian leaders within the Achaemenid imperial discourse I would like to turn to an anecdote from the Achaemenid capital. The literary discourse on Paphlagonia that dates to the Achaemenid Empire emerges exclusively from sources written in Greek. Language does not correspond to political and other boundaries, and it is necessary to interrogate the perspective of each author and the context of each passage. The following anecdote describes the Paphlagonian chief Thys's dining practices.

Theopompos says in the thirty-fifth book of his histories that whenever Thys, the king of the Paphlagonians, dined, he had a hundred of everything prepared for the table, beginning with the oxen; and even when he was led up to royal court as a captive and kept under guard, yet again he had the same number prepared, and lived in magnificent style.<sup>449</sup>

What Theopompos, a historian of the fourth century, intended to illustrate with this anecdote is difficult to recover. Not only is the literary context of the anecdote lost, but also Athenaeus' quotation is not to be understood as a quotation in the contemporary sense of an accurate fragment. Dominique Lenfant and Christopher Pelling specify how Athenaeus rearranges, paraphrases, abridges, and occasionally misrepresents his sources.<sup>450</sup> Rather than a historical fragment of the fourth century, therefore, Athenaeus'

---

<sup>449</sup> Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ καὶ πέμπτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν τὸν Παφλαγόνων φησὶ βασιλέα Θῦν ἑκατὸν πάντα παρατίθεσθαι δειπνοῦντα ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀπὸ βοῶν ἀρξάμενον· καὶ ἀναχθέντα αἰχμάλωτον ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ὄντα πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ παρατίθεσθαι ζῶντα λαμπρῶς (Ath. 4.25.7-12 [144f], Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 179). The histories of Theopompos referred to in this quotation are his *Philippikai historiai* in which four books (35-8) formed an excursus on the history of western Anatolia (Flower 1994:163).

<sup>450</sup> Lenfant compares one of Athenaeus' quotations (Ath. 4.23 143f-144b) to its extant source, Herodotus' discussion of Persian dining practices (1.133), and concludes that "s'il arrive qu'Athénée soit inexact, ses écarts sont généralement sans gravité" (1999:113-4). Both Lenfant and Pelling argue that some passages, such as on Psammetichos' libation (Ath. 6.19.21-6 [231d], Hdt. 2.151), significantly misrepresent their sources (Lenfant 1999:114-5, Pelling 2000:184-5). Cf. Brunt's judgment that "we may assume that in general Athenaeus is fairly reliable" (1980:481), Flower's comment that Athenaeus

anecdote is part of the *Deipnosophistae*, a late second century C.E. discourse on dining. The surrounding passages in the fourth book of Athenaeus are part of a multifaceted comparison of dining practices.<sup>451</sup> The anecdote itself is an example of the luxuries of Persia referred to in the preceding quotation, and yet distinguished from them.<sup>452</sup> Theopompos' punch line is that when Artaxerxes heard of Thys's dining, "Artaxerxes said that Thys seemed to live so as to be released quickly from life."<sup>453</sup> What Athenaeus is implying here is not immediately clear, but Thys's luxurious living either before or after capture was considered excessive even to a Persian king.

Athenaeus continues with another quotation from Theopompos on the number of talents expected to be expended on dining when the king visited a subject, but not on the customary dining of subjects. The juxtaposition of the two Theopompos quotations turns Thys's dining from being an example of the novel luxuries emphasized in Persian dining to being an example that separates Artaxerxes II from a leader of a subject people. The juxtaposition also exemplifies the skillful transition between quotations that turns the *Deipnosophistae* from an erudite catalog of miscellanea into a literary composition.<sup>454</sup>

As skillful as Athenaeus' transitions might be, the dining habits of Thys and those of the Persians are as unclear at first as the implication of Theopompos' punch line. What

---

"usually strings together a series of quotations without comment" (1994:7 [quotation source], 105-6 n. 12).

<sup>451</sup> Despite Athenaeus' statement that Herodotus' discussion of Persian dining (1.133) is a comparison of Persian and Greek dining ('Ηρόδοτος δὲ συγκρίνων τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμπόσια πρὸς τὰ παρὰ Πέρσας φησὶν [Ath. 4.23.1-2 [143f]]), neither Herodotus' discussion nor Athenaeus' comparison presents a dichotomy.

<sup>452</sup> The lines immediately preceding the quotation of Theopompos are as follows: Theophrastos says that the Persian kings were so luxurious that they offered a large sum of silver to the discoverers of any novel pleasure (Θεόφραστος δ' ... τοὺς Περσῶν φησι βασιλεῖς ὑπὸ τρυφῆς προκηρύττειν τοῖς ἐφευρίσκουσι τινα καινὴν ἡδονὴν ἀργυρίου πλῆθος [4.25.1-7 [144e-f], Theophr. F 125 W]).

<sup>453</sup> διὸ καὶ ἀκούσαντα Ἀρταξέρξην εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὕτως αὐτῷ δοκοίη ζῆν ὥς τὰ χέως ἀπολούμενος (Ath. 4.25.12-4 [144f], Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 179).

<sup>454</sup> Pelling discusses the literary genre that the *Deipnosophistae* belongs to (2000:171-5).

novelty would Athenaeus' Greek readers have found in "having a hundred of everything prepared for the table" or "having a lot of everything prepared for the table?"<sup>455</sup> Michael Flower interprets Theopompos as portraying Artaxerxes II as a king of moderation because of his objection to the gluttony of Thys.<sup>456</sup> Flower compares the Thys anecdote to another Theopompos quotation where Nysaios of Syracuse spent his life eating and drinking as if he anticipated being executed.<sup>457</sup> Gluttony in the face of death is, therefore, not unusual, nor is the vague abundance of "a lot of everything" on an Achaemenid subject's table. I suggest, in contrast, that Thys's "hundred of everything" is a play on the *hekatombe*, an offering of a hundred cattle. The *hekatombe* was, after all, widespread in Greek ritual practice, although as early as Homer, "hekatombe" was used generally to refer to sacrifice.<sup>458</sup> Athenaeus' quotation of the Thys anecdote, therefore, belongs among Athenaeus' comments that express a concern that luxurious daily dining encroaches on what in the past was due to the god.

The sixth book of the *Deipnosophistae*, for example, ends with "and now, as Theopompos narrates in the first book of his *Philippica*, there is no one even among the moderately prosperous who does not prepare a lavish table, have cooks and many other servants, and spend more on daily supplies than in the past used to be spent on festivals

---

<sup>455</sup> If the loose understanding of ἑκατὸν as "very many" is intended.

<sup>456</sup> Flower 1994:85.

<sup>457</sup> Theopompos writes the following about Nysaios, "Nysaios, who later became the tyrant of Syracuse, just as if he had been arrested on a capital charge and was anticipating that he was going to live a few months, was spending his time stuffing himself and being drunk (trans. adapted from Fowler [ibid.:85 n. 56], γράφει δὲ οὕτως περὶ τοῦ Νυσαίου· "Νυσαῖος ὁ τυραννήσας ὕστερον Συρακοσίων ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ συνειλημμένος καὶ προειδὼς ὅτι μῆνας ὀλίγους ἤμελλε ἐπιβιώσεσθαι γαστριζόμενος καὶ μεθύων διῆγεν." (Ath. 10.47.15-9 [435e-f], Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 188)).

<sup>458</sup> Athenaeus elsewhere in the *Deipnosophistae* considers it necessary to clarify when a real offering of a hundred cattle is intended (Ath. 1.5).

and sacrifices.”<sup>459</sup> The narrator of this passage is Larensis, Athenaeus’ patron and the host of the fictitious banquets recorded in the *Deipnosophistae*.<sup>460</sup> Although Larensis’ commentary identifies a sacrilegious aspect of lavish banquets similar to the sequence of banquets he himself hosts, David Braund demonstrates how Larensis is not disapproving of luxurious dining. Larensis, rather, longs for the simplicity of the past in contrast to the decadent abundance of the present, and his luxurious dining is not merely acceptable but also customary in contemporary society.<sup>461</sup>

The commentary of Athenaeus’ Larensis stands counter to Theopompos’ perspective. A broad concern with moral decadence run through the historical writing of the fourth century, and, in Theopompos’ writings, luxury becomes an explanation for historical change.<sup>462</sup> Theopompos disapproves of the luxurious living of Philip II, Thys, and their Greek contemporaries, and considers it a corrupting influence connected to moral *and* political decadence.<sup>463</sup> Despite Larensis’ quotation of Theopompos and his reference to the similarity of the fourth century B.C.E. to the early third century C.E., Theopompos does not long for past simplicity but rather condemns present luxury. If Thys’s dining in multiples of a hundred is understood as a novelty in Theopompos, as it is in Athenaeus, the novelty is an example of the new excesses of the fourth century that usurp divine privileges. Athenaeus does not rearrange, paraphrase, abridge, or misrepresent Theopompos’ Thys anecdote as far as we know, but reimagines it by removing its

---

<sup>459</sup> νῦν δέ, ὡς ὁ Θεόπομπος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν, “οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν μετρίως εὐπορουμένων, ὅστις οὐ πολυτελῇ μὲν τράπεζαν παρατίθεται, μαγείρους δὲ καὶ θεραπείαν ἄλλην πολλὴν κέκτηται καὶ πλείω δαπανᾷ τὰ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἢ πρότερον ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς καὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ἀνήλικοι” (Ath. 6.109 [275b], Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 36).

<sup>460</sup> Ath. 6.104-9 (trans. adapted from Braund 2000:12).

<sup>461</sup> Braund 2000:10-2.

<sup>462</sup> Flower 1994:66-71, 166-7; Pownall 2004:1-4, 143-75.

<sup>463</sup> Flower 1994:104-15 (on Philip II), 85 (on Thys), 66-83 (on Greeks).

disapproving sting.<sup>464</sup> With this reimagination, the anecdote comes to be as fully at home in the *Deipnosophistae* as it had been in the *Philippica*.

Athenaeus again refers to the anecdote in his tenth book in a sequence of paragraphs on gluttonous (πολυφάγοι) historical characters.<sup>465</sup> The sequence is soon abridged in a chapter of Aelian's Ποικίλη ἱστορία on characters who were known to eat their fill (ἀδηφάγοι).<sup>466</sup> Indeed, Athenaeus and Aelian seem to be part of a Roman remembrance of a tradition of Paphlagonian gluttony that is part of a broader commentary on luxury in the Roman Empire during the prosperous late first and early second century C.E.

How the anecdote relates to Paphlagonian dining practices outside of the discursive spaces of the *Deipnosophistae* and the *Philippica* remains to be uncovered. At the beginning of my research on chiefdoms, I expected that, if one were to peel away the discursive aspects of the anecdote that made it at home in Athenaeus' dialogue and Theopompos' history, the anecdote would have some relevance to the discussions of the commensal practices revealed by archaeological ceramics. Ethnographic study in regions with rival hereditary chiefdoms often features food storage and competitive feasting that

---

<sup>464</sup> It could be said that Athenaeus misrepresents Theopompos by lessening the immorality of Thys's dining; the literary quality of the *Deipnosophistae* emerges in how the quotations are subtly melded into a whole.

<sup>465</sup> "Following the thirty-fifth book of Theopompos' histories, we have spoken about Thys, the king of the Paphlagonians, that he also was gluttonous" (περὶ δὲ Θυὸς τοῦ Παφλαγόνων βασιλέως ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν πολυφάγος προειρήκαμεν, παραθέμενοι Θεόπομπον ἱστοροῦντα ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ [Ath. 10.8.21-4]).

<sup>466</sup> The sequence of Athenaeus' characters (10.8-10) does not change in Aelian's abridgement (*VH* 1.27), but most of the descriptive anecdotes are gone. "They say that the men who eat their fill were Lityerses the Phrygian; Kambles the Lydian; Thys the Paphlagonian; Charilas; Kleonymos; Peisandros; Charippos; Mithridates of Pontos; Kalamodrys of Kyzikos; Timokreon the Rhodian, an athlete and at the same time a poet; Kantibaris the Persian; Erysichthon the son of Myrmidon, and, therefore, he was called Fiery." ("Ἀδηφάγους λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπους γεγονέναι Λιτυέρσαν τὸν Φρύγα καὶ Κάμβλητα τὸν Λυδὸν καὶ Θῦν τὸν Παφλαγόναν καὶ Χαρίλαν καὶ Κλεώνυμον καὶ Πείσανδρον καὶ Χάριππον καὶ Μιθριδάτην τὸν Ποντικὸν καὶ Καλαμόδρυν τὸν Κυζικηνὸν καὶ Τιμοκρέοντα τὸν Ῥόδιον, τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἄμα καὶ ποιητὴν, καὶ Καντίβαριν τὸν Πέρσην καὶ Ἐρυσίχθωνα τὸν Μυρμιδόνα· ἔνθεν τοι καὶ Αἰθῶν ἐκλήθη οὗτος" [Ael. *VH* 1.27]). Aelian's *Ποικίλη ἱστορία* must date to early in the third century, soon after Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*.

bind the chiefs and the subordinate villagers together, as well as the ritual consumption of food and the receipt of agricultural goods.<sup>467</sup> Certainly, the anecdote *may* reflect a general impression of the abundance of Paphlagonian feasting, but as Michael Dietler and Brian Hayden stress, feasting is ubiquitous in societies and the specificity of the practice is what analysis needs to engage with.<sup>468</sup>

As a literary narrative, the Thys anecdote has all the markings of a colonial discourse where practices among the colonized are represented as an instance of the mimicry of the practices of the colonizers. Mimicry is where colonial discourses represent the colonized *as almost the same but not quite*.<sup>469</sup> Bhabha writes of an ambivalent desire on the part of the colonizers to both represent the colonized as participating in similar practices and to set themselves apart from the colonized. The *almost the same but not quite* quality of mimicry leads to a certain menace embodied in the colonized. If we think back over the anecdote from Theopompos, Thys is represented as participating in the world of Greek dining practices with his play upon the hekatombe. Theopompos, however, represents Thys as transferring a ritual dining practice to the everyday; the character of Thys embodies a subtle difference that threatens the ritual practices of the colonizing society. Although it is not of concern here whether the anecdote is spurious or not, for the difference to appear menacing, Theopompos' readers must have construed Thys's dining as the practice of Paphlagonian leaders. Thys here inhabits a discursive space; that is, his character is a not purely fictitious but he is conceived as an actor in the heterotopia of a colonized landscape. This heterotopia is, primarily, a space in the lived experience of

---

<sup>467</sup> Clark and Blake 1994, Dietler and Hayden 2001:12-3.

<sup>468</sup> Dietler and Hayden 2001:3-7, 12-3, 17-8.

<sup>469</sup> Bhabha writes of "*almost the same but not quite*" 1994:127, italics in the original.

Theopompos' readers with their Aegean and maritime orientation. I later return to the Thys anecdote to address the question of how this heterotopia is intelligible and recursive with the Paphlagonian experience of Achaemenid imperialism. Before doing so, however, I discuss another Thys episode drawn from Cornelius Nepos's biography of Datames.

## *ii. Datames – the incorporation of Paphlagonia*

Similar to the Thys anecdote preserved in Athenaeus, Nepos's biography of Datames is understood to be based in part on Theopompos' *Philippica*.<sup>470</sup> In the biography, the description of Thys's capture is further expanded as one of the Datames' exploits before his appointment to the satrapy of Cappadocia.

[2.2] At that time the dynast of Paphlagonia was Thys. He was of a very old family and descended from the Pylaemenes whom Homer says was killed by Patroclus<sup>471</sup> in the Trojan war. [3] Thys was not heeding what the king was saying. The king, therefore, ordered for war to be pursued against him, and gave the command to Datames, who was a

[2.2] erat eo tempore Thuys dynastes Paphlagoniae, antiquo genere, ortus a Pylaemene illo, quem Homerus Troico bello a Patroclo interfectum ait. [3] is regi dicto audiens non erat. quam ob causam bello eum persequi constituit eique rei praefecit Datamen, propinquum

<sup>470</sup> The biography of Datames is also understood to be based in part on Deinon's *Persica*. Meyer (1899:68-9) assumes that the source for the biography of Datames is Deinon, "whom we trust most about Persian matters" (cui nos plurimum de Persicis rebus credimus [Nep. *Conon* 5.4]). See also Nipperdey and Witte 1967:126. Sekunda (1988b:35) following Thiel (1923) also assumes that the source for the biography of Datames is Deinon based on the similar trope of believing and disbelieving in Nepos *Datames* 9.2 and Plut. *Artax.* 29.2; Deinon and Ktesias are mentioned as sources throughout the Plutarch biography. Stevenson's review of the studies of Nepos's sources concludes with the comment that "there is no firm evidence to link any other sections of Nepos' work [besides *Datames* 9.2] to Deinon" (1997:34-5). Later Stevenson suggested that "as neither of these [Thys and Aspis] are major rebels, it might be thought that, if Deinon wrote about these, he must have given a fairly full account of events in Asia which has not survived in the secondary sources. However, reference to Thys may have come from Theopompos" (ibid.:42). Although the only study dedicated to Nepos's sources does not analyze the sources of the biography of Datames (Bradley 1991), in the biographies analyzed, Nepos relies on a few major historians: Ephorus, Thucydides, and Theopompos to name a few (Geiger 1985:56-7). Flower summarizes some of the problems encountered with the analysis of the sources of Nepos, and concludes that it is necessary to reject Nepos as a source for understanding Theopompos in favor of fragments (Flower 1994:1-6, 123 n. 17, 166). Yet, it is still necessary for us to "mind the gap" between a fourth century historical account of the capture of Thys and a first century (B.C.E.) Roman biography.

<sup>471</sup> By Menelaos according to Homer (*Il.* 5.576-9).

relative of the Paphlagonian, for they were sons of a brother and a sister. Datames, therefore, first wanted to try to bring his relative back to his obligations without arms. When he came to him without a guard, because he did not fear any treachery from a friend, he nearly lost his life: for Thys wanted to secretly kill him. [4] Datames' mother, the aunt of the Paphlagonian, was with him. [5] She learned of what was going on and warned her son. He escaped the danger by fleeing and declared war against Thys. In the war, after he was deserted by Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Lydia, Ionia, and all of Phrygia,<sup>472</sup> he continued not less actively and captured Thys with his wife and children.

[3.1] He applied himself so that a report did not arrive to the king before he himself arrived. In this way, with everybody unaware of him, he came to where the king was. The next day he dressed Thys, a man with a massive build and frightful appearance because he had dark, long hair and a flowing beard, in the finest attire, which the satraps of the king were accustomed to wear. He even provided him with a torque, gold armlets, and other royal refinements. [2] Datames, wrapping himself with a rural double cloak and a rough tunic, wearing a hunter's hat on his head, and holding a club in his right hand and a rope in his left, like this was leading a bound Thys in front of himself, as if he was leading a captured wild animal. [3] When everyone was gazing at Thys because of the novelty of his fine attire and his unfamiliar appearance, and, therefore, a large crowd was gathering, there was someone who recognized Thys and informed the king. [4] First the king did not believe him and so sent Pharnabazus to investigate. As soon as the king

Paphlagonis: namque ex fratre et sorore erant nati. quam ob causam Datames primum experiri voluit, ut sine armis propinquum ad officium reduceret. ad quem cum venisset sine praesidio, quod ab amico nullas vereretur insidias, paene interiit: nam Thuys eum clam interficere voluit. [4] erat mater cum Datame, amita Paphlagonis. [5] ea quid ageretur rescivit filiumque monuit. ille fuga periculum evitavit bellumque indixit Thuyni. in quo cum ab Ariobarzane, praefecto Lydiae et Ioniae totiusque Phrygiae, desertus esset, nihilo segnius perseveravit vivumque Thuyn cepit cum uxore et liberis.

[3.1] Cuius facti ne prius fama ad regem quam ipse perveniret, dedit operam. itaque omnibus insciis eo, ubi erat rex, venit posteroque die Thuyn, hominem maximi corporis terribilique facie, quod et niger et capillo longo barbaque erat promissa, optima veste textit, quam satrapae regii gerere consueverant, ornavit etiam torque atque armillis aureis ceteroque regio cultu; [2] ipse agresti duplici amiculo circumdatus hirtaque tunica, gerens in capite galeam venatoriam, dextra manu clavam, sinistra copulam, ita vinctum ante se Thuynem agebat, ut si feram bestiam captam duceret. [3] quae cum omnes conspicerent propter novitatem ornatus ignotamque formam ob eamque rem magnus esset concursus, fuit nonnemo qui agnosceret Thuyn regique nuntiaret. [4] primo non accreditit itaque

<sup>472</sup> Ariobarzanes is satrap of Daskyleion (Nipperdey and Witte 1967:127; Weiskopf 1982:203, 219-20 n. 5); Autophrodotes is satrap of Sardis (Nep. *Dat.* 2.1).



learned from Pharnabazus what had been carried off, he ordered them to be admitted. Having been entertained by the great exploit both as done and as presented, especially because a famous king had come into his power when he was not expecting.

Pharnabazum misit exploratum. a quo ut rem gestam comperit, statim admitti iussit, magno opere delectatus cum factum ornatu, inprimis quod nobilis rex in potestatem inopinanti venerat. (Nep. *Datames*)

The above passage of Nepos that describes events in the 380s is quoted unabridged and translated, because the passage presents the longest description of the Achaemenid administrative relationship with Paphlagonia.<sup>473</sup> Not surprisingly, Nepos chooses to describe Thys's "frightful appearance" as Datames plays upon the incongruity between Thys's "dark, long hair and flowing beard" and the dress of satraps as part of his performance. Datames sought in the incongruity to deride Thys's defiance of the king and his pretension of independence.<sup>474</sup> Although scholars have questioned the historicity of Datames' performance,<sup>475</sup> I am interested here in how Nepos's characterization of Thys as frightful compares with the tradition of his gluttony, and how the characterizations fit into the development of Achaemenid administration in Paphlagonia in the early fourth century. Before both questions can be addressed, however, one should situate Thys's capture among the broader themes of Nepos's biography of Datames.

The biography of Datames is written from the most unexpected of perspectives, one that disputes the accepted historical assessment of Datames.<sup>476</sup> Nepos notifies us of this in his introduction to Datames' biography:

---

<sup>473</sup> Sekunda dates the events to 384 (1988b:40).

<sup>474</sup> Guillemin 1923:76 n. 1.

<sup>475</sup> Guillemin questions the historicity of Datames' capture of Thys and performance at court when she compares the etiquette of Konon's reception (Nep. *Conon* 3) to Datames' performance (1923:77 n. 1).

<sup>476</sup> Nepos's perspective on Datames, although unexpected, is not inconsistent with the broader themes of his biographies. In his introduction to the book on foreign generals where Datames' biography is found, for example, Nepos states that he judges Greeks according to Greek practices. "But they, who are not let in on anything of what is correct about Greek literature, will consider anything uncivilized,

now I come to the strongest man and the man of the soundest judgment of all of the barbarians,.... About him I will relate more, because most of his actions are both more obscure and the ones that turned out favorably for him fell upon not with an abundance of forces, but of judgment, in which he surpassed all others of his time: if the tactics are not explained, the subject will not be able to become clear.<sup>477</sup>

Not only do Nepos's contentions about the superiority of Datames' strength and judgment seem exaggerated, but they really are. As Weiskopf repeatedly demonstrates, Nepos's account of various incidents is "unsatisfactory."<sup>478</sup> "Can sense be made out of Nepos' account? What of Datames?"<sup>479</sup> Weiskopf concludes that the biography can be mined to reveal a "historical reality" under Nepos's tales of intrigue and instability that derive from Nepos's literary concern to bolster Datames' superiority through a comparison of Datames to Artaxerxes II.<sup>480</sup>

Weiskopf's interpretation of Nepos's characterization of Datames is part of his analysis of instability in the Achaemenid administration of Anatolia and the coordinated

---

unless it agrees with their morality. If they learn that all people do not hold the same things to be honorable and disgraceful, but that all things are judged by ancestral practices, they will not regard us with wonder when following Greek morality we expound on the Greek virtues" (sed hi erunt fere, qui expertes litterarum Graecarum nihil rectum, nisi quod ipsorum moribus conveniat, putabunt. ii si didicerint non eadem omnibus esse honesta atque turpia, sed omnia maiorum institutis iudicari, non admirabuntur nos in Graiorum virtutibus exponendis mores eorum secutos [Nep. *Praefatio* 2-3]). Similarly, Datames is judged on Anatolian (Carian and Paphlagonian) and Achaemenid morality.

<sup>477</sup> Venio nunc ad fortissimum virum maximique consilii omnium barbarorum, [exceptis duobus Karthaginiensibus, Hamilcare et Hannibale]. de quo hoc plura referemus, quod et obscuriora sunt eius gesta pleraque et ea, quae prospere ei cesserunt, non magnitudine copiarum, sed consilii, quo tum omnes superabat, acciderunt: quorum nisi ratio explicata fuerit, res apparere non poterunt (Nep. *Timoth.* 4.5-6).

<sup>478</sup> Weiskopf 1982:205.

<sup>479</sup> Ibid.:206.

<sup>480</sup> Ibid.:198-9, 218 n. 2; "historical reality" (ibid.:207), "Nepos is anxious to glorify Datames" (ibid.:203), and "Artaxerxes is made a despot and fool" (ibid.:205). The question of whether Theopompos or Deinon is Nepos's source for the biography of Datames prompted a review of the scholarship on Nepos's sources. How Nepos differed from a "maledicentissimus" Theopompos (Nep. *Alcibiades* 11.1) or a Deinon, who presents a favorable characterization of Tiribazos and the Achaemenid court (Stevenson 1987:30-5, 1997:12-3), would support or cast doubt on Weiskopf's reinterpretation. With the sources that we have, Thys's gluttony belongs exclusively to Theopompos' narrative on the incorporation of Paphlagonia. Deinon would have had at the very least a slightly different perspective on the incorporation (cf. Stevenson [1987] on Deinon and Ktesias).

satrapal revolt that Diodorus describes as beginning in 362/1.<sup>481</sup> After reading Hawkins' description of colonial discourse on European expansion into Africa, I found several aspects of Weiskopf's not uncontroversial reinterpretation of Nepos's biography of Datames very compelling.<sup>482</sup> Although this is not the place to respond to some of the broader controversial implications of Weiskopf's interpretation with respect to Datames' involvement in Paphlagonian affairs, I follow his interpretation closely. Weiskopf's argument revolves around reinterpreting events in Datames' life during and after his capture of Thys in the 380s. For example, Nepos implies that Datames was to have received assistance in his campaign against Thys from the satrap of Daskyleion, Ariobarzanes, but Datames "was deserted" (2.5). Nepos's wording only serves to focus on Datames' success without the assistance of a satrap.

During the Egyptian campaign in the middle of the 370s, Nepos describes Datames as having "the same command as Pharnabazos and Tithraustes" and later assuming the "highest command."<sup>483</sup> After learning of a conspiracy against himself, Datames relinquished his command and "with his own men he marched off to Cappadocia and occupied the part of Paphlagonia joining to it, hiding his desire from the king. Secretly he concludes an alliance with Ariobarzanes; bringing together body of soldiers, he

---

<sup>481</sup> Diod. Sic. 15.90-2.

<sup>482</sup> For responses to Weiskopf, see Graf 1994; Jacobs 2003a, 2003b. It is not Weiskopf's conclusions about flexibility, diversity, and continuity of Achaemenid policy in border regions that most strike me as anachronistic (Weiskopf 1982:69, cf. Jacobs 2003a:314); it is his comments about upward mobility and nationality. "One can note that original status, nationality, and geographic location posed no hindrance to advancement—if the personal abilities existed" (Weiskopf 1982:27). Rather than grounding my reinterpretation of Nepos on sweeping characterizations of Achaemenid policies in the western satrapies—and Weiskopf's are glaringly anachronistic characterizations—I draw upon Nepos's biographical genre to grasp why he might have described Datames in revolt when he left the Egyptian campaign.

<sup>483</sup> ...ad exercitum misit, qui tum contrahebatur duce Pharnabazo et Tithrauste ad bellum Aegyptium, *parique eum atque illos imperio esse iussit*. postea vero quam Pharnabazum rex revocavit, illi *summa imperii* tradita est (3.5)

handed over the fortified cities for protection to his own men.”<sup>484</sup> Weiskopf describes this account as “unsatisfactory,” and concludes that Datames never held the same command as Pharnabazos and Tithraustes. Furthermore, rather than being secretly in rebellion, Datames left for Cappadocia and Paphlagonia because Artaxerxes II had promoted him to the satrapy of Cappadocia.<sup>485</sup> His promotion occurred before 374, when Pharnabazos’ expedition moved against Egypt. When Datames installed his own men as commanders of the fortified cities of Paphlagonia, therefore, he was solidifying Achaemenid administrative control over Paphlagonia. Rather than concluding an alliance with Ariobarzanes that was inimical to the king, Datames was, in all likelihood, cooperating with the satrap of Daskyleion concerning the affairs of a region that lay between them.<sup>486</sup>

Although I argued earlier that Paphlagonia belonged to Daskyleion, Datames was not necessarily encroaching on the possessions of Daskyleion.<sup>487</sup> Xenophon relates that in 400, while the 10,000 were camped outside the walls of the port Kotyora, contemporary Ordu, they seized their provisions from the Paphlagonians and the land of Kotyora.<sup>488</sup>

---

<sup>484</sup> ...ipse cum suis in Kappadokiam discedit coniunctamque huic Paphlagoniam occupat, celans, qua voluntate esset in regem. clam cum Ariobarzane facit amicitiam, manum comparat, urbes munitas suis tuendas tradit (Nep. *Datames* 5.6).

<sup>485</sup> Diodoros describes Datames as the satrap of Cappadocia (15.91.2-7).

<sup>486</sup> Weiskopf 1982:205-8. Stevenson, who exemplifies the scholars who read Nepos and other sources literally, concocts a different sequence. “Datames, first to revolt, moved from Cappadocia, where he fought Autophradates, sent against him by the king (Nep. *Datames* 7.1), into Paphlagonia (Pompeius Trogus *prol. libri* 10), where he besieged Sinope (Polyaenus, *Strat.* 7.21.2, 5), and perhaps around this time came to an agreement with Ariobarzanes (Nep. *Datames* 5.6). At some stage he crossed the Euphrates to take the field against the king (Polyaenus, *Strat.* 7.21.3); Ariobarzanes, next to revolt...” (1997:102).

<sup>487</sup> Weiskopf answers the question of Datames’ operations in Paphlagonia with the statement that “there is very little data on the administrative units in the interior of Anatolia, but flexibility in arrangement seems to have been the practice” (1982:208). Five thousand Paphlagonians from, presumably, the part of Paphlagonia controlled by Daskyleion and his eldest son Sysinas participated in the later battle against Datames (Nep. *Datames* 7.1, 8.2).

<sup>488</sup> Xen. *An.* 5.5.6.

Furthermore, in the speech of Hekatonymos, the proxenos of the Paphlagonian king Korylas at Sinope was known to control the mountains in the vicinity of Kotyora.<sup>489</sup> Korylas' control of the mountains and plains—notably the deltas of the Thermodon, Iris, and Halys—severed Cappadocia's connection to the Black Sea at Amisos. As discussed in the third chapter, Datames operated in the vicinity of Amisos, besiege Sinope,<sup>490</sup> and minted coins there and at Amisos.<sup>491</sup>

Although Weiskopf argues against a literal interpretation of Nepos's biography, he does read Nepos's references to the “sometimes disruptive” Thys and “recalcitrant tribal elements” literally. He writes “Paphlagonia was a sector in which the basic political unit was the tribe. Tribes may or may not be unified at a given time, and Achaemenid personnel had the option of playing tribes against each other or exploiting intra-tribal rivalry as a means of directing disorder away from more settled regions.”<sup>492</sup> Ever since Briant's anthropological explorations in the 1970s, historians of the Achaemenid Empire have been wary of characterizations of Achaemenid subjects based on such literal readings of the literary *sources*.<sup>493</sup> It is important to emphasize that Athenaeus' dialogues, Theopompos' histories, and Nepos's biographies perpetuate a literary tradition born in the colonial and imperial conquest of Paphlagonia. This tradition was committed

---

<sup>489</sup> Ibid. 5.6.9 (Paphlagonian mountains between Kotyora and the river Thermodon), 5.6.11 (Hekatonymos as proxenos of Korylas).

<sup>490</sup> Polyaeus, *Strat.* 7.21.1-2, 5; 7.29.

<sup>491</sup> Harrison 1982:181 (Datames on Sinopean coins).

<sup>492</sup> Weiskopf 1982:201.

<sup>493</sup> Briant 1982a:1-7, 2002:3. Weiskopf defines tribal chieftain in a pseudo-anthropological manner in his first chapter without assumptions about tribes being disruptive or recalcitrant, although he does use exclusionary categories of identity (Iranian and Greek nationalities). “*Tribal chieftain*: an important politician of a relatively less urbanized or more nomadic community. I will use this term to refer primarily to non-Iranians and non-Greeks. Examples include Aspis of Cataonia and Thys of Paphlagonia” (1982:22). Weiskopf refers to the article that formed the basis of Briant's *Etat et pasteurs au Moyen-Orient ancien* (1982a), but in the article Briant has yet to respond fully to Digard's comments (Briant 1976, Digard 1976).

to providing a retrospective, discursive justification for the conquest. Together, the description of Datames' administrative incorporation of Paphlagonia and the othering of Thys are intertwined in this very *discourse of incorporation*.

If we return to the long quotation from Nepos, we can see how the two are intertwined. First, a description of Thys's capture is coupled with a moral justification for that capture in Nepos's discourse. Thys was acting contrary to the king's commands; therefore, the king commanded Datames, Thys's cousin, to pursue a war against him. Thys was of a family with Homeric ancestry, and, consequently, belonged to the shared Homeric mythopoetic past. Despite his distinguished ancestry deeply rooted in a 'civilized' past and his position as a cousin of Datames, Thys allowed himself to transgress the customary familial relations and kill Datames. Thys was unsuccessful, however, because Datames' Paphlagonian mother Scythissa was relying precisely on those familial relations, which enabled her to learn of Thys's treachery and warn Datames.<sup>494</sup>

A contrast in characterizations emerges here in the discourse on Thys's capture between the moral Datames and the immorality of Thys's treachery. Second, a stereotypical representation of a barbarian crystallizes in the description of the performance of Datames at court. The performance is structured around the contrast of the frightful appearance of Thys—with his enormous body and long dark hair and beard—to the clothing and jewelry appropriate to a satrap. Datames (and the historical discourse itself) mold Thys into this stereotypical barbarian, while, at the same time, the

---

<sup>494</sup> Datames' success in the face of Thys's treachery contrasts with how he succumbs at the end of his life to the treachery of Mithridates, the son of the former satrap of Daskyleion, Ariobarzanes (Nep. *Datames* 10-1, Weiskopf 1989:58). On Scythissa, see Nep. *Datames* 1.1.

representation is challenged by satrapal clothing. With the inversion between Thys dressed as a satrap and Datames dressed as a hunter, Datames implies that the appropriate clothing of Thys should be nothing more than a hunter. Not only is the historical account of his capture as preserved in Nepos's account a justification of the capture, but the theatrical scene at court is also a performative justification immediately following upon the capture itself.

What is the consequence of othering the Paphlagonian? After several intervening campaigns and Datames' appointment as satrap of Cappadocia, in the late 370s and 360s, Datames installs his associates in the fortified cities of Paphlagonia that border on Cappadocia with the cooperation of the satrap of Daskyleion, Ariobarzanes. Nepos's account of Thys's capture demonstrates that Thys was too immoral, too rural and fierce to allow Paphlagonia to be incorporated without recourse to arms. Whether Datames' administrative incorporation of Paphlagonia was a success is difficult to know for sure; the fourth century archaeological evidence and the activities in Paphlagonia during the expedition of Alexander suggest that Datames' and possibly other Achaemenid military officers were eventually successful in incorporating Paphlagonia into the administration. The empire did not just need chiefs; it needed the kings to be barbarian chiefs to justify their removal and the replacement of their subordinates residing in the forts with garrison commanders loyal to the newly appointed satraps. The removal of a king and the replacement of garrison commanders appear to be the disruptions experienced on the Cappadocian side of Paphlagonia during Datames' expedition against Thys.

The most significant misinterpretation in contemporary analysis of the capture of Thys is Weiskopf's assumption that the opposition to Achaemenid administration in

“tribal” regions is between Achaemenids settled in estates and mobile “nomads.”<sup>495</sup> In the second chapter I discussed how Paphlagonia was a diverse landscape, a patchwork of agricultural settlements, forest resource harvesters, mining communities, and more or less pastoral transhumants.<sup>496</sup> By speaking of recalcitrant and mobile tribes, Weiskopf both ignores and obscures the fact that with the Achaemenid conquest of Paphlagonia came a conflict over powerfully constituted places in the landscape. A close connection exists between agricultural settlements and transhumant pastoralism in Anatolia; nomadic mobility and recalcitrant tribes are colonial concepts that obscure the true nature of the contestation for places.<sup>497</sup>

### *iii. Behistun inscription*

The literary discourse on Paphlagonia that dates to the Achaemenid Empire emerges exclusively from sources written in Greek. For fear of presenting an interpretation that could be described as irrelevant to the discourses written in Aramaic, Old Persian, Babylonian, or another language, I turn to the trilingual inscription of Darius I on the cliff at Behistun, in what is now southwestern Iran. The Elamite, Old Persian and Babylonian inscriptions and the associated relief were carved c. 66 m above a spring at the base of the cliff, and c. 100 m from the gate of the probable fort of Sikayauvati.<sup>498</sup> The inscriptions state that Darius and a few other men killed Gaumata, the principal rebel who opposed

---

<sup>495</sup> Cf. Shaw 1990:210-17. Although Shaw’s interpretation is “less straightforwardly ‘historical’” (ibid.:210 n. 32), his conclusion is structural in the Braudelian sense. “The whole point of the Datames story...lies in its symbolic representation of the long term relations between mountain and plain in southeast Anatolia” (ibid.:217). In contrast, in the fifth chapter I argue that mountains are not always mountains. After Datames’ promotion to the mountainous satrapy of Cappadocia and his administrative reforms, the satrapy may not have been perceived to be mountainous nor he rebellious.

<sup>496</sup> When discussing the regional survey results from the Çankırı Paphlagonia Project, Keith DeVries once was quite offended when I used nomadic when transhumant was the most correct term.

<sup>497</sup> On transhumance, see Gürsan-Salzmann 2005.

<sup>498</sup> Schmitt and Luschey 1990:299.



Darius I's accession following the death of Cambyses.<sup>499</sup> The inscriptions begin with Darius's genealogy and a list of the countries that fall under Darius's sway. The Old Persian inscription continues as follows:

§7 (1.17-20) Darius the king says: These are the countries which came to me; by the favor of Ahuramazda they were my subjects (*bandaka*); they bore tribute (*bāji*) to me; what was said to them by me either by night or by day, that was done. §8 (1.20-4) Within these countries, the man who was loyal (*āgariya*), him I rewarded well; (him) who was faithless (*arika*), him I punished well; by the favor of Ahuramazda these countries showed respect toward my law (*dātā*); as was said to them by me, thus was it done. §9 (1.24-6) Ahuramazda bestowed the kingdom upon me; Ahuramazda bore me aid until I got possession of this kingdom; by the favor of Ahuramazda I hold this kingdom. §10 (1.26-35) This is what was done by me after I became king. ... After that the lie (*drauga*) waxed great in the country, both in Persia (*Pārsaiy*) and in Media (*Mādaiy*) and in the other provinces. §11 (1.35-43) Afterwards, there was one man, a magian (*maguš*), named Gaumata;.... He lied to the people thus: "I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus (*Kūrauš*), brother of Cambyses (*Kabūjiya*). " ... §14 (1.61-71) The kingdom which had been taken away from our family, that I put in its place; I reestablished it on its foundation. As before, so I made the sanctuaries which Gaumata the Magian destroyed. I restored to the people the pastures and the herds,....<sup>500</sup>

After defining the extent of the empire and the obligations of its subjects (tribute and compliance with commands), the passage introduces several concepts and contrasts that are the foundation of the empire's divinely sanctioned order.<sup>501</sup> Loyalty and faithlessness are paired; the first leads to rewards from Darius I and the second leads to punishment. After Darius I legitimately came into possession of the subject countries "by the favor of Ahuramazda," Gaumata transgressed against Darius I and the sanctioned order with false speech.<sup>502</sup> The effect of the lie is the dispossession of Darius I's family, that is, the Achaemenid dynasty.

---

<sup>499</sup> DB I §13 (col. 1.55-9) in Kent 1953:117-20, Kuhrt 2007b, vol. 1:143 no. 5.1 (Old Persian version). Kuhrt lists the bibliography on the Elamite and Babylonian versions (2007b, vol. 1:141).

<sup>500</sup> DB I §7-14 (abridged), translation adapted from Kent 1953:119 (Old Persian version); cf. Kuhrt 2007b, vol. 1:143 no. 5.1, Hdt. 3.61-80.

<sup>501</sup> Other scholars analyze these aspects of the Behistun inscription in more depth, principally initially Herrenschmidt (1976; also Ahn 1992; Briant 2002:124-7, 510-1) and most recently Lincoln (2007:8-13, 17-29, 44-6, 59-62). For the bibliography of Herrenschmidt and others, see Lincoln 2007.

<sup>502</sup> Briant 2002:125-8.

The Greek and Latin discourses condense references to Paphlagonian resistance into the following phrases: “Thys was not heeding what the king was saying,”<sup>503</sup> “and now they did not come to the king when he summoned them,”<sup>504</sup> “Kotys, the ruler of the Paphlagonians, did not listen to the king when he sent his right hand,”<sup>505</sup> and “when Otys was summoned to the king, Otys did not go up to him.”<sup>506</sup> All of these references to what Artaxerxes II “says” and those whom he “summons” are similar to the law that was “said by” Darius I.<sup>507</sup> Nowhere in the Greek and Latin discourses is there mention of an overarching contrast between the paired legitimate speech and the sanctioned order, and between false speech and rebellion. Both Darius I’s trilingual inscription and the historical discourses on Artaxerxes II’s policies in Paphlagonia, however, reimagine conflicts over dynastic accession and the expansion of effective administration as rebellion against established and sanctioned order. Both are associated with transgressions of divine privileges<sup>508</sup> and inversions,<sup>509</sup> but the quality of their mimicry differs. In Darius I’s trilingual inscription, mimicry borders on mimesis, that is, Gaumata’s reign resembles Darius I’s reign in everything but its fallacy. In the Greek and Latin historians, by contrast, Paphlagonian rulers differ in being too gluttonous, wild, and, as Xenophon describes in the Spithridates episode, proud.

<sup>503</sup> Is regi dicto audiens non erat (Nep. *Datames* 2.3).

<sup>504</sup> καὶ νῦν οὗτοι οὐ παρεγένοντο βασιλεῖ καλοῦντι (Xen. *An.* 5.6.8).

<sup>505</sup> Κότυς δὲ ὁ τῶν Παφλαγόνων ἄρχων βασιλεῖ μὲν οὐχ ὑπήκουσε δεξιὰν πέμποντι (Xen. *Ages.* 3.4).

<sup>506</sup> [“Οτys] καλούμενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀνεβέβηκει (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.3).

<sup>507</sup> The introduction of each paragraph with the phrase “Darius the king says” is an epigraphic convention that cannot be contrasted with false speech (cf. “Rusa says” A12.12 3-6, 13-4; A12-1 I.3, 8, II.2-3, 7 [Salvini 2001:252, 259]).

<sup>508</sup> Thys’s usurpation of ritual feasting (Ath. 4.25.7-12 [144f], Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 179) and Gaumata’s destruction of sanctuaries (DB I §14).

<sup>509</sup> As Datames dramatizes with his performance with Thys (Nep. *Datames* 3.1-4) and Darius I with his reestablishment of order after the topsy-turvy reign of Gaumata (DB I §14).

The preceding analysis of the discourses of difference has demonstrated how the historians' discourses were written to justify conquest. The othering of Theopompos' gluttonous Thys and Nepos's wild Thys, furthermore, is unintelligible when disassociated from the discourses. When literal reading of the sources has led to such disassociations, such as Weiskopf's, Paphlagonian leaders are othered yet again in analyses that reify contemporary understandings of society's mobile and threatening others. If we return to Hawkins, however, another interpretation emerges. The European colonial imagination of chiefdoms helps to explain the discourses of Paphlagonian difference and its tropes of gluttony and wildness. In a sense, I am choosing to study not change through time, but the temporality of Paphlagonian existence, through the lens of chiefdoms. The chiefdom is not, then, a type of society, but a way of both imagining the Paphlagonian experience as it unfolds through time and framing social practice. In the European experience, the discourses prefigure administrative incorporation; a conclusive answer as to whether the discourses lead to more effective satrapal administration in Paphlagonia must wait until the evidence is completely presented.

#### *E. Discourses of similarity*

As far as Theopompos' intention in narrating the Thys anecdote can be reconstructed, the anecdote serves to emphasize both the transgressive quality of Thys's dining and the contrast between the king, Artaxerxes II, and Thys. Nepos's characterization of Thys is dependent on a different contrast between two elites of the western empire, Datames and Thys. The question lingers about how different Datames and Thys were outside of their

characterizations within the discourse.<sup>510</sup> After all, Datames and Thys were reportedly cousins, and, consequently, not from dissimilar families.<sup>511</sup> Datames mother, Scythissa, and Thys's father were sister and brother.<sup>512</sup> Nepos's reference to their relationship alludes to how the Achaemenid administration was an evolving network of personal alliances—some based on marriage or common ancestry and others on oaths or treaties—from king to satrap, subject king, and proxenos.

Although the alliances were personal, except when representing a polis, they were also ritual and institutional agreements.<sup>513</sup> When “Thys was not heeding what the king was saying,” he was transgressing an agreement with Artaxerxes II that was ritually constituted just as Gaumata had transgressed against Darius II.<sup>514</sup> This socially embedded and sanctioned quality of the alliances argues against Weiskopf's emphasis on the personality and individual agency of the Achaemenid elite in Anatolia.<sup>515</sup> It was

---

<sup>510</sup> Not the Roman discourse of Nepos's biography, but of the fourth century discourse of his sources.

<sup>511</sup> I am not aware of any evidence, such as a parallel story, that Nepos fabricated their relationship to explain Datames' suitability for his assignment in Paphlagonia and his mother's assistance (2.4). In his otherwise literal reading of the Datames biography, Cook does parenthetically comment that “the gluttonous ruler” Thys was “supposedly [Datames'] cousin” (1983:182, cf. 217).

<sup>512</sup> “Datames born of Camisares, his father, a Carian by origin, and of Scythissa, his mother...” (Datames, *patre Camisare, natione Care, matre Schythissa natus...* [Nep. *Datames* 1.1]). Datames' mother, Scythissa, is occasionally understood as Scythian (Rolfe 1984:145, Schmeling 1971:73) but Scythissa is here translated as a name because of the similarity of “*patre Camisares*” to “*matre Scythissa*” (Guillemin 1923:75). Scythissa is also later described as Paphlagonian (Nep. *Datames* 2.3). It would indicate interesting Pontic connections, if a compelling argument could be made that Nepos describes the mother of Datames, and by association the father of Thys, as “Scythian,” but the text of Nepos cannot bear more than a suggestion in a footnote.

<sup>513</sup> The Achaemenid treaties with corporate bodies, such as with poleis, are equally ritualized but perhaps more institutionalized relationships (cf. Hornblower on Maussollos' treaties with Aegean and Lycian poleis [1982:107-37, 364-9]). Artaxerxes II's demand that Datames end his siege of Sinope (Polyaenus, *Strat.* 7.21.2, 5), is tantalizing evidence of a possible treaty of Sinope with the satrap of Daskyleion, Ariobarzanes, or Artaxerxes II himself in addition to the treaty (συνθέμενος) with Datames. See Chapter 3, Section B.iii.

<sup>514</sup> Cf. Nep. *Datames* 2.3 and DB I §11-4 (col. 1.35-71) in Kent 1953:117-20, Kuhrt 2007b, vol. 1:143-4 no. 5.1 (Old Persian version).

<sup>515</sup> Weiskopf's emphasis on “careers,” “service,” and “performance” is heavily dependent on the language of capitalism, such as employee performance reviews (1982:35-9). Agency is discussed in the following section on Kalekapı.

these alliances that wove the web of relations that constituted the empire. Simultaneously, the discursive re-presentation of an alliance is coupled with a gesture of common purpose, but neither the gesture of normalization nor universalization of modern imperialism.<sup>516</sup>

The second of the episodes to be discussed in this chapter is the negotiation of an alliance and marriage, but the alliance is not straightforward, as nothing quite is in Paphlagonia. It is not a constructive alliance of a Paphlagonian king with, for example, a satrap, but rather with an exile from Daskyleion and a Spartan king. Consequently, the episode is another example of the *almost the same but not quite* quality of mimicry. Nonetheless, a Paphlagonian king is re-presented in the episode as participating in the web of relations among the Achaemenid elite in Anatolia. The familial affiliation of Datames to Thys would anticipate just such a discourse of similarity.

This second episode is the re-presentation of an alliance negotiated in 395 between Agesilaos, a Spartan king; Spithridates, an Achaemenid noble; and Otys, a Paphlagonian king. Whereas the setting of the Korylas episode is the eastern Paphlagonian coast, and the Thys episode engages the Cappadocian face of Paphlagonia, the Otys episode touches only western Paphlagonia. The absence of geographic and literary<sup>517</sup> overlap in the episodes leads me to retain their narrative separation despite their clustering at the beginning of the fourth century. The episode unfolds during the Spartan expedition under Agesilaos between 396 and 394 to support Spartan influence in the poleis of the Aegean

---

<sup>516</sup> Rather than finding normalizing and universalizing tendencies in the Achaemenid empire, such as in the Behistun and similar inscriptions, I interpret Behistun as a ritual mapping closely tied to the relationship of Darius II to Ahuramazda. As an ideology, it is an ideology of ruling, of the king and his alliances, not of the empire. I discuss this further in my interpretation of Kalekapı where I demonstrate that Achaemenid art is not eclectic, but rather, situated.

<sup>517</sup> Although Xenophon narrates the Korylas and Otys episodes, and only five years separates them, the texts do not refer to each other.

coast of Anatolia in the face of an Achaemenid reconquest under Tissaphernes.<sup>518</sup>

Agesilaos campaigns briefly in Phrygia and in western Paphlagonia near Gordion, and as

Xenophon narrates:

[4.1.2] When Spithridates said that if [Agesilaos] should come to Paphlagonia with him, he would both conduct dialogues and make an alliance with the king of the Paphlagonians, Agesilaos eagerly went, since for a long time he had been longing to cause a people to revolt from the king. [3] When he arrived in Paphlagonia,<sup>519</sup> Otys came and made an alliance; for he had not gone to the king, although summoned by him. After Spithridates persuaded him, Otys left behind for Agesilaos both a thousand horsemen and two thousand peltasts. [4] Feeling grateful to Spithridates for these things, Agesilaos asked, “Tell me, Spithridates, would you not give your daughter to Otys?” “Much more than,” he replied, “a man who was king over a lot of land and power would accept the daughter of an exile.” And so, only this was said then about the marriage. [5] When Otys was about to depart, he came to Agesilaos to say goodbye. After dismissing Spithridates, Agesilaos began a dialogue with the thirty present. [6] “Tell me, Otys,” he asked, “Spithridates is of what sort of family?” He replied that none of the Persians was less wanting. “Have you seen how beautiful his son is? he asked.” “Why wouldn’t I have seen him? For I was dining with him in the evening.” “They say that Spithridates’ daughter is more beautiful than his son.” [7] “By Zeus!” Otys

[4.1.2] λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου ὡς εἰ ἔλθοι πρὸς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸν τῶν Παφλαγόνων βασιλέα καὶ εἰς λόγους ἄξοι καὶ σύμμαχον ποιήσοι, προθύμως ἐπορεύετο, πάλαι τούτου ἐπιθυμῶν, τοῦ ἀφιστάναι τι ἔθνος ἀπὸ βασιλέως. [3] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν, ἦλθεν Ὅτυσ καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποίησατο· καὶ γὰρ καλούμενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀνεβέβηκει. πείσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου κατέλιπε τῷ Ἀγησίλαῳ Ὅτυσ χιλίους μὲν ἵππείας, δισχιλίους δὲ πελταστάς. [4] χάριν δὲ τούτων εἰδὼς Ἀγησίλαος τῷ Σπιθριδάτῃ, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σπιθριδάτα, οὐκ ἂν δοίης Ὅτυϊ τὴν θυγατέρα; Πολύ γε, ἔφη, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνος ἂν λάβοι φυγάδος ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύων πολλῆς καὶ χώρας καὶ δυνάμεως. τότε μὲν οὖν ταῦτα μόνον ἐρρήθη περὶ τοῦ γάμου. [5] ἐπεὶ δὲ Ὅτυσ ἔμελλεν ἀπιέναι, ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἀσπασόμενος. ἥρξατο δὲ λόγου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος παρόντων τῶν τριάκοντα, μεταστησάμενος τὸν Σπιθριδάτην· [6] Λέξον μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ὅτυ, ποίου τινὸς γένους ἐστὶν ὁ Σπιθριδάτης; ὁ δ’ εἶπεν ὅτι Περσῶν οὐδενὸς ἐνδεέστερος. Τὸν δὲ υἱόν, ἔφη, ἐόρακας αὐτοῦ ὡς καλὸς ἐστι; Τί δ’ οὐ μέλλω; καὶ γὰρ ἐσπέρας συνεδείπνουσιν αὐτῷ. Τούτου μὲν φασι τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ καλλίονα εἶναι. [7] Νῆ Δί’, ἔφη ὁ

<sup>518</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.5; Briant 2002:634-45.

<sup>519</sup> Bruce argues that “it is probable that Agesilaos followed the main Sardis to Susa route from Gordium as far as the Halys and then turned north following the river downstream as far as the borders of Paphlagonia, where he pitched camp.” He then translates εἰς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν as “towards Paphlagonia” (1967:142). If Agesilaos marched far from Gordion, he must have marched either “towards” or “in” Paphlagonia on its southwestern side, because he immediately returned to the Kios, a city just to the east of Daskyleion, possibly along the Sakarya River (*Hell. Oxy.* 25.2 [Chambers 1993:48], τοῦ Σαγγαρίου is restored).

replied, “now she must be beautiful.” “And since you have become our friend,” Agesilaos said, “I would advise you to take the daughter, as she is very beautiful, as a wife. What is more pleasant to a man than that? When her father is well-born, has such great power, and who avenged himself after he was wronged by Pharnabazos such that Pharnabazos had made him an exile from all of the land, as you see. [8] Be sure that, just as he is able to avenge himself against Pharnabazos who is his enemy, so he could also assist a man who was his friend. Consider that, if this is done, not only Spithridates would be a relative by marriage, but also I would be, and the other Spartans, and, the rest of Hellas, since we are the leaders of Hellas. [9] And surely who would ever marry more splendidly than you, if you would do this? For did so many horsemen, peltasts, and hoplites ever escort a bride as would escort your wife to your house?” [10] And Otys was excited; “Agesilaos,” he asked, “are you saying this with Spithridates’ pleasure also?” “By the gods!” Agesilaos replied, “He did not tell me to say this; but I myself, although I rejoice greatly whenever I punish an enemy, much rather think that I enjoy whenever I find something good for my friends.” [11] “And so,” he asked, “why do you not learn if he wished for this?” And Agesilaos said; “Go, Herippidas, and instruct him to wish for what you wish for.” [12] They who had stood up began to instruct him. When they were busy, he said, “Otys, do you wish also that we should call him here?” “I suppose that he would be persuaded more by you rather than by all the others.” Therefore, Agesilaos called Spithridates and the others. [13] Immediately after they came in, Herippidas said; “Agesilaos, why would someone speak at length about the other things said? In short Spithridates says that he would do with pleasure all that seems best to you.” [14] Agesilaos replied, “Therefore, it seems best to me

”Οτys, καλή γάρ ἐστι. Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἡμῖν γεγένησαι, συμβουλευοίμ’ ἄν σοι τὴν παῖδα ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκα, καλλίστην μὲν οὖσαν (οὗ τί ἀνδρὶ ἥδιον;), πατρὸς δ’ εὐγενεστάτου, δύναμιν δ’ ἔχοντος τοσαύτην, ὅς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἀδικηθεὶς οὕτω τιμωρεῖται αὐτὸν ὥστε φυγάδα πάσης τῆς χώρας, ὡς ὀρέῃς, πεποίηκεν. [8] εὖ ἴσθι μέντοι, ἔφη, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα δύναται τιμωρεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ φίλον ἄνδρα εὐεργετεῖν <ἄν> δύναίτο. νόμιζε δὲ τούτων πραχθέντων μὴ ’κεῖνον ἄν σοι μόνον κηδεστὴν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λακεδαιμονίους, ἡμῶν δ’ ἡγουμένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα. [9] καὶ μὴν μεγαλειότερως γε σοῦ, εἰ ταῦτα πράττοις, τίς ἄν ποτε γήμει; ποῖαν γὰρ νύμφην πώποτε τοσοῦτοι ἵππεις καὶ πελτασταὶ καὶ ὀπλίται προύπεμψαν ὅσοι τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα εἰς τὸν σὸν οἶκον προπέμψειαν ἄν; [10] καὶ ὁ Ὀτys ἐπήρετο· Δοκοῦντα δ’, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ταῦτα καὶ Σπιθριδάτῃ λέγεις; Μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐμέ γε οὐκ ἐκέλευσε ταῦτα λέγειν· ἐγὼ μὲντοι, καίπερ ὑπερχαίρων, ὅταν ἐχθρὸν τιμωρῶμαι, πολὺ μᾶλλον μοι δοκῶ ἡδεσθαι, ὅταν τι τοῖς φίλοις ἀγαθὸν ἐξευρίσκω. [11] Τί οὖν, ἔφη, οὐ πυνθάνῃ εἰ καὶ ἐκείνῳ βουλομένῳ ταῦτ’ ἐστί; καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· ἴτ’, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς, ὦ Ἡριππίδα, καὶ διδάσκετε αὐτὸν βουλευθῆναι ἅπερ ἡμεῖς. [12] οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀναστάντες ἐδίδασκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ διέτριβον, Βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ Ὀτυ, καὶ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο καλέσωμεν αὐτόν; Πολύ γ’ ἄν οἶμαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ σοῦ πεισθῆναι αὐτόν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐκάλει ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὸν Σπιθριδάτην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. [13] προσιόντων δ’ εὐθύς εἶπεν ὁ Ἡριππίδας· Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, τὰ ῥηθέντα τί ἄν τις μακρολογοίῃ; τέλος δὲ λέγει Σπιθριδάτης πᾶν ποιεῖν ἄν ἡδέως ὅ τι σοι δοκοίῃ. [14] Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη,

for you, Spithridates, with good fortune, to give your daughter to Otys, and for you to take her. Before spring we could not bring the girl on foot.” “But by ship, by Zeus!” Otys said, “By sea she could be sent for at once, if you should wish.” [15] Therefore, after exchanging their right hands on it they had sent Otys off. And immediately Agesilaos, since he knew that Otys was eager, after having manned a trireme and having ordered Kallias the Spartan to bring the girl, himself departed towards Daskyleion,...

δοκεῖ, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, σὲ μὲν, ὥς Σπιθριδάτα, τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ διδόναι Ὅτυν τὴν θυγατέρα, σὲ δὲ λαμβάνειν. τὴν μέντοι παῖδα πρὸ ἥρος οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα πεζῇ ἀγαγεῖν. Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ὅτυς, κατὰ θάλατταν ἤδη ἂν πέμποιτο, εἰ σὺ βούλοιο. [15] ἐκ τούτου δεξιὰς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπέπεμπον τὸν Ὅτυν. Καὶ εὐθύς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω αὐτὸν σπεύδοντα, τριήρη πληρώσας καὶ Καλλίαν Λακεδαιμόνιον κελεύσας ἀπαγαγεῖν τὴν παῖδα, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Δασκυλείου ἀπεπορεύετο...(Xen. *Hell.*)

Xenophon here narrates the negotiations that lead, first, to a military alliance between Agesilaos and Otys, and second, a marriage between the family of Spithridates and Otys.<sup>520</sup> Xenophon's recourse to dialogue for the negotiations is likely chosen in order to illustrate Agesilaos' persuasive personality.<sup>521</sup> The effect of the persuasion is that each party *considers* himself to have benefitted: Spithridates secures a marriage alliance with a powerful king, Otys marries a beautiful daughter of noble ancestry, and Agesilaos has strengthened his military alliance with Otys. The negotiations are, in a way, an inversion of the constructive alliances of the empire, since Spithridates is in opposition to Pharnabazos, Otys is resisting Artaxerxes II, and Agesilaos himself is marauding the satrapies of Sardis and Daskyleion as if he were leading unaffiliated mercenaries.<sup>522</sup> Before presenting a more specific analysis of these historical aspects and literary

<sup>520</sup> The episode survives in two traditions. The first begins with Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.1.1-28 and *Ages.* 3.4), on whom Plutarch bases his own version, which has a similar emphasis on the praise of Agesilaos' friendship (*Vit. Ages.* 11.1-4; Shipley 1997:172). The second is preserved in the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (24.6-25.2 [Chambers 1993:47-8]. Xenophon's *Agesilaos* and Plutarch have Kotys for Otys, and the name appears as Gyes in the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*.

<sup>521</sup> Gray 1981:321-4, 1989:49-52.

<sup>522</sup> Not only is the Otys episode an example of rebellion, but it is also a bit comical that our principle extant historian on Paphlagonia is a mercenary who has looted and extorted his way through the countryside.



composition of the Otys episode itself, I will review the literary perspective of the *Hellenica* itself.

In the third chapter the philosophical context of Xenophon's oeuvre and the didactic intent of the *Anabasis* were considered. Among his writings the *Hellenica* is the most similar to the *Anabasis*; both are didactic histories with a moralizing perspective.<sup>523</sup> Both are also very different: the expedition of Cyrus and the retreat of the Greek mercenaries confer on the *Anabasis* a continuity of narrative. By contrast, the *Hellenica* is episodic in narration of events and moralizing intent. The negotiations with Otys are embedded in the episode of Agesilaos' expedition, and, consequently, are embroiled in the debate over the relationship between the episode as it appears in the *Hellenica* and Xenophon's encomium of Agesilaos that also refers to the Otys episode, but more concisely.<sup>524</sup> With the recognition that both the *Hellenica* and the encomium are coherent literary compositions that respond to the moralizing stance of Xenophon, however, the encomium does not need to be seen as exerting a negative influence on the more impartial narration of Agesilaos' expedition in the *Hellenica*.<sup>525</sup> Comparison of the versions of the Otys episode, furthermore, clarifies how Xenophon modifies this episode to support the argument of each composition.<sup>526</sup>

---

<sup>523</sup> Pownall 2004:65-112, especially 82-5; Dillery 1995; Tuplin 1993:13-20 (summary of scholarship on Xenophon's intent in the *Hellenica*); Gray 1989:6-9.

<sup>524</sup> Xenophon refers to the encomium as an *epainos*: "I know that it is not easy to write praise worthy of the virtue and good repute of Agesilaus" (Οἶδα μὲν ὅτι τῆς Ἀγησιλάου ἀρετῆς τε καὶ δόξης οὐ ῥάδιον ἄξιον ἔπαινον γράψαι, ὅμως δ' ἐγχειρητέον [Xen. *Ages.* 1.1]).

<sup>525</sup> For a summary of the scholarship on the relationship of the *Agesilaus* to the *Hellenica*, see Tuplin 1993:193-7.

<sup>526</sup> Plutarch adapts both of the Xenophon versions with, perhaps, a contribution from the tradition of *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* in regard to the marriage preceding the gift of the soldiers (Shipley 1997:173). In the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* Gyes sends the soldiers after the end of the negotiations and Agesilaos' departure for Kios (*Hell. Oxy.* 25.2 [Chambers 1993:48]). It seems more likely, however, that Plutarch altered the sequence for literary purposes as Shipley's analysis of the chiasmic structure of the episode suggests (1997:172-3).

The encomium refers to the episode as an exemplum of Agesilaos' friendship (φιλία). Xenophon begins his description of Agesilaos' friendship with a general statement. "Now I will attempt to show the excellence of his soul.... Agesilaos worshipped the gods in such a way that his enemies considered both his oaths and truces more trustworthy than their own friendship;... they were hesitating to go to one another, but they were entrusting themselves to Agesilaos."<sup>527</sup> Otys's negotiations are entirely molded to reinforce these introductory sentences. After resisting the king, Otys does not trust other Achaemenid elites but rather enters into an alliance with Agesilaos. Spithridates' role as an intermediary is suppressed and the marriage with his daughter is not brought up.<sup>528</sup>

Likewise, friendship is brought up in the Otys episode in the *Hellenica*, but this time it is dependent on Xenophon's intention of inserting contrasting dialogues (λόγοι). The episode begins with Spithridates offering to "conduct dialogues and make an alliance with the king of the Paphlagonians."<sup>529</sup> Spithridates was successful in persuading Otys to enter into a military alliance and contribute one thousand horsemen and two thousand

<sup>527</sup> νῦν δὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν πειράσομαι δηλοῦν, [δι' ἣν ταῦτα ἐπραττε καὶ πάντων τῶν καλῶν ἦρα καὶ πάντα <τὰ> αἰσχροῦ ἐξεδίδωκεν]. Ἀγησίλαος γὰρ τὰ μὲν θεῖα οὕτως ἐσέβετο ὥς καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τοὺς ἐκείνου ὅρκους καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου σπονδὰς πιστοτέρας ἐνόμιζον ἢ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φιλίαν... μὲν ὤκνουν εἰς ταῦτόν ἰέναι, Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνεχείριζον (Xen. *Ages.* 1.1).

<sup>528</sup> "Kotys, the ruler of the Paphlagonians, did not listen to the king when he sent his right hand. Fearing lest having been seized he would either have to pay lots of money back or also lose his life, Kotys also, having trusted the truces of Agesilaos, came to the camp, and, having made an alliance, he chose to serve Agesilaos in war with one thousand horsemen and two thousand bearing light shields." (Κότυς δὲ ὁ τῶν Παφλαγόνων ἄρχων βασιλεῖ μὲν οὐχ ὑπήκουσε δεξιὰν πέμποντι, φοβούμενος μὴ ληφθεὶς ἢ χρήματα πολλὰ ἀποτείσειεν ἢ καὶ ἀποθάνοι. Ἀγησιλάου δὲ καὶ οὗτος ταῖς σπονδαῖς πιστεύσας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδόν τε ἦλθε καὶ συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενος εἴλετο σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ στρατεύεσθαι, χιλίους μὲν ἵππεις, δισχιλίους δὲ πελτοφόρους ἔχων [Xen. *Ages.* 3.4].)

<sup>529</sup> τὸν τῶν Παφλαγόνων βασιλέα καὶ εἰς λόγους ἄξιοι καὶ σύμμαχον ποιήσοι (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.2).

lightly armed soldiers.<sup>530</sup> Spithridates' task is straightforward, because, as Xenophon informs us, Otys was already resisting Artaxerxes II.<sup>531</sup>

Although Agesilaos is grateful (χάρις) to Spithridates, it is Agesilaos, by contrast, who had the task of persuading Otys, a powerful king of extensive lands, to marry the daughter of an exile without possessions. Spithridates himself says that he is very willing for his daughter to marry Otys, but, as he admits, the bride and groom are mismatched.<sup>532</sup> Agesilaos' dialogue (λόγος) with Otys occurs later, as Otys is about to depart Agesilaos' camp.<sup>533</sup> Vivienne Gray describes how Xenophon constructs Agesilaos' dialogue as a sophistic dialogue with the careful orchestration of the participants, rhetorical questions, and *irony*.<sup>534</sup> After informal questions about Spithridates' ancestry and the beauty of his son, "Agesilaos said, 'And since you have become our friend (φίλος), I would advise you to take the daughter, as she is very beautiful, as a wife.'"<sup>535</sup> The irony is that Agesilaos is performing a service to Spithridates and not Otys, their military alliance notwithstanding. Subsequently, Gray replaces Agesilaos' persuasion through irony with an emphasis on will as the central theme of the dialogue.<sup>536</sup> My response is that the dialogue can both

---

<sup>530</sup> πείσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου κατέλιπε τῷ Ἀγησίλαῳ Ὀτυς χιλίους μὲν ἵππείας, δισχιλίους δὲ πελταστὰς (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.3). Otys's contribution is not much more than the release of mercenaries who were to be paid from the loot of Agesilaos' marauding (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.17, 21-7).

<sup>531</sup> ἦλθεν Ὀτυς καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποίησατο· καὶ γὰρ καλούμενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀνεβέβηκει (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.3). Otys's earlier resistance is not mentioned in the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*. In consideration of the part of his resistance in the ease of Spithridates' persuasion and the contrast in dialogues, is it possible that Xenophon imagined Otys's earlier resistance?

<sup>532</sup> χάριν δὲ τούτων εἰδὼς Ἀγησίλαος τῷ Σπιθριδάτῃ.... Πολύ γε, ἔφη, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνος ἂν λάβοι φυγάδος ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύων πολλῆς καὶ χώρας καὶ δυνάμεως (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.4).

<sup>533</sup> ἦρξατο δὲ λόγου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος παρόντων τῶν τριάκοντα, μεταστησάμενος τὸν Σπιθριδάτην... (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.5).

<sup>534</sup> Gray 1981:321-4, 1989:49-52.

<sup>535</sup> Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἡμῖν γεγένησαι, συμβουλεύοιμ' ἂν σοι τὴν παῖδα ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκα, καλλίστην μὲν οὖσαν (οὗ τί ἀνδρὶ ἥδιον;)... (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.7).

<sup>536</sup> Gray "changes her mind" between her 1981 article and 1989 book (1989:202 n. 3); her interpretations are not in conflict, but merely two aspects of a complex dialogue. The article emphasizes the irony of

dismissively represent a Paphlagonian king as a fool and present a sincere philosophical statement on will. In the end, the principal comparison is between the ease and difficulty of Spithridates' and Agesilaos' dialogues.

Friendship emerges as a secondary comparison between Agesilaos' conduct towards Spithridates and Otys. Agesilaos is solicitous of Spithridates; he inquires of his thoughts about the marriage before proposing it to Otys. At the moment that Agesilaos does propose it to Spithridates, however, Agesilaos dismisses him.<sup>537</sup> With his dismissal of Spithridates, Xenophon demonstrates that Agesilaos was acting in Spithridates' best interests even when he was not present.<sup>538</sup> When Otys questions Agesilaos about whether Spithridates is willing, Agesilaos hides his earlier conversation with Spithridates and professes to be solicitous of his friends. Otys assumes that he is the friend; Agesilaos leads Otys on, but really has Spithridates in mind.<sup>539</sup> Agesilaos, then, pretends to compel Spithridates to acquiesce to the marriage in a performance that is so effective that Otys agrees to forgo the marriage procession, along with a dowry.<sup>540</sup> Through the contrast between Spithridates and Otys, Xenophon demonstrates how to effect the willing *obedience* of new, *ignorant* friends through persuasion. Not surprising, even though Xenophon represents the Achaemenid relations with Paphlagonia as a web of military

---

Agesilaos' statements on friendship and concludes that Otys has been "fooled" and "sacrificed" (1981:323, 324); in the book the dialogue is understood as about will, with the punch line being Otys's "if you should wish" (εἰ σὺ βούλοιο [Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.14; Gray 1989:51-2]). Gray passes over Spithridates' persuasion of Otys, and, consequently, does not recognize the comparison that the dialogues develop between Spithridates and Agesilaos, nor the agonistic character of the dialogues.

<sup>537</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.5.

<sup>538</sup> Gray 1989:52.

<sup>539</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.10.

<sup>540</sup> Ibid. 4.1.11-13. Gray interprets Agesilaos' solicitude of Spithridates as demonstrating "how [Agesilaos] looked out for [his friends] interests even without consulting them, always seeing what was best for them...." Otys's part is to demonstrate how the episode "offers a model of how to secure the willing obedience of new friends, that is, by showing them how you care for the friends you already have" (1989:52).

and marital alliances, Paphlagonia cannot evade its position as the least similar, least deserving of common purpose.

In a section entitled “discourses of similarity,” the reader may have expected more discussion of harmony in Achaemenid relations and the repression of differences. Bhabha, however, indicates that discourse only approaches similarity before the “but not quite” reasserts itself.<sup>541</sup> Similarity cannot be represented as more than mimicry because of the ambivalence the colonial discourse bears towards its subject. This is the ambivalence caused by similarity’s efficacy in engendering common purpose among imperial elites, and similarity’s undermining of the justification of conquest. More than the Achaemenid elite in Daskyleion themselves, the mercenary Xenophon and marauding Agesilaos need to justify their depredations of the landscape through these discursive practices that limit similarity.<sup>542</sup>

#### ***F. Historical discourses***

Just as Agesilaos is dismissive of Otys, Gray gives a dismissive historical assessment of the Otys dialogues. “The conversation has no narrowly historical purpose.”<sup>543</sup> My objective in reviewing the literary aspects of the historical references to Paphlagonians has been not only to understand how the context of the references influences which

---

<sup>541</sup> Bhabha 1994:126-31.

<sup>542</sup> Agesilaos’ dialogue with Pharnabazos, and, in particular, the shame of the thirty Spartans, are telling in the mentality of a mercenary (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.29-39, cf. Xen. *Ages.* 4.6). When Pharnabazos describes their marauding, “all the thirty were ashamed in front of him and were silent...” (οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα πάντες μὲν ἐπὶ σχύνησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσιώπησαν... [Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.34]).

<sup>543</sup> Gray 1981:323. Later, Gray is more precise: Xenophon’s “attention is focused on the betrothal. The *serious analytical* historian wishing to give an account of the political realities in *the East* would have concentrated on the details of the actual alliance, its terms,..., rather than what was at best a side-issue” (1989:49, italics added).

interpretations of those references are sound, but also to demonstrate that the literary aspects themselves are historical.

The purpose of this discussion is grounded on the ability of the literary sources to imagine ‘an-other’ place, that is, a place *as real as* it is imaginary. These places are real, in that none of them can exist apart from their conceptualization; they are imaginary, in that they constitute the place where desires are enacted, where Otys is obedient and ignorant; and they are an-other (*not* the other) as in a situated Paphlagonia related recursively to the Achaemenid place of discourse. The hyphenated notion of an-other place stands in opposition to Edward Said’s original argument in *Orientalism* that the discursive orient had not much to do with the “cultures and nations whose location is in the East, and their lives, histories, and customs [that] have a brute reality obviously greater than anything that could ever be said about them in the West.”<sup>544</sup> The historical discourses discussed in this chapter did have a recursive relationship with a Paphlagonia where the discourses were effective in both identity construction and resistance to the administrative interests spread in the discourses.

When discussing Thys’s gluttony and capture, through analogy with chiefdom studies, I argued that the discourses of othering alienate the subject and act as the retrospective justification for the expansion of satrapal oversight.<sup>545</sup> While the Otys dialogues suggestively evince the ritual, political, military, and personal alliances that held the empire together, their support for integration is secondary to how the dialogues continue the discourse of othering. A concluding statement on Paphlagonian

---

<sup>544</sup> Said 1978:5. On critical reflection Said admitted that this was an oversight.

<sup>545</sup> The analogy is that, alike in their discourses of othering the colonial subject, they also justify additional administrative oversight.

administrative integration into the empire does not appear until after the sixth chapter, where Paphlagonian resistance is further discussed. In that chapter more is said about resistance itself.<sup>546</sup> Here I want to emphasize the contemporary historical misunderstanding of discursive representations of Paphlagonian resistance that I mentioned when discussing Weiskopf's discussion of mobile recalcitrants. My perspective on these representations so far has emphasized how they perform a critical role in imperial expansion, but what of Paphlagonian perspectives?

These representations of resistance are only negligibly from a Paphlagonian perspective; they also obscure Paphlagonia as an-other place, a contested place throughout the process of imperial expansion. It would be through Paphlagonians reimagining themselves that the colonial and imperial discursive Paphlagonia could be recursively related to their situation. Paphlagonians do not possess an extant literary discourse of their own, and, consequently, the following chapter turns to Paphlagonian material discourses. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that Eric Wolf's phrase "people without a history" is ironic, because European expansion brought contacts with "societies and cultures characterized by long and complex histories."<sup>547</sup> Consequently, Ranger's emphasis on reimagination and Wolf's insistence on interconnectedness occurs in a landscape composed of historically powerful and contested places. In this way, I hope to

---

<sup>546</sup> Regardless of the misunderstanding, a possibility also exists that the references to Paphlagonian resistance to the Achaemenid king (Xen. *An.* 5.6.8, *Ages.* 3.4, *Hell.* 4.1.3; Nep. *Datames* 2.3) allude to ritualized resistance similar to the Uxian (Briant 1976, 1982a:81-112, 2002:726-33).

<sup>547</sup> My reference to Wolf's ironic phrase "people without history" is in response less to the absence of a Paphlagonian literary discourse, and more to his insistence, similar to Ranger's (1993), on the *interconnectedness* of European expansion, but his interconnectedness is principally economic. Wolf was, above all else, a Marxist anthropologist, and, similar to Ranger again, his interpretations are embedded in the post-1400 C.E. world (1997).

move Paphlagonian studies beyond the Achaemenid and contemporary generalizing historical narratives, chiefdom tropes, and distorted representations.

### ***G. Conclusion***

My survey of anthropological literature on the concept of “chiefdom” reveals that it is a product of the European invention of “tradition” during modern colonization. As a timeless “traditional” society, the chiefdom is a pre-state and proto-complex political organization. Although ethnographic work around the world points to an impressive variety among societies that are considered to be chiefdoms, anthropological theories have built a type-society out of the variety and incorporated the type into evolutionary models of state formation that archaeology has subsequently adopted.

The process of invention and often actual designation of local chiefs by modern colonial administrators is instructive in looking at Achaemenid imperial administration. Research into the process led me to ask whether the Achaemenids were attempting to invent suitable political leaders for Paphlagonia, a wild and mountainous region, as they viewed it. Additionally, I proposed that in place of considering chiefdoms as ahistorical traditional societies, they could offer insights as alternate and transitional imperial institutions of political administration and incorporation.

Furthermore, my analysis of the modern discourse on chiefdoms led me to historically interpret aspects of Achaemenid discourse that are often described as anecdotal, but perform a crucial role in the gradual process of imperial incorporation. As I have illustrated through Cornelius Nepos’ description of the capture of Thys in his biography of Datames, the empire did not solely need chiefs for its mountainous marginal



territories, but it also needed the chiefs to be barbaric in their eating habits, clothing, and hair style to justify their removal. The discourse of the othering of the Paphlagonian elites operated thus on multiple levels.

A few possible actual aspects of the reorganization of landscapes are also revealed in the analysis, such as the replacement of the dependents of the chiefs residing in forts with garrison commanders loyal to newly appointed administrators such as Datames. The fourth century foundation of Kalekapı possibly follows this process. The continuing occupation at the nearby fortified settlement of Yüklütepe and the responsiveness of the Kalekapı tomb to the social and natural landscape, however, suggests significant continuity, possibly the continuity from one cousin to another, from Thys to Datames. Yüklütepe and Kalekapı are, however, part of diverse settlement landscapes of agricultural settlements, mining communities, forest harvesters, and pastoral transhumants. It would be surprising if the complexity of these landscapes could be reduced to either ancient literary stereotypes or the “mobile nomads” found in contemporary scholarship on Paphlagonia. Rather than suggesting specific interpretations of the settlement pattern, therefore, the more cogent conclusion is to emphasize generally that nomadic mobility and recalcitrant, trouble-making tribes are fabrications, and discourses of difference are thus shown to justify imperial incorporation.

## **CHAPTER 5:**

### ***Multi-sited Archaeology and Kalekapı***

#### ***A. Introduction: Paphlagonian material discourses and critical agency***

In chapter 4, my analyses have demystified literary, imperial, and scholarly discourses, and exposed their function in the imperial imagination of Paphlagonia as marginal, stereotyped, and negotiated through historical narratives, chiefdom tropes, and distorted representations. In this chapter, I return to issues of material culture and agency in order to attempt a positive, constructive archaeology of Paphlagonia. The chapter consists of an analysis of elite funerary monuments that explicitly engage Achaemenid visual repertoire. The recent archaeological perspectives on agency guide this discussion of Paphlagonian monuments and prepare the ground for the interpretation of the natural landscape of the Gökırmak Valley that was already presented in the second chapter.

It was proposed in the fourth chapter that Paphlagonia in the Achaemenid period gradually experienced greater satrapal oversight as an administrative region of convenience. The rockcut monuments of the region and the multi-sited understanding of Paphlagonian landscapes support this transformative process of negotiation, cultural encounter, imperial appropriation, and often resistance. Two situated artifacts stand out as examples of the material discourses that involve the Paphlagonian reimagination of their relations with the Achaemenid administration: the Kalekapı tomb and the Afirözü relief block. All are intelligible within multiple materialities: some share the perspective of the literary discourses, a few confuse both the sense of the discourses and the contemporary researcher, and others do not respond to any of the concerns of the

discourses.<sup>548</sup> Both have previously been the subjects of iconographic analysis where their date and meaning were identified through readings of their iconographic elements and interpretation of their symbolic content.<sup>549</sup>

My rejection of Greek, Achaemenid, and Paphlagonian exclusionary identities in the third chapter causes me to be uncomfortable with iconographic analyses, such as von Gall's identification of the Greek bull and Achaemenid lion-griffin relief panels, and the Phrygian eagle and lions composition in the Kalekapı façade.<sup>550</sup> Iconographic analysis is similar to other methodologies, such as the culture-historical approach, in that they are dependent on bounded national assemblages of features. Such methodologies underlie most archaeological classification and dating, and they are the most persistent of the aspects of nationalist perspectives because of their ease of application in archaeological research.<sup>551</sup> Postprocessual archaeology, however, recognizes the necessity of bridging the chasm between methodologies and interpretive theories. Consequently, my analyses of the material discourses have recourse to a multi-sited approach developed to survey Kalekapı's connections with places and landscapes in the wider Achaemenid and Anatolian worlds. Through such an analysis, Paphlagonian archaeology can move beyond judgments about, for example, Paphlagonian historical recalcitrance or the provincial aesthetics of Paphlagonian relief sculpture and architecture.

---

<sup>548</sup> Bhabha 1994:126-31, 194-5.

<sup>549</sup> Von Gall 1966a:13-57 (Kalekapı), Donceel-Voûte 1983 (Afirözü relief).

<sup>550</sup> Von Gall 1966a:29-33, 21-9, 47-51, 121-2. Cf. Vismara 2007, a recent and nuanced but iconographic analysis of Lycian coinage.

<sup>551</sup> S. Jones 1997:21-4.

Often the poor execution of the relief has been linked to the issue of how well the artist and patron understood the original.<sup>552</sup> Von Gall interprets the poor execution of the eastern lion-griffin of the Kalekapı façade as follows:

If one tries a total evaluation of the representation, then some contradictions can hardly be ignored. On the one hand, a certain refinement and skill in composition and alignment cannot be denied to the relief, but, on the other hand, we find only in a folk art a particular unconcern in the rendition of the details. Examples are the raised front leg that is much too thin in comparison with the other front leg and the eye that is rather good-naturedly winking than exciting fear.<sup>553</sup> Also, the ears stand out much too far for a frontal view. One can assume, therefore, on the basis of the description that this relief is not an autochthonous creation.<sup>554</sup>

Von Gall argues that the poor execution reveals how the Paphlagonian vernacular adaptation of the Achaemenid lion-griffin entails a displacement of lion-griffin from its meaning and origins.<sup>555</sup> In other words, it is meaningless, or merely apotropaic and heraldic.<sup>556</sup> A concomitant part of von Gall's argument about the displacement of the

---

<sup>552</sup> For example, with respect to shoulder of the lion on the Broken Lion tomb in the Göynüş Valley "this representational technique,..., in the Phrygian lion is misunderstood in a provincial manner, because in a comparison with Achaemenid representations the shoulder loop comes out wrongly as a mirror reflection" (diese Darstellungsweise ist bei dem phrygischen Löwen in provinzieller Weise mißverstanden,..., denn die Schulter Schleife ergibt sich bei einem Vergleich mit achämenidischen Darstellungen als spiegelverkehrt [von Gall 1966a:24]).

<sup>553</sup> Von Gall's comment on the eye is unjustified, especially in consideration of the detail of his sketch.

<sup>554</sup> "Versucht man eine Gesamtbewertung der Darstellung, so sind einige Widersprüche kaum zu übersehen: auf der einen Seite kann man dem Relief eine gewisse Feinheit und Geschicklichkeit in Komposition und Linienführung nicht aberkennen, auf der anderen Seite finden wir aber eine nur der Volkskunst eigene Unbekümmertheit in der Wiedergabe der Details; so ist z.B. das erhobene Vorderbein viel zu dünn im Vergleich mit dem anderen, das Auge eher gutmütig blinzeln als furchterregend, auch stehen die Ohren für eine Vorderansicht viel zu weit ab. Man kann daher schon auf Grund der Beschreibung vermuten, daß dieses Relief keine autochthone Schöpfung ist" (von Gall 1966a:16).

<sup>555</sup> Von Gall compares the Kalekapı lion-griffin with the lion-griffin depicted on the glazed brick wall of Artaxerxes II's Apadana at Susa (von Gall 1966a:16 n. 4).

<sup>556</sup> Von Gall interprets the Kalekapı gable reliefs as apotropaic and the panel reliefs as heraldic in function. "While the upper animals—griffin, lion and eagle—are to be regarded as the real protectors of the grave, we would like to recognize in the lower, framed reliefs (which we derived in part from Greek stele images) burial images prepared in each case with interments. The characteristic and meaning of the images are to be sought, then, less in apotropaic, than rather in heraldic, if not even totemic concepts" (Während die oberen Tiere—Greifen, Löwen und Adler—als die eigentlichen Beschützer des Grabes anzusehen sind, möchten wir in den unteren, gerahmten Reliefs, die wir z. T. von griechischen Stelenbildern abgeleitet haben, jeweils bei Bestattungen ausgearbeitete "Grabzeichen" erkennen, deren Eigenschaft und Bedeutung dann weniger in apotropäischen, als vielmehr in heraldischen, wenn nicht gar totemistischen Vorstellungen zu suchen wäre [von Gall 1966a:51-2]). My analysis of the framing

lion-griffin and his interpretation of the poor execution of the relief is its transmission through the minor arts of toreutics.<sup>557</sup> “An influence through the minor arts is obviously present also in the lion-griffin of Kalekapı.”<sup>558</sup>

If my analysis is to approach an understanding of Paphlagonian discourse, such contemporary judgments must be discarded as much as the ancient literary discourses concerning Paphlagonia. In addition, it is not my wish to merely refine von Gall’s admirable analysis in the 1960s of the Paphlagonian rockcut tombs through more accurate documentation and detailed reconstruction of the reliefs. To a limited extent, the second and third chapters refine von Gall’s research on the tombs, but they do so more through the addition of the results of the intensive surveys of their sites and less through revisions in the analyses of the tombs themselves. In contrast to von Gall, my analysis of Kalekapı insists that the tomb was meaningfully constituted, and, therefore, proceeds through a multi-sited comparison of selected tombs and their sites.

Although my intention is to evade iconographic analysis because of its assumptions about the displaced meaning of “provincial” art, I have not shirked from the time-

---

bands left after the removal of the stone around the figures, however, suggests that the gable reliefs, lion-griffins, and panel reliefs received similar treatment, and von Gall’s division between gable reliefs and panels reliefs is unfounded.

<sup>557</sup> “Certain correspondences in the details of the Phrygian lion with the animals on the Duvanlij vase or the gold rhyton in New York very probably indicate that such minor arts were the means of transport for the Achaemenid lion-griffin image to Phrygia. The Graeco-Persian funerary reliefs found in Asia Minor, largely from the satrapal residence of Daskyleion, hardly permit the conclusion that they gave large plastic animal representations in strictly eastern patterns in the Achaemenid period of Asia Minor” (Gewisse Detailübereinstimmungen des phrygischen Löwen mit den Tieren der Duvanlij-Vase oder dem Goldrhyton in New York machen es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß es solche Werke der Kleinkunst waren, die das achämenidische Löwengreifenbild nach Phrygien übermitteln, denn die in Kleinasien gefundenen und zum Teil aus dem persischen Satrapensitz Daskyleion stammenden graeco-persischen Reliefs lassen kaum den Schluß zu, daß es in der achämenidischen Periode Kleinasien großplastische Tierdarstellungen streng orientalischen Schemas gegeben hat [von Gall 1966a:24]).

<sup>558</sup> Eine Beeinflussung durch die Kleinkunst liegt offensichtlich auch bei den Löwengreifen von Kalekapı vor (von Gall 1966a:25). In addition to the Duvanli amphora, comparisons in the so-called minor arts are the lion-griffins on seals from Sardis (Dusinberre 1997b:103, 116; 2003:153, 271-5), the Manisa bracelet with lion-griffin terminals (Akurgal 1961:170 fig. 117), the gold scabbards from Chertomlyk (Rolle, Murzin and Alekseev 1998:130-8 no. 191, Aruz et al. 2000:233-5 no. 164).

consuming task of reviewing iconographic comparisons in the minor arts. For example, the lion-griffins of the Duvanli amphora were analyzed at length by von Gall, and I here sought out other comparable lion-griffins in the minor arts.<sup>559</sup> If the amphora was part of a burial assemblage, then an argument could be advanced about the relationship between a burial assemblage and the representations on the tomb. In other words, the lion-griffins could be argued to participate in the situated practices of the burial where the amphora found its last resting place in antiquity.

In contrast to the repatriated İkiztepe tumulus assemblage,<sup>560</sup> however, the Duvanli amphora is not without some problems. Oscar Muscarella calls attention to how Duvanli was “apparently” plundered in 1925 and the finds dispersed. The amphora body was purchased in Sofia and the handles were purchased separately in Duvanli where a looted tomb was noticed at the time of purchase. Muscarella accepts the amphora body and handles, separately, as ancient artifacts from Bulgaria,<sup>561</sup> but this pastiche of an artifact does not have the provenance for a situated understanding.<sup>562</sup> Furthermore, a more promising interpretive approach lies in a reconfiguration of Alfred Gell’s writings on the mimetic and apotropaic enchantment of art objects.

---

<sup>559</sup> Von Gall 1966a:22-5.

<sup>560</sup> Özgen and Öztürk 1996:48-52, 74-149 nos. 11-104.

<sup>561</sup> Muscarella 1980:25, pl. 5 fig. 1; 1977:192-3 (following B. Filow. 1934. *Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvanlij in Südbulgarien*. Sofia: Staatsdruckerei, 38-41).

<sup>562</sup> The Duvanli amphora does, of course, not compare with the forgeries of the Oxus treasure and other purchased collections (Muscarella 2003:259-65). Furthermore, the analysis of untethered artifacts, such as most examples of the minor arts, and disembedded iconographic elements are too entangled in the art market and forgeries. The ethical and less problematic approach is, therefore, not to interpret the material in my dissertation.

## ***B. Kalekapı***

The tomb known as Kalekapı or Pencerecikapı is carved into the southeast face of a limestone ridge near its precipitous southwestern edge where a tributary of the Gökırmak has cut through (**fig. 28**). This arcs from the town of Hanönü approximately 30 km to the east of Kalekapı as the crow flies to approximately 20 km to the west (**fig. 8**). The Kalekapı section of the ridge forms a linear plateau running on the east bank of the tributary, the Karadere, from the tomb in the southwest to the northeast, where an artificial trench cuts the plateau from the ridge's northeastern continuation (**fig. 29**). The northern and western edges of this section of the ridge are precipitous (**fig. 30**). An outcrop of the ridge's southwestern continuation lies on the west bank of the Karadere. Late Iron Age ceramics are visible where the recent road built from the stream up to an irrigation canal disturbs the occupational deposits on the northern edge of the western outcrop, but visibility is low on the plateau and where Hellenistic and Roman ceramics predominate on a slope to the south of the eastern ridge. A stepped wall footing climbs to the opening of a tunnel on the top of the western outcrop (**fig. 31**). Rock-cut tunnels, stepped ledges, and other wall footprints are difficult to date traces of a fort on the plateau. The settlement at Kalekapı is discussed further in chapter 2 in the context of the regional survey results; my attention focuses on the tomb here.

The tomb surveys the Karadere's winding course through gentle cultivated colluvial slopes down to where the stream approaches a second ridge that intervenes between the catchment of the Karadere and its confluence with the Gökırmak.<sup>563</sup> The contemporary

---

<sup>563</sup> The distance as the crow flies from the Kalekapı ridge to the Karadere's confluence with the Gökırmak is slightly more than 10 km. The 2002 landcover of forest, dry agricultural fields, and irrigated fields

Istanbul-Samsun highway runs to the south of the second ridge; a Roman milestone found in the nearby village of Bademci suggests that the Roman road west from Pompeiopolis ran to the north of this second ridge.<sup>564</sup> It is probable that the route through the Gökırmak Valley in the Achaemenid period also ran to the north of the ridge and within sight of the Kalekapı tomb.<sup>565</sup> The forested slopes of the mountain range between the Gökırmak Valley on the south and the Devrekani River's catchment on the north begin at the Kalekapı ridge.<sup>566</sup>

The smoothed vertical surface of the ridge surrounding the tomb measures 15.46 m in width and 22.63 m in visible height (**fig. 6**). A framing band flush with the smoothed surface defines both the outline of a gable and conducts rain water away from a surface sculpted in low reliefs that surround a columned porch. Below the ridge of the gable is an eagle with outspread wings over a pair of opposed lions with profile bodies and frontal heads, and man and lion combat scene. Winged rampant lion-griffins each rest a paw on or near the upper corners of the frame of the porch. The Kalekapı lion-griffin is a composite monster with snarling face, body, and legs similar to a lion; feathered wings similar to a bird; and ears and horns similar to a bull. The frame is sculpturally elaborated with double rabbets on the upper and vertical sides. The two columns have bull capitals and torus bases resting on square plinths.<sup>567</sup> In the rear wall of the porch are

---

corresponds to the geomorphological divisions of mountain slopes, colluvial slopes, and alluvial deposits. The dam on the Karadere is designed, however, to extend irrigation to the colluvial slopes.

<sup>564</sup> French 1981-1988 vol. 2.1:183. The village of Donalar is on the west bank of the Karadere approximately 1 km to the south of the Kalekapı tomb. Located on a tributary of the Karadere, Bademci is the village to the southwest of Donalar (2.5 km as the crow flies).

<sup>565</sup> If not the route through the Gökırmak Valley, at least the route from Taşköprü to Devrekâni and Küre.

<sup>566</sup> The laboratory analysis of cores taken during the geomorphological survey of the Kastamonu Project has not been completed, and Kuzucuoğlu has only a preliminary report (Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:275, 279-87).

<sup>567</sup> Not a bull protome (cf. Baughan 2004:141).



openings to two connected burial chambers along with other cuttings. The southwest chamber is entered through a framed door and has both an unadorned bench and a sculpted couch. In contrast, the more roughly carved central chamber has one unadorned bench.<sup>568</sup> The reliefs on either side of the porch are in framed panels. Below the lion-griffin on the northeast are a lion in profile above an unfinished bull, and below the lion-griffin on the southeast is a bull with its head lowered.

Kalekapı is one of two Achaemenid funerary monuments in the Gökırmak valley, and both are difficult to parallel in terms of form and iconography with contemporary monuments, especially in this region. The search for a definitive interpretation was vexing to von Gall and remains so at present. It is the intelligibility of the iconography of the reliefs, however, that troubled earlier researchers who assume that the ancient inhabitants in the vicinity of the tomb could have read the reliefs as marking the fixed social identity of the tomb's principal occupant. If the reliefs do not reference a preexisting identity, and instead participate in the active construction and negotiation of the tomb occupant's multiple identities and agencies, then there are as many ways of responding to the reliefs as there are viewers, both ancient and contemporary. Consequently, I do not intend to argue against von Gall's response to Kalekapı; rather, I have placed his discussion in a historiographical perspective to clarify how my analysis differs both in methodology and perspective.

Kalekapı's unprecedented and hence ambiguous nature is most easily understood when it is situated in an Achaemenid and Anatolian context. In the Urartian and Lydian kingdoms that preceded the Achaemenid administration of Anatolia, the practice of

---

<sup>568</sup> In order not to overstep the extent of my permit from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, I never had a ladder brought to climb to the porch myself. See Baughan 2004:140-2, 374-5.

rockcut tombs associated with fortified outcrops became widespread.<sup>569</sup> The columnar rockcut tomb appeared during the Achaemenid period and itself became widespread in Caria in the fourth century.<sup>570</sup> Tumuli and built tombs are alternative burial practices contemporary with the rockcut tombs. Despite evidence of tumuli dating to the Early Iron Age through the Hellenistic periods in the Gökırmak Valley, rockcut tombs and sculpted reliefs preceding Kalekapı are unknown.<sup>571</sup>

My documentation of the façade with single point photogrammetry revealed a series of surprises, including ample evidence—in the poorly planned spacing of the figures both in the gable and in the panels—for the sequence of carving. Although the spacing can be explained in that the iconography is unprecedented and the sculptor was carving in a new monumental burial practice, this is another instance where poor execution is judged on aesthetic grounds. In other words, the absence of refinement in the reliefs is evidence of an absence of skill in the sculptor. I prefer to seize the information about the sequence of carving to address, in contrast, *how* variable agencies for the reliefs—agencies distributed among sculptor, patron, and audience of the carving process—produced an innovative

---

<sup>569</sup> Urartian rockcut tombs are dated by inscriptions and style (Işık 1987b:170-1). On account of the remarkable continuity between Urartian and Achaemenid period settlements, however, it is probable that some tombs were built and most in use during the Achaemenid period. On rockcut tombs and other burial practices see Çevik 2000, Işık 1987b. Baughan discusses the Achaemenid rockcut tombs found in Cilicia at Meydancıkkalesi (2004).

<sup>570</sup> Carian columnar rockcut tombs. In Lycia, columnar monumental tombs, such as the Nereid Monument, pillar tombs, sarcophagi, rockcut “house tombs,” and tumuli are all found during the Achaemenid period (Kjeldsen and Zahle 1975:321-50; Deltour-Levie 1982:197-205; Bryce 1991; Zahle 1991:150-2; Keen 1992, 1998:36-8, 182-92. The urban and maritime relations of the Carian and Lycian kings and elite as evinced in their tombs argue against their situated comparison to Kalekapı. Whereas Kalekapı participates in the trend, it is not similar or equivalent to the Lycian and Carian tombs. See also Fedak 1990:96-101.

<sup>571</sup> The Kastamonu Project surveyed a single looted tomb south of Kastamonu where numerous broken but well preserved Early Iron Age vessels and ash deposits indicates the probable residues of a tumulus and funerary feasting (C.17). The evidence for Hellenistic tumuli with a built dromos and burial chamber are more prevalent (e.g. C.12, C.26). Possible Middle and Late Iron Age of tumuli in the Gökırmak Valley are prominent clusters near dated settlements (C.11, C.14, C.16, C.23-5).

relief composition. Subsequently, I suggest how the tomb with its reliefs may be situated in the funerary practices of Paphlagonia.

With the exception of the bulls, each figure's outline and interior details were incised first. Leaving a surrounding framing band, the sculptor then removed the stone around the figure and enhanced its interior contours. Because some figures, such as the northeastern lion, have a lower background, the sculptor appears to have removed the stone around the figures in two or three passes. The same process seems to have been followed for the southwestern bull, although no framing band was left between it and the porch. The numerous instances where the figures impinge on the framing band suggest, however, that the bands would have been removed just as in the southwestern bull's panel at a later phase of the carving. The northeastern bull was begun, but no interior details were incised, before the stone around the figure was in part removed. A guiding line was left between the corner of the panel and the forehead, and the stone was not removed between the porch side of the panel and the lower horn and right leg of the bull.

The relationship between the figures reveals the following sequence of carving (**fig. 32**):

1 – The rear legs of the incised southeastern lion-griffin accommodate the tail of the bull in the base relief and the unfinished upper edge of the bull's panel.

2 – Due to the position of the bull and the extended leg of the man, the lion-griffin was shifted up and toward the center. Consequently, the first, sketched location of the lion-griffin's outer horn was abandoned and the second outer horn was shortened but still cut into the gable band. The horns and face of the lion-griffin were carved in base relief. Angling downwards from the chin to a turn above the raised paw and continuing horizontally to the thigh of the man is a line that indicates where the sculptor stopped removing the stone around the figures.

3 – The northeastern wing of the eagle is shortened to accommodate the position of the gable. The position of the gable, therefore, precedes the carving of the eagle, but the wings of the eagle do not impinge on the frame of the gable. A second possible cause for

the shortening of the wing is that cracks in the area of the eagle emerged during the process of carving.

4 – The cracks in the bedrock obscure the relationship between the eagle and opposed lions.

5 – The extended leg of the man impinges on the framing band above the porch frame. The position of the porch frame was, therefore, decided before the position of the man. The leg of the man, however, was carved simultaneously with the framing band. Like the two paws above and below, the extended foot is only incised.

6 – The rear paws of the northeastern heraldic lion conform to the existing outline of the back of the lion underneath it.

7 – The raised front paw of the lion-griffin impinges on the framing band above the porch frame. Similar to the man and lion combat, the position of the porch frame was, therefore, decided before the position of the lion-griffin. The paw of the lion-griffin, however, was carved simultaneously with the framing band.

8 – The raised front paw of the lion-griffin is shortened in comparison to the paw braced against the framing band. This was probably done to accommodate the position of the rear left paw of the lion in the combat.

9 – The left rear leg of the northeastern lion-griffin impinges on the surrounding framing band set by the carving of the lion underneath.

10 – Comparison of the rear legs and what remains of the incised and poorly preserved wings and head of the southwestern lion-griffin suggests that the sculptor was in part attempting to incise a mirror reflection of the northeastern lion-griffin. The conflicting lines connecting the wing to both front legs reveals, however, how the sculptor in the incised lines was working through the possibilities appropriate for a mirror reflection, with the right leg raised, and for a flipped image with the right leg braced against the framing band.

11 – The unfinished bull is in the same posture as the southwestern bull, but carved in a smaller scale. If the panel had taken advantage of the available width, the bull could have been enlarged. The technique of the incision of interior details before the removal of the stone around the figure has also not been followed. The tail of the bull impinges on the framing band between the bull and the lion, and, consequently, was carved after the lion.<sup>572</sup>

The residue of the sculptural practices at Kalekapı evokes Anthony Giddens' definition of "*practical consciousness*: tacit knowledge that is skillfully applied in the enactment of courses of conduct, but which the actor is not able to formulate

---

<sup>572</sup> This unfinished bull provides the only evidence for von Gall's suggestion that panels were added for each additional internment. If so, it is possible that the unfinished bull is related to the central burial chamber.

discursively.”<sup>573</sup> The distributed agents responsible for Kalekapı, therefore, do not make poor decisions about the spacing of the reliefs. Instead, the adjustments seen in the reliefs reveal the process through which innovation occurs in sculptural practice. It is not designed in advance; it is worked through. This process of innovation is not a provincial aspect of Kalekapı,<sup>574</sup> although both its “unfinished” quality and the difficulty of accommodating changes in rockcut carving make the process more visible.<sup>575</sup>

In Giddens’ theory of structuration, analysis emphasizes structure and agency equally, and gives primacy neither to how structure constrains nor how agency enables. The agents responsible for Kalekapı conducted themselves through practical pathways to produce something innovative. Rather than the introduction of the novel art of modernity, I understand innovation as the product of a process of becoming, a transformation of identities. In the sequence of the reliefs, a practical agency becomes visible.<sup>576</sup>

---

<sup>573</sup> Giddens 1979:57 (*italics in the original*). I do not imply that the sequence of carving presented here is the only formulation of the sequence. Following his definition of practical consciousness, Giddens himself emphasizes that such formulations are context-dependent and recursively related to the setting of the inquiry (1979:57).

<sup>574</sup> In a similar manner, the steps of the east entrance of the Parthenon on the Athenian acropolis were laid before the continuous frieze was inserted. Subsequent adjustments intended to accommodate the frieze left the clamps visible on the steps to all who climbed them. My approach to sculptural innovation differs in significant aspects from Root’s (1979:1-28, 1990). The significance of Schmidt’s comment that “all Persepolis reliefs show on close examination some incomplete details” has yet to be studied from the perspective of practical consciousness (1953:167).

<sup>575</sup> Although Kalekapı seems unfinished to us, perhaps it was practiced that the death of the principle occupant, not their sculptural completion, “finished” the tomb. The carving of the façade of the southern Evkayası tomb located 35 km to the southwest of Kalekapı in the city of Kastamonu was cursorily “finished” and a rough tomb chamber carved, presumably after the death of the tomb’s principle occupant. In Feugère’s discussion of the relationship between the production and consumption of archaeologically known objects, this Evkayası tomb exemplifies how not only the carving, but also the internment and subsequent use defines the place (2007:25).

<sup>576</sup> It is only a *critical agency* when it is understood to go against the structures of the social worlds where the agents are embedded (Apter 2007:4). I return to critical agency when I bring my discussion of chiefdoms together with my interpretation of Kalekapı.

Agency, however, is only the first half of Giddens' theory of structuration. The second half emphasizes structure and constraints, but, simultaneously, the separation between the halves is fluid. "Structures only exist as the reproduced conduct of situated actors with definite intentions and interests."<sup>577</sup> When our interpretation turns to the ritual, social, funerary, and other constraints that are recursively related to agency, however, the unprecedented quality of Kalekapı appears to present a problem for comparative analysis. Whereas my emphasis is on the analysis of the situated Paphlagonian materialities, the absence of precedents requires us to bring into our analysis a wider, but still situated range of comparisons. After the erasure of the separation between the local 'Paphlagonian' and global 'Aegean' worlds in the third and fourth chapters, however, the reliance on "global" situated materialities serves—similar to my insistence on the efficacy of discourse—to support my argument on a situated interpretation of Kalekapı through contrasts with diverse materialities. A multi-sited approach demands that in addition to situated and contextualized study of places and their site-specific visual culture, one could responsibly bring to the discussion geographically distant sites of significance in a comparative way.

### ***C. Kalekapı and Naqsh-i Rostam***

The introduction to Kalekapı mentions that columnar rockcut tombs appear during the Achaemenid period and become widespread in the southwest of Anatolia in the fourth century. Although I do not wish to suggest that this trend found its origins in the royal

---

<sup>577</sup> Giddens 1993:134.

tombs at Naqsh-i Rostam, a comparison with Naqsh-i Rostam does reveal numerous contrasts between Iranian and Anatolian practices associated with the tombs.

Naqsh-i Rostam is a cliff approximately 6 km north of Persepolis on the southern end of a mountain ridge separated by a river, and also the route to Pasargadae from the mountain ridge on whose western flank Persepolis lies (**figs. 33-4**). A spring is thought to have been present towards the western end of the cliff near where a partially obscured early second millennium Elamite relief was carved.<sup>578</sup> Except for its proximity to Persepolis, Naqsh-i Rostam is very similar to Behistun with reliefs on cliff, spring, and route passing in front, and Naqsh-i Rostam was probably a place of ritual and transit importance before its adoption as a place for royal burials.

Of the four tombs carved in the cliff, only the first, the tomb of Darius I, is conclusively identified with the help of inscriptions.<sup>579</sup> The tomb of Darius I also becomes the precedent that the other three tombs follow.<sup>580</sup> The tomb consists of a vertical cruciform surface 23 m in height carved into the cliff (**fig. 35**). The bottom ledge of the cross is 15 m above the Achaemenid ground level as determined by excavations.<sup>581</sup> A building façade with four engaged columns between antae occupies the middle arms of the cross.<sup>582</sup> A central door leads to a corridor running behind the façade; three of the

---

<sup>578</sup> Elamite relief: Schmidt 1970:121; pls. 86-8; Potts 1999:182, 186 fig. 6.9 (relief). Spring and Achaemenid cistern: fig. 2 no. 4 (after page 8); 10; fig. 4 plots BZ 38, 48; 65.

<sup>579</sup> DNa (inscription behind Darius I), DNb (intercolumnar inscription), and minor inscriptions DNa and DNd in Kent 1953:137-41, Kuhrt 2007b, vol. 2:502-5 nos. 11.16 and 11.17 (Old Persian versions). Kuhrt lists the bibliography on the Elamite and Babylonian versions (2007b, vol. 2:502-3).

<sup>580</sup> Schmidt argues that Darius I's tomb at Naqsh-i Rostam was derived from rockcut tombs in Kurdistan (1970:79-80), but von Gall and others date the Kurdistan tombs to the later Achaemenid and Hellenistic period (1966b). The carving of Darius's tomb is far more complex, with Urartian, Anatolian, and possibly even Egyptian ritual and sculptural practices in play.

<sup>581</sup> Schmidt 1970:80.

<sup>582</sup> Schmidt argues that the "façade" imitates the façade of Darius I's palace (ibid.:81, 83); however, Bessac's comparison of construction in stone and monumental carving finds many differences demanded by the contrasting techniques (2007).

other panels between the columns and antae bear a trilingual inscription. The corridor is open to three vaulted chambers with three burial cists each. The upper arm of the cross bears relief sculpture within a raised and sculpted frame. In one interpretation the reliefs are understood as a low ritual table born aloft on the raised arms of the personified subject peoples.<sup>583</sup> Two triple stepped pedestals rest on the table; on the wider pedestal at the southwest Darius I stands facing a fire altar on the northeast pedestal. He gestures towards a winged Ahuramazda that hovers above in the middle of the two pedestals.<sup>584</sup> In the upper northeast corner is the moon; the surface behind Darius I is inscribed. Architectural elements such as capitals, the signs of the inscriptions, and the figures of the upper panel were painted in blue, brown-red, and green.<sup>585</sup> Enclosed within a wall and facing the cliff is a built ashlar tower that was involved in funerary cult.<sup>586</sup>

Although the interpretation of the tomb of Darius I is much disputed, burial practices such as embalming in wax,<sup>587</sup> Zoroastrian rituals,<sup>588</sup> the discursive constructions of

---

<sup>583</sup> Calmeyer 1975a:234 “table,” contra Schmidt 1970:84 “throne, or throne stage.” Cf. “throne” (DNa §4 [lines 41-2] *gāθum*) and “place” (DNa §4 [line 36], DNb §8g [line 35] *gāθavā*) in Kent 1953:137-8, 139-40, 183. See also *gāθu-* “means hardly more than ‘place, suitable or appropriate place (as indicated by context)’” (ibid. 1945:49-50), “throne-platform on which the king is depicted as standing” (Kuhrt 2007b, vol. 2:503 n. 11).

<sup>584</sup> Although von Gall argues for the winged figure to be the king’s deified predecessor and not Ahuramazda, no compelling reason exists to consider the interpretations as mutually exclusive (von Gall 1974, cf. Calmeyer 1975a:235-6 who follows von Gall but argues for the winged figure as a representation of kingship). Scholars also incorporate anachronistic Avestan concepts in their interpretation of the winged disk (eg. Jamzadeh 1982). Through a historiographical study, Shabbazi critiques the interpretation of the winged disk as either Ahuramazda or the Avestan *fravashi* (1974). Root identifies Darius I’s gesture to the winged disk as greeting or blessing, and not adoration (1979:175).

<sup>585</sup> Schmidt 1970:83, 84.

<sup>586</sup> Ibid.:34-7 (architectural description). Schmidt also summarizes the interpretations of the tower from tomb to depository and fire sanctuary, and argues for the last option based on the upper reliefs on the tombs and Sassanian reuse of the tower (41-8). Although the tower indisputably participates in funerary cult, no compelling reason exists to assume that the cult is depicted in the upper reliefs or involves fire altars (see also Kleiss and Calmeyer 1975:88-91).

<sup>587</sup> Herodotus mentions exposure and embalming in wax (1.140). Embalming in wax and encasing in a coffin before placement in the burial cist seems probable, but the royal Assyrian practice of barrel vaulted rooms with cist burials within Assurnasirpal II’s Northwest Palace at Kalhu (modern Nimrud) is



empire, and the documentation of the continuing supply of sacrificial animals to the funerary cult must all be taken into consideration.<sup>589</sup> Respectively, these practices suggest possible interpretations of the tomb's burial cists, the ritual Darius I is engaged in with Ahuramazda, the subject peoples' support of the table,<sup>590</sup> and the cultic relationship of the tomb to the built tower and enclosed area. This is not the place to argue for an interpretation of the tomb in its entirety; my intention is to comment on the contrasts between Kalekapı and Darius I's tomb.<sup>591</sup>

Except for iconographic fragments, a comparison of these tombs primarily highlights their differences, especially with regard to the burial cists and couches.<sup>592</sup> Additionally, although both have columnar porches, the Kalekapı porch is visible from below, whereas the columns of Naqsh-e Rostam are engaged and the corridor is not visible. Even the

---

also a probable precedent for the Achaemenid practice (Damerji 1999:5-10, 36 fig. 34, 54 fig. 16, 63 fig. 7).

<sup>588</sup> Zoroastrianism as evidenced in the relief of the fire altar and the Ahuramazda of the royal inscriptions is relevant; anachronistic literary traditions are not helpful (eg. L'vov-Basirov 2001:102-5; Boyce 2001 ["The unrecorded centuries" 39-47 and "Under the Achaemenians" 48-77], 1975 ["Death, the hereafter and funeral rites" 109-29 and "The Zoroastrian funeral rites" 325-30], 1982 ["The tomb of Darius" 110-2 and "The religious elements in the carvings above the tombs" 112-6].

<sup>589</sup> The Persepolis Fortification tablets document distributions of grain to servants at the tomb of Darius I's father, Hystaspes, at Persepolis, and sacrificial cattle to a priest of the funerary cult of Cambyses and Upandush at Narezzash (Henkelman 2003:103-7 [PF-NN 1700], 110-3 [PF-NN 2174]; Kuhrt 2007b, vol. 2:574 no. 11.68 i [PF-NN 1700], ii [PF-NN 2174]). Similar distributions must have occurred for the maintenance of the funerary cults at Naqsh-e Rostam.

<sup>590</sup> The upper inscription states, "look at the *patikarā* [sculptures] (of those) who bear the *gāθum* [place/table/platform], then you will know, then it will become known to you: the spear of the Persian man has gone forth far" (DNa §4 [lines 41-5], translation adapted from Kent 1953:138 [Old Persian version]; cf. Kuhrt 2007b, vol. 2:503 no. 11.16). The subject peoples bearing the table, then, primarily participate in the discursive construction of the extent of Darius I's conquests. Cf. Henkelman and Stolper 2009.

<sup>591</sup> If Schmidt's argument that the tomb's "façade" references that of Darius I's palace bears out (1970:81, 83), comparison with Assyrian royal burials within Assurnasirpal II's Northwest Palace at Kalhu (modern Nimrud, Damerji 1999) would support the interpretation that a tradition of palace burial was reimagined in bedrock. Comparison with Darius I's royal inscriptions would support the further interpretation of the rightful occupation of the palace leading to rightful worship. This interpretation would couple burial practices with imperial discourse in a fashion to be expected in a king's tomb, but, simultaneously, it is a materiality that finds coherence between the discourse of inscriptions and traditions of royal burial.

<sup>592</sup> Compare the striking similarities of the tomb of Darius I with Achaemenid period tombs at the probable satrapal capital of Tušpa (Tarhan 2007:123).

iconographic comparisons are tenuous at best. The eagle under the gable at Kalekapı has a similar position at the upper center of the composition to the winged figure, but, as I argue later, the eagle is more similar to the ubiquitous winged sun disk.<sup>593</sup> The frontal bull capitals of Kalekapı differ from the profile double bull protome capitals of Darius I's tomb. The lion-griffin does appear in the reliefs of Darius I's tomb, but as a protome element on the corner of the ritual table.<sup>594</sup> What the lion-griffin on Darius I's tomb represents is secondary, therefore, to what the table itself represents.<sup>595</sup> Furthermore, in consideration of my critique of the theoretical framework for arguments on iconography, and my interpretation of Kalekapı that follows, it should be clear that a more situated interpretation of the tomb of Darius I responding to funerary practices is required.

#### ***D. Kalekapı and Persepolis***

Guidance in how to proceed with Kalekapı is found if we turn from Naqsh-e Rostam to the royal upper city of Persepolis, where gates, entry staircases, and doors are the preferred location for relief sculptures of winged sun disks, lion-griffins, and animals

---

<sup>593</sup> Although the scholarship that disputes the interpretation of the winged disk as Ahuramazda refers to textual traditions of falcons and eagles associated with Achaemenid iconography of kingship (Jamzadeh 1982:92), the references are to battle standards. Xenophon describes the royal standard in battle as “some kind of golden eagle on a shield that was lifted up on a wooden pole” (τὸ βασιλείον σημεῖον ... αἰετόν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ πέλτῃ ἐπὶ ξύλου ἀνατεταμένον [*An.* 1.10.12]). In the *Cyropaedia* he describes the standard of Kyros II and subsequent kings was a “golden eagle held up on a long pole” (ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένος [*Cyr.* 7.1.4]). The descriptions most probably refer to the winged sun disk without the figure. See also Calmeyer on the winged sun disk (1980:62 n. 19).

<sup>594</sup> Jamzadeh 1996:108

<sup>595</sup> Whereas Schmidt argues that the reliefs represent an existing throne held aloft by sculptures in the round of the subject peoples (1970:85), Jamzadeh interprets them as a possibly invented eclectic pastiche of coded elements that convey the concept of kingship (1995:1-2, 12-4). Consequently, Jamzadeh argues that Darius I's standing on a throne platform with a lion-griffin conveys his defeat of the lion-griffin (ibid. 1995:3-14). Jamzadeh mistakes Root's argument about the programmatic planning of Achaemenid art as eclecticism—Root actually argues against eclecticism (1979:15-6, 23-4; 1990:127-30)—and fragments Achaemenid art to a point where the smallest sculptural element can be decoded apart from the whole.

comparable to Kalekapı.<sup>596</sup> The lion-griffin in combat with the royal hero appears on both of the jambs of the northern doorway of the columned hall's west wall, which was completed by Artaxerxes I (**fig. 36**).<sup>597</sup> Both combats are mirror reflections, with the hero facing into the columned hall from a long, narrow room running along the hall's northeastern side, and with the lion-griffin facing into the room. The Persepolitan lion-griffin is a composite monster with face, body, and front legs similar to a lion; feathered neck, wings, and taloned rear legs similar to a bird; ear and horn similar to a bull; and the tail of a scorpion. Mirrored lion-griffin combats also mark the jambs of the west wall's southern doorway in the central hall of Darius I's palace, and the central hall's eastern doorway in Xerxes' so-called Harem.<sup>598</sup> The lion-griffin combats share door jambs of the west and east walls of the central halls with the royal hero in combat with bird-griffins, bulls, and lions. In the northern and southern doorways are reliefs of the king enthroned or in procession with attendants.

Margaret Cool Root has observed that the reliefs of the king with attendants “convey an impression of the king...passing through doorways” and have the “impact that the figures are, in effect, projected into real space.” Consequently, “the impact of the splendor of the king upon the visitor may have been intended in part to serve a protective function.”<sup>599</sup> Although the reliefs are protective, Root insisted that they are not emblematic because their attributes respond to their architectural location. For example,

---

<sup>596</sup> Although I compared the Kalekapı lion-griffin to the Susa glazed brick lion-griffin in my reconstruction, I prefer to present a situated comparison of Kalekapı to the Persepolis vicinity. After consideration of not only the tombs at Naqsh-e Rostam but also the secondary contexts of the Susa glazed bricks and their tentative reconstructions, I chose the Persepolis vicinity.

<sup>597</sup> Schmidt 1953:129, 136-7, pl. 116; Root 1979:303-7 for identification of the royal hero).

<sup>598</sup> Schmidt 1953:226, pl. 146 (Darius I's palace); 257, pl. 196 (Xerxes' Harem).

<sup>599</sup> Root 1979:288-9.

when passing from a room to the central hall of a *tacara*,<sup>600</sup> the king appears without a parasol, and when passing from a central hall to a courtyard he stands under a parasol. Referring to the work of Carl Nylander,<sup>601</sup> Root commented that the reliefs do not literally correspond to events that would have taken place in the rooms, but instead their designers consciously applied a standardized sculptural repertoire created in response to dynastic identity and imperial ideology.<sup>602</sup> In the reliefs of the king with attendants, “through a deliberate manipulation of internal iconographical elements..., an unprecedented explicitness in illustrating the actual function of the specific doorjambs embellished by each relief.”<sup>603</sup> Root argued for a formal interpretation of the architecture,<sup>604</sup> and her analysis of iconography led her to find reified meanings for each room rather than embedding the architecture and its reliefs in social process.

Root’s interpretation of the architectural sculpture beyond the reliefs of the king with attendants is at an even further remove from social process. She contrasts the significance of the location and direction of the reliefs of the king with attendants with the “more generalized apotropaic significance” of the combat reliefs.<sup>605</sup> The identification of the king with the mythical heroes of the combat reliefs is a clear instance

---

<sup>600</sup> The so-called palaces of Darius I and Xerxes are ceremonial or ritual buildings referred to in inscriptions as a *tacara* (DPa line 6, XPj), *hadiš* (XPc line 11, XPd lines 16-7), and *viθ-* (DPc) (Schmidt 1953:223-4, 238; Kent 1953:135, 149, 152). The columned hall completed by Artaxerxes I is also referred to as a *hadiš* (APa line 19) (Kent 1953:153, cf. Kuhrt 2007b, vol. 1:316 no. 8.5 i).

<sup>601</sup> Root 1979:288 n. 14.

<sup>602</sup> Ibid.:1-16. See also Root 1990:119-24.

<sup>603</sup> Ibid.:296.

<sup>604</sup> To Root, design intent and architectural style determine function; this is not function as generally understood, a function related to the use of architectural space. Rather, Root’s approach is typical of the architectural history of 1970s that Tschumi critiqued in an essay written in the early 1980s. “From modernism to postmodernism, the history of architecture was surreptitiously turned into a history of styles. This perverted form of history borrowed from semiotics the ability to “read” layers of interpretation, but reduced architecture to a system of surface signs at the expense of the reciprocal, indifferent, or even conflictive relationship of spaces and events” (Tschumi 1996:141).

<sup>605</sup> Ibid.:307.

of the “imperial manipulation of imagery for ideological purposes” and the reliefs bear no specific iconographic or ritual meaning.<sup>606</sup> The loss of meaning that Root finds in the Persepolis combat reliefs is derived from the Achaemenid ideological manipulation of Neo-Assyrian sculptural traditions.<sup>607</sup> Root exemplifies the scholarship that interprets architectural monsters—in imperial centers or distant mountains—as generalized apotropaic tapestries hanging like amulets in front of rooms or buildings.

At Persepolis, the location of the royal hero combats on the east and west walls of central halls differs from the locations of other architectural animals and monsters grouped in the category of apotropaic: monumental bulls and winged human-headed bulls in the Gate of Xerxes and flanking the porch of Artaxerxes I’s columned hall, the double protome impost blocks of the columns, relief lion and bull combats and sphinxes in the stairways, and dogs and ibex statues in the Apadana towers and western doorway of Xerxes’ *tacara*.<sup>608</sup> In contrast to Root, the specificity of the reliefs’ location argues against their “generalized apotropaic significance” and for their relevance to the events that occurred in their presence.<sup>609</sup> The specificity of the lion-griffin and the other reliefs at Persepolis, however, is not reproduced at Kalekapı. The lion-griffin does not appear at

---

<sup>606</sup> Ibid.:306. Root argues against interpreting the reliefs as representing a ritual combat associated with the New Year or another celebration (ibid.:307-8). The royal hero in combat with the lion-griffin is adapted from Neo-Assyrian representations known from Kalhu (modern Nimrud) of the combat between the god Ninurta and the Anzû bird.

<sup>607</sup> Whereas Root’s concept of ideology is relevant to my critique of ideology and “traditional” societies, my interest here is with her generalized concept of apotropaism.

<sup>608</sup> Schmidt 1953:65-6, pls. 9-12 (bulls and human-headed bulls in the Gate of Xerxes); 131, pls. 92-3 (bulls in Artaxerxes I’s columned hall), passim (bull, winged human-headed bull, and lion-griffin impost blocks); 83, pls. 19-20, 22, 53, 61 (Apadana stairway reliefs); 107, pls. 62-3, 66, 69 (Tripylon stairway reliefs); 224, 228, pls. 127, 132B, 153-4 (Darius I’s Tacara stairway reliefs); 240-1, pls. 159-60, 166 (Xerxes’s Tacara stairway reliefs); 73 (Apadana tower statues, see also Schmidt 1957:69-70, pls. 36A-C); and 240 (Xerxes’s Tacara doorway statues).

<sup>609</sup> If the shared name, *hadiš*, of Artaxerxes I’s columned hall, Darius I’s Tacara, and Xerxes’ Tacara is significant, the central halls could be a place where practices require east and western doorways with the royal hero combat reliefs.

Kalekapı in combat with the royal hero, but, rather, as bracketing the columned porch, and its Paphlagonian adaptation seems to be responding to different practices. The lion-griffin without the royal hero appears as double protome impost blocks in the Apadana's east porch and the east and west porches of the Tripylon courtyard four.<sup>610</sup> More significantly, however, other monsters, such as the sphinx and the winged human-headed bull, clarify more the role played by the lion-griffin and other animals at Kalekapı.

The stairways at Persepolis in both their double plan on the Apadana and truncated plan on other buildings possess a central sculpted and inscribed panel with a band showing a winged sun disk framed by sphinxes above (**figs. 37-8**). Lion and bull combat scenes bracket either side of the center of the eastern stairway of the Apadana; they also appear on other stairways wherever a flight of stairs creates a lateral triangular panel. A compositional comparison of the Kalekapı façade and the center of the eastern stairway of the Apadana is possible with Kalekapı's eagle, lion-griffins, and separated lion and bull corresponding to the winged sun disk, sphinxes, and lion and bull combats.<sup>611</sup>

By contrast, I propose to offer a site-specific comparison. At Kalekapı, a possible reference to Persepolitan technologies may be seen in the specific design of sculpted entryways, which was most effectively developed in the imperial building program at Persepolis. Likewise, Kalekapı reliefs are in direct conversation with similar rock-carving and monument-making technologies within the empire. Various apparent ambiguities in the design of the Kalekapı monument may indeed be due to its truly hybrid character.

---

<sup>610</sup> Schmidt 1953:80, 121.

<sup>611</sup> The Kalekapı façade could also be compared in composition to the gold foil appliqués with sphinxes, winged sun disk, and stepped crenelations from Sardis (Dusinberre 2003:145-50).

Whereas the iconographic approaches emphasized one-to-one analogies, the articulation of the overall intelligibility of the reliefs was neglected, as was the significance of each stylistic conversation with other monuments. Von Gall, for instance, considered the Nannas Monument from Sardis “of utmost importance for the interpretation of the upper composition [of a eagle and opposing lions] in the gable of Kalekapı,” which “obviously represent” an unfortunately unspecifiable *potnia theron*.<sup>612</sup> Subsequent research on the Nannas Monument dated the installation of an eagle with two lions as a Roman reuse of Archaic sculpture and cast doubt on its relevance to the Achaemenid Kalekapı. With the absence of a known comparable representational repertoire, especially a local one, the search for a definitive iconographic meaning would remain vexing. The eagle becomes intelligible, however, through a situated comparison that emphasizes the multiple conversations of Kalekapı with the visual culture of the Achaemenid Empire.

One of the conversations that Kalekapı has with Persepolis is in the carving or construction of monumental entryways. The low reliefs of the center of the Apadana’s eastern stairway perhaps gives the impression that the reliefs are tapestries hung on the stairway. This impression is mistaken and has implications connected to the interpretation of the Kalekapı reliefs as bereft of specific meaning, or, in other words, merely apotropaic or decorative. Often architectural sculpture is understood as superficial to the doors and walls themselves, and, particularly, apotropaic sculpture is understood as a decorative and protective surface separate from what it protects.

---

<sup>612</sup> Von Gall 1966a:48.

Root's "generalized apotropaic significance" reflects the insufficiently theorized art historical adoption of the broadly applied concept of apotropaism within structuralist interpretations of protective rituals.<sup>613</sup> Apotropaism has its etymological source in a Greek verb meaning to turn away (ἀποτρέπειν) and the related adjective meaning averting (ἀποτρόπαιος), an epithet of the god Apollo. As Christopher Faraone had indicated, within contemporary scholarship apotropaism is understood to function visually through display at gates and other boundaries, and turns away malevolent beings and the evil eye of, for example, jealousy. Faraone does not adequately argue for the art historical cooption of the apotropaic as a visual phenomenon, when he accepts the separation of talismans from the apotropaic. Additionally, although Faraone mentions that ἀποτρόπαιος is applied to sacrifices, he is too in debt to the generalizing and comparative approach of structuralist approaches formulated in the early twentieth century to fully abandon the symbolic meaning of sculpture, and the structuralist rejection of the specificity and place-making quality of rituals.<sup>614</sup> Within structural anthropology and linguistics, apotropaism is used to explain protective rituals in general.<sup>615</sup>

Recent critical studies on apotropaism within social archaeology use the category as a convenience to discuss various aspects of the materiality of Neo-Assyrian figurines or

---

<sup>613</sup> Faraone 1992:9-12. The structuralist interpretation divides the world into good/ordered and bad/chaotic with apotropaic symbols protecting the good from the bad.

<sup>614</sup> Faraone 1992:4-5, 7-12. Faraone qualifies his discussion of apotropaic images with the observation that ἀποτρόπαιος is used as an epithet and to describe some sacrifices but not images or sculptures.

<sup>615</sup> For example, Brixhe and Lejeune refer to an Old Phrygian inscription reused in an Achaemenid channel at Gordion as apotropaic (1984:87 [no. G-02]). They interpret the inscription, however, as threatening punishment for trespassers, and the inscription is more aptly compared to curse or law invoking inscriptions.



houses at Lepenski Vir.<sup>616</sup> Although theorized, these studies are grounded in the structuralist definition of the apotropaic as generally protective, and place their emphasis on building practices that contrast the Persepolis and Kalekapı sculptures. It is to Gell, however, that we must turn to determine what is the problem with the application of apotropaism in Root and von Gall.

Gell does not use the concept of the apotropaic to refer to the aversive effect of representational art, but rather to describe the effect of complex and often labyrinthine patterns drawn at thresholds.<sup>617</sup> Gell refers to his choice of the concept of apotropaic to describe the patterns as paradoxical, because the patterns do not avert malevolent beings so much as enchant and capture them. Gell's choice reflects the anthropological association of apotropaism in part with protection, but even more with the efficacy of art objects.<sup>618</sup> In Gell's work concerning the Trobriand canoe prows, the patterns bedazzle those who confront them and create real, sensory, and visceral effects on the observer. The patterns do not work through symbolic associations, or figural comparison. Rather, they gain a particular kind of agency, not through their symbolic statements, but through their material efficacies and visceral impacts. More significantly, Gell rejects the definition of art as a bounded category and of the apotropaic pattern as a tapestry when he writes of agency "in the vicinity of art."<sup>619</sup> Even apotropaic patterns engage in specific

---

<sup>616</sup> Nakamura 2004, 2005; Borić 2002. Nakamura's discussion of apotropaism as "magical protection" refers to the archaeological and philological scholarship on Mesopotamia (2004:11, 14-5); Borić's definition of apotropaic potency as a "technology of protection" is an expansion on Gell's apotropaic patterns (Borić 2002:60-1).

<sup>617</sup> Gell 1998:83-94.

<sup>618</sup> Faraone's discussion of the functionality of apotropaic images draws on the same association, although his discussion is more of a clichéd embedding of anthropocentric functionality in objects.

<sup>619</sup> Davis is disingenuous when he argues in his critique of *Art and agency* that Gell's anthropological theory of the agency of art has difficulty in defining art (Davis 2007:214-8). According to Davis, rather than addressing what distinguishes art from other social practices, Gell writes vaguely of agency "in the

place-making practices and perform the mapping of the vicinity, particularly in mapping the route to the land of the dead.<sup>620</sup> Gell's framework rejects Root's "generalized apotropaic significance" in favor of art as intelligible in particular places and among specific practices.

But Gell's *Art and agency* is a manifesto, and it behooves us when we move into specific examples to reject its generalizing intent. Even more than Gell, my concern is to erase any suggestion that the Kalekapı reliefs have a specific artistic efficacy separate from their creation of the tomb as a place in the landscape. Architectural sculpture does not decorate and protect walls and doors; it is embedded in them. This becomes even clearer when we recognize that Gell would place the figural reliefs of Kalekapı and the Persepolis stairways under the category of mimesis. Mimetic features in ancient architecture, such as the lion-griffins, have not only an efficacious materiality that is rooted in a specifically visual apotropaic quality, but also an animated spatiality. Gell writes that representational art—in both senses of depicting and/or standing for—performs through becoming a body of what it represents.<sup>621</sup> In this sense, mimetic art is an example of a phenomenon where the efficacy of the artwork is achieved through the magical resemblance of the representation to what the monument embodies.<sup>622</sup>

---

vicinity of art" and displaces "aesthetic" aspects of art into the concepts of style and culture (Gell 1998:153, 154 [both 'in the vicinity of art' and 'aesthetic' with single quotation marks in the original]). Regardless of Gell's statements against aesthetics, his theory amounts to an "agentitive theory of general aesthetic effectivity of art" (Davis 2007:217, 202-4; Gell 1998:2-7). Davis finds it necessary to couple Gell's theory with analyses of "particularized histories of art" because Davis is concerned with Gell's "hijacking the historical agency specifically of *art*" (Davis 2007:217, 200, italics in the original). Davis's critique of Gell is founded on defending the discipline of art history from Gell's anthropological hijacking of the art historical subject (art) as much as logical problems such as Gell's imprecise definition of art.

<sup>620</sup> Gell 1992:90-4.

<sup>621</sup> Ibid.:98.

<sup>622</sup> Mimesis works, if it can be simply defined, through resemblance and similarity; that said, numerous differing frameworks have redefined mimesis. I understand Gell to be referring neither to the

The Gate of Xerxes is a particularly evocative example of how mimetic architectural sculpture is not a surface on the building. The monumental bulls and winged human-headed bulls are what constitute the gate itself. Furthermore, they are closely bound to the principal event of gates, which is passage.

The bull and winged human-headed bull statues belong to the Neo-Assyrian sculptural repertoire that the Assyriologists who have been influenced by structuralism categorize as apotropaic or protective.<sup>623</sup> More careful reading of the inscriptions that accompany the sculpture, however, indicates something more than an averting or protective function of the sculpture for the architecture. The Assyrian king Esarhaddon (680-669) writes of placing such statues in the rebuilt palace of Nineveh to protect the passage of the king. “To the right and the left of their lock(s), I placed šêdus and lamassus of stone, which by virtue of their appearance repels evil, as protectors of the route (and) guardians of the path of the king who made them.”<sup>624</sup> According to this Assyrian inscription, therefore, the statues primarily protect the king as he passes through doorways, places fraught with power, and only secondarily the palaces themselves. The event of transition is the center of concern, and not the building. Additionally, it is through their mimetic magic, “by virtue of their appearance,” that the statues are effective. Although the royal inscription does not comment on the relationship between

---

postcolonial mimicry of Bhabha (1994:121-31) and mimetic alterity of Taussig (1993:xiii-xiv, 100-11, 129-43), nor the aesthetic mimesis of Auerbach (1957), but rather the sensuous and nonsensuous similarity of Benjamin as reworked by Taussig (Gell 1998:99-101). To Benjamin, mimesis has evolved beyond sensuous and onomatopoeic similarity (i.e., likeness) to become non-imitative similarity (1978:334-6).

<sup>623</sup> For example, Green 1983, Wiggerman 1992.

<sup>624</sup> Nineveh Prism B v 27-32 (cf. Luckenbill 1927:no. 692 [Prism S vi 1-18]). Similar lines describe the dedication of the rebuilt royal palace at Nineveh. “May the good šêdu (and) the good lamassu, protectors of the route of my kingly person (and) who make me rejoice, stay on duty forever and ever in that palace. May they (never) leave its side” (Nineveh Prism A vi 62-64, also Nineveh Prism B vi 39-43 [Luckenbill 1927:266-7 no. 693, 270 no. 700]). The translations of both prisms B v 27-32 and A vi 62-64 are by Jamie Novotny (e-mail message to author, May 23, 2008).

the statues and persons other than the king, it would be the passage of others that would be of primary concern.

The statues, therefore, implicate the concept of rituals of passage and their association with death.<sup>625</sup> They also support Gell's argument against iconography, particularly a fixed iconography of kingship, and my argument for the inseparability of the place of the threshold and the sculpture that enlivens it. The statues of the Gate of Xerxes, likewise, index the gate as a passageway and the ritual negotiation of each being through it.<sup>626</sup> If the reliefs of Kalekapı are similarly protective, then they are protective not primarily of the tomb but of those who pass through it. A consequence of the mimetic quality of Kalekapı's figural reliefs, however, is that the lion-griffin, an Achaemenid monster, enlivens a passageway in a way that is unprecedented among Persepolitan gates. It is not only Kalekapı's sequence of carving, therefore, that reveals the process of its innovation and supports my insistence on its unprecedented and ambiguous nature, but also Kalekapı's relationship to Achaemenid practices revealed after its situated comparison with Persepolis.

After Kalekapı is situated in its Achaemenid context, we understand how the authority for its sculpture emerged out of the process of carving passageways in Persepolis and other Achaemenid centers. This situated comparison of Kalekapı to Persepolis emphasizes how Kalekapı's relief sculpture indexes not just passageways, but even more the transitional aspect of funerary imagery. Too often tombs are understood

---

<sup>625</sup> Cf. van Gennepe 1960:20, 157-9. Esarhaddon's inscriptions, however, challenge van Gennepe's separation of rituals of protection from passage (ibid.:11-2, 20-2).

<sup>626</sup> The south doorway of the Gate of Xerxes differs from the east and west doorways in its greater width (5.1m compared to 3.8 m), orientation towards an altar in the middle of the north wall, and the absence of statues (Schmidt 1953:65-8). These differences indicate that south doorway was not implicated in similar rituals of entrance and egress.

simply as the final resting place, or houses of the dead,<sup>627</sup> and in need of protection from intruders by means of apotropaic iconography. The interpretation is supported by funerary couches and vessels for the deceased to use later, and not just for use during the funeral feast and the passage of the dead to the underworld. I turn now to discussing two Anatolian structures of transition that the deceased, the sculptors, and the audience of Kalekapı reimagined at Kalekapı.

### *E. Kalekapı and Göynüş Valley*<sup>628</sup>

By emphasizing the similarity in sculptural practices of Kalekapı to the Persepolitan passageways, I reinforce the interpretation of the tomb as an entrance to the underworld. Yet just as the tomb as a house of the dead is an over simplification, so is the tomb as an entrance to the afterlife, be it an underworld or elsewhere. It behooves us to diagram the practice with greater precision, and answer the question of how the lion-griffin, as an enlivenment of an Achaemenid monster at the entrance to the afterworld, involves or does not involve a significant redrawing of the imaginative map of the vicinity of Kalekapı. While innovation is a working through of a new sculptural technology that might be at work at Kalekapı, other precedents exist for the reliefs that locate the

---

<sup>627</sup> In his chapter on the house of the dead, R.P. Harrison repeatedly and explicitly places his study within “Western culture” and “Western philosophy” (2003:x, 37). His insistent placing clarifies the genealogy and assumptions of the concept. See Waelkens (1980, 1982, 1986:21-31), Baughan (2004:297-313), and Kelp (2008:71-2) on the tomb as a house of the dead in Anatolia; another example is Haspels’s statement that the Phrygians “imitated the inside of their pitched-roof houses in their rock-cut tomb chambers” (1971:101). Işık argues for the tomb as the temple of the dead and not the house of the dead (2003:216-7). It is advisable to keep in mind van Gennep’s observation that burial practices more frequently revolve around the funeral and the deceased’s passage to the afterlife, and less so around the afterlife of the tomb and its occupant (1960:146). See also Kelp 2008:71-2.

<sup>628</sup> Köhnüş Valley is an earlier, alternate spelling.

monument in its specific landscape context as an intelligible, meaningful feature within the social world; despite Achaemenid interventions embodied in it.

During the first millennium in Anatolia two general structures are present where the tomb is understood as an entrance to the afterworld. The first I will refer to as Phrygian, and the second as a Hittite inheritance, although each landscape seems to have produced its own practice dependent on its particular geomorphology, and the political and cultural relations of its inhabitants.<sup>629</sup> My situated comparison for Phrygian entrances to the afterworld is the landscape of the Göynüş Valley in the Phrygian highlands to the southwest of Paphlagonia.<sup>630</sup>

The valley is a broad and gentle plain surrounded by low tuff cliffs on average 6 m high and fed by a stream and several springs (**fig. 39**).<sup>631</sup> A narrow, linear extension of the valley opens off its southwestern corner. The extension runs to the south and is walled in by a continuation of the tuff cliffs. Although the stream running in the middle of the valley is small, the plain and the extension are saturated with water in the spring and early summer.<sup>632</sup> Only the rockcut features and standing architecture of the valley

---

<sup>629</sup> The specificity of each landscape stands against the validity of comparative studies of abstract landscape aspects, such as Berndt-Ersöz's study of the orientation of Phrygian niches (2006:16-21), rather than situated comparisons of landscapes in their entirety.

<sup>630</sup> Numerous landscapes are comparable to Kalekapı. An alternative to the Göynüş Valley in the Phrygian highlands is Midas City (Berndt 2002). Near the sanctuary of Pessinous, a settlement with Phrygian grey wares, a rockcut tomb, and rockcut stepped altars is a second comparable landscape (Devreker and Vermeulen 1991).

<sup>631</sup> A spring is at the foot of the Maltaş façade (Haspels 1971:85 n.58, Gabriel 1965:86). Other references to springs in the Göynüş Valley: Berndt-Ersöz 2006:5; in the Phrygian highlands generally: Chaput 1941:91-4, Haspels 1971:24-6.

<sup>632</sup> Haspels misses the significance of the watery nature of the valley. "The Phrygians too [similar to the contemporary inhabitants] were troubled by rain and mud in this valley" (ibid.:90). The watery nature of the valley along with its tuff cliffs is why the valley was a powerful place and filled with ritual façades, niches, and tombs. Cf. Berndt-Ersöz 2006:15-6.

have been surveyed.<sup>633</sup> A fort was built on a tuff outcrop that lies in the southwestern corner of the valley. Fieldstone rubble from walls and Phrygian sherds evidence a settlement on the plain to the north of the outcrop. Facing the outcrop lies Aslantaş, the earlier of the two tombs with sculpture in the valley.

Aslantaş is carved out of a section of the cliff that is 11 m high with three outward faces on its upper half, which perhaps were smoothed at right angles, and a worked top that give it the appearance of a square block.<sup>634</sup> The entrance of the tomb is a square opening within a recessed frame halfway up the cliff and facing north towards the fort. Two roaring, rampant lions sculpted in profile rest their front paws on each upper corner of the frame (**fig. 40**).<sup>635</sup> Between the upper bodies of the rampant lions and above the opening stands a flat pillar that curves into a wavy frame spanning the top of the face.<sup>636</sup>

---

<sup>633</sup> The French excavators of Yazılıkaya removed the sediment covering the lower half of the rockcut façade Maltaş and the fill in its shaft, but only mention finding “quelques tessons de poterie archaïque” in the shaft (Gabriel 1965:86). Their excavations served to reveal the rockcut features (Gabriel 1965:85-90, pl. 45). Haspels mentions the presence of Phrygian sherds in the settlement north of the fort in the center of the valley (1971:31-2, 58, fig. 499.E), but publishes only the topography and rockcut features of the valley (1971:57-8, 90-1, 118-9, 129-38). See also Berndt-Ersöz 2006:5.

<sup>634</sup> Ramsay 1882:18-20, pl. 17; Ramsay 1888:367-71; Perrot and Chipiez 1892:106-9; Haspels 1971:118-9, figs. 127-8, 130-4, 499.6, 534.1-2, 4, 6; Spanos 1975; Berndt-Ersöz 2006:153-5. Haspels is imprecise about whether the two lateral faces are smoothed; “the rock appears to have been shaped and smoothed down” (1971:118). Chisel marks are not mentioned, and the weathering of the tuff in the valley leaves vertical faces. The tuff even breaks along straight lines (cf. Yılantaş, *ibid.*:131). This is significant for the interpretation of the ambiguous weathered features, such as the pillar above the opening to the tomb chamber and a suggested winged sun disk spanning the upper edge of the north face where a wavy frame protects the rampant lions from rain. Rather than assuming that the faces are smoothed and all features are worked, for which there is no evidence, I interpret the cliff as less altered and the lions as embedded in the bedrock.

<sup>635</sup> Sometimes the lions are described as lionesses with two cubs at their feet because the absence of lines, indicating manes, and the difference in scale between the rampant and couchant lions. The bulk of the rampant lions’ necks and shoulders and their general lack of interior details, such as musculature and mains, argues against describing them as lionesses with cubs.

<sup>636</sup> The interpretations of the central pillar and the wavy frame spanning the top are numerous. Berndt-Ersöz summarizes other interpretations (2006:153-4). The east side of the pillar and frame are less weathered. On this side, the pillar following the edge of the lion’s nose and mane gradually curves into the frame; the underside of the frame follows the curve of the lion’s shoulders. The top of the cliff on the east is not worked and the wavy upperside of the frame is likely an accident of weathering. The frame ends on both the west and east sides in a smoothed verticle edge parallel to the outer edges. Consequently, the pillar and frame are nothing more than the bedrock left when the lion was carved.

Between the rampant lions' rear legs and the lower corners of the entrance are two poorly preserved couchant lions sculpted at a smaller scale with profile bodies and frontal faces. An extensively weathered third couchant lion in profile rests around the corner on the east side; the west side is only smoothed.<sup>637</sup> On the western half of the top, steps climb up to a circular depression in a square platform with channels that drain to the west and south. Haspels suggests that the depression is a platform for a sculpture; a rockcut bowl for poured funerary offerings seems more plausible.<sup>638</sup> The recessed frame of the entrance leads to a simple square central tomb chamber with a rectangular lateral chamber, both without ceiling details or rockcut beds.

Comparable to Kalekapı, Aslantaş's sculpture is composed of feline beings of different scale and with different orientations. The larger rampant lions, equivalent to Kalekapı's lion-griffins, face the passageway, and the smaller couchant lions of both tombs face out.<sup>639</sup> These rather simple compositional observations are, however, highly significant for the interpretation of the tomb. The feline beings at the largest scale—the rampant roaring lions of Aslantaş and Kalekapı's roaring but rather less menacing lion-griffins—face the passageway into the tomb. Both evince this tendency of burial sculpture to emphasize the passage of the deceased. It is the lions at a smaller scale, the

---

These partly serve to channel rain away from the rampant lions. Although the so-called pillar and frame appear as remnants of the carving of the lion, the way they are left in place points to the sacred quality of the bedrock into which the monument was carved. This also supports the idea that the lion resides in the bedrock while it animates the passageway to the underworld. This is quite similar to the Phrygian Matar who is believed to be resident in rocky landscapes and mountainous areas. Berndt-Ersöz's own argument emphasizes her disagreement with Haspels's suggestion that the pillar was to have been removed, but she does not discuss the possibility that the pillar and frame are merely the bedrock.

<sup>637</sup> Haspels 1971:118, figs. 133-4.

<sup>638</sup> Haspels first identified the cuttings (1971:118, fig. 534.6); Spanos investigated the steps and depression with channels further (1975:136 figs. 1-2, 147-9).

<sup>639</sup> The upper body of Kalekapı's opposed lions are only properly referred to as couchant; their rear legs are standing.



couchant lions with frontal faces, that supplement the protection the tombs provide. The rampant lions of Aslantaş relate only once-removed to the Persepolis passageways of the preceding section. Their probable earlier date associates them primarily with the doors and gates of Phrygian and Late Hittite palaces, temples, and cities.<sup>640</sup> Although Aslantaş is variously dated—as is most rockcut architecture—from the late Bronze Age to the sixth century, a consensus is emerging that the rampant lions participate in the architectural practices of Iron Age Anatolia before Achaemenid administration of the valley.<sup>641</sup>

In addition to its date, most of the discussion of Aslantaş addresses the question of whether the sculpture, steps, and platform are dedicated to the worship of the goddess

---

<sup>640</sup> Comparable associations with Late Hittite architecture have been made for the Phrygian cities at Yassihöyük and Ankara (Sams 1989, Strobel 2005:203-4).

<sup>641</sup> Haspels finds similarity in the “vigorous” styles of the rampant lions and the wooden toy lions from Gordion tumulus P, and differences in the styles of the rampant lions and the “conventional” Hittite striding lions of the Ankara orthostats (1971:135). For more on the toy lions, see Prayon (1987:212-3 nos. 102-4, pls. 23 f-h, 24) and Simpson and Spirydowicz (1999:64-6, figs. 81-2); for more on the Ankara lions, see Prayon (1987:203 nos. 16-7, pl. 6). Haspels dates Aslantaş, the Yazılıkaya façade, and the Gordion “Midas” tumulus to her group I, the period of Phrygian “florescence” beginning in the last third of the eighth century. Haspels’s dates reflect the dating for Phrygia published by the Gordion excavations directed by Young (1971:143-4). She dates her group II to Phrygia’s second florescence under Lydia (ibid.:136, 141-2). With the cautionary tale of Hawkins’ revised dating of Neo-Hittite sculpture through their inscriptions (as an example, for Maraş reliefs see 2000:251) and his demonstration of the failings of Orthmann’s stylistic analysis (1971) in mind, I insist that on the style of the sculpture alone we cannot date the Aslantaş tomb with more precision than “Middle Iron Age.” Consequently, Akurgal’s dating of Aslantaş in the third quarter of the sixth century due to compositional similarities to Ionian lions is weak (1955a:61, 1961:86). Prayon (1987:89-90) and Berndt-Ersöz (2006:114-5) also date Aslantaş to the first half or middle of the sixth century on the basis of comparison to lions. The revised dating of the Gordion destruction level further upsets the established stylistic dating of the Iron Age of central Anatolia (DeVries et al. 2003; DeVries, Sams and Voigt 2005; DeVries 2005:37, 2007; Kealhofer 2005:3), and raises the possibility that many sites previously dated to the eighth century or later may be earlier. Comparison to Urartian, Lydian, and the neighboring Achaemenid Yılantaş tombs supports a date from the eighth through the middle of the sixth centuries. Işık compares Aslantaş to Urartian rockcut tombs of the ninth and eighth centuries to conclude with a date in the last third of the eighth century for Aslantaş (1987b:170-1, 177). In addition, Prayon’s stylistic objections—founded on his comparison of Aslantaş to the striding lions of the Ankara orthostats and the Göllüdağ gate lions—to an early date for Aslantaş seem weak considering the absence of preserved sculptural details at Aslantaş (1987:57 n. 200). In summary, I am not swayed by the preponderance of opinions in favor of a date around the first half of the sixth century, and argue that the eighth and seventh centuries are equally possible. See also Baughan 2004:112-3.

Matar or the funerary cult of the deceased. For example, Peter Spanos and Çetin Şahin both founded their arguments on their conviction that lions, as the sacred animals of Matar, would not be sculpted on a tomb.<sup>642</sup> Understandably, Susanne Berndt-Ersöz's discussion of Aslantaş addresses this question, and she summarizes the arguments of Spanos and Şahin, among many others. She argues that lions are rarely associated with Matar in the Iron Age (the Aslankaya façade on the nearby Emre Gölü being the only exception), and that lions are “frequently associated with tombs” whereas no conclusive evidence supports the connection of Matar with tombs.<sup>643</sup>

If the landscape of the Göynüş Valley is treated in its entirety, however, I would argue that conclusive evidence does support the similarity of Matar's passageways into her mountains with the gates passed by the deceased on their way to the afterworld. Northwest of Aslantaş on the western cliffs of the valley is carved a step shrine with an inscribed Old Phrygian dedication to Matar Kubileya.<sup>644</sup> Only traces of the steps survive; Berndt-Ersöz suggests a middle higher set of steps leading up to an altar with lower sets on either side.<sup>645</sup> The steps rise to a recessed, smoothed bedrock face 5 m long that bears

---

<sup>642</sup> Spanos's conclusion is that Aslantaş is primarily a monument dedicated to the worship of Matar and only secondarily a tomb (1975:152-3). Şahin argues that Phrygians would not decorate a tomb with Matar's sacred lions and the tomb must be Hittite, i.e., before the destruction of the empire around 1200 (1995).

<sup>643</sup> Berndt-Ersöz 2006:154. Other scholars do not adhere to such a narrow perspective; Roller, as an example, mentions that ritual façades and tombs were both cut into same bedrock, but emphasizes their iconographic similarity over their place in the landscape (1999:250-1). Işık argues from the lions for the presence of the worship of Matar at the tombs (2003:214-5).

<sup>644</sup> Ramsay 1888:371-2; Haspels 1971:91, 293 no. 13; figs. 138, 499.3, 526.1, 604.13; Brixhe and Lejeune 1984:45-7 no. W-04, pl. 24; Orel 1997:42-3; Berndt-Ersöz 2006:83-4, 245-6 no. 56, 317 fig. 5 no. 56, 366 fig. 73; Berndt-Ersöz 2007:34. Rockcut burials, a ritual façade, niches, and step shrines are spread throughout the valley, and no conclusions can be drawn at present from the different orientations of Aslantaş and the step shrine (Haspels 1971:31-2, Berndt-Ersöz 2006:152-4).

<sup>645</sup> The altar is not preserved. Additionally, a chair was possibly carved on the cliff immediately above the recessed face and under a U-shaped break in the cliff's upper edge (Berndt-Ersöz 2006:47, Haspels 1971:fig. 138). If the U-shaped break is caused by surface runoff, then did the running water contribute to the placing of the step shrine? If the break is carved, was it related to the rockcut chair? The

fragments of the inscription in boustrophedon on the right and left; the center of the inscription is not preserved in the friable tuff, but *matarkubileya*[ running sinistaverse is visible on the right. The inscription possibly dates to the first half of the sixth century.<sup>646</sup> Kubileya is an epithet of the goddess Matar; later Kubileya became the Greek name for the goddess, Kybele. Claude Brixhe and, more recently, Lynn Roller conclude that the epithet Kubileya was probably derived from a Phrygian word for mountain or a specific mountain, as later literary sources report.<sup>647</sup> Matar Kubileya may, as Brixhe and Roller have proposed, be translated as “the mother of the mountain” or μήτηρ ὀρείᾱ.<sup>648</sup> The sets of steps, altar, recessed face, and the possible chair on the cliff above is a rockcut complex where the inhabitants of the Göynüş Valley drew near Matar Kubileya and

---

published sources do not answer these questions, and during my own exploratory travels to the Göynüş Valley, I spent most of my time at the Achaemenid Yılantaş.

<sup>646</sup> The date is suggested by Vassileva, “on palaeographic and general considerations the first half of the sixth century B.C. seems likely” (2001:51). Orel refers to the inscription as “of uncertain date” (1997:42).

<sup>647</sup> Brixhe’s principle sources are the much later Strabo and Ovid (1979:41, 43-4). Strabo derives Kybele from the mountain Kybelon (ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὄρος ὑπερκείμενον τῆς πόλεως [Pessinous] τὸ Δίνδυμον, ἀφ’ οὗ ἡ Δινδυμνή, καθάπερ ἀπὸ τῶν Κυβέλων ἢ Κυβέλη 12.5.3, cf. 10.3.12). For the purposes of my argument, the actuality of Strabo’s etymology is not consequential; what is consequential is that Iron Age inhabitants understood Matar Kubileya as mountainous. The archaeological evidence supports this (e.g. Vassileva 2001:54). See also Zgusta 1984:308 §637, Roller 1999:68, Vassileva 2001:51-3, Brixhe 2002:52-3. Cf. Munn 2006:98, 120-5 (on Kybele as Kubaba); 73-9, 87 (on Kybele). Munn’s study is in the style of twisting together later classical sources with external Assyrian annals to produce a narrative that fails to consider the absence of contemporary internal historical sources on the Phrygian Kingdom; his is a narrative of debatable utility with comments, for example, referring to Phrygian kings after the eighth century Midas as “nonentities” (ibid.:97). Munn argues that Matar Kubileya is part of a “matrix of sovereignty” as mother of the king Midas (cf. Vassileva 2001:55), mountains, and water sources (ibid.:87, 95), and related linguistically to the Neo-Hittite Kubaba through the Lydian Kybebe (ibid.:123-4). His argument interprets the classical assimilation of Kubaba, Kybebe, and Kybele as evidence of a genealogical relationship between the goddesses as opposed to recognizing their differences. As Munn and others observe, Matar was sponsored by Phrygian kingdoms; however, the variety of her representations and the shrines dedicated to her worship suggests limited syncretism. Additionally, except for Assyrian references to Mitâ of Musku (Parpola:1987:4-7 no. 1), the location and duration of the Phrygian kingdoms are unknown. But the kingdoms were certainly not bounded regions filled with ethnic Phrygians. Consequently, Matar would have become something different in each place, and the search for iconographic uniformity is, therefore, misguided (e.g. Mellink 1983, F. Naumann 1983). For further comments on the Phrygian pantheon see Berndt-Ersöz 2007.

<sup>648</sup> Zgusta counters that place names such as Stephanus Byzantius’s Κυβέλεια, πόλις Ἰωνίας (389 line 9) are derived from Kybele herself and not from *mountain* (Zgusta 1982, 1984:308 §637).

worshipped her epiphany as she emerged from the bedrock. The conclusion that this encounter was understood to take place in a passageway to Matar's residence in the mountains, and thus similar to the passageway of the deceased to the afterworld, becomes clearer when we turn to the ritual façade with doorway, Maltaş.

Carved into the western cliffs of the southern extension of the Göynüş Valley, Maltaş was placed at a spring approximately 1 km to the south of the step complex (**fig. 41**).<sup>649</sup> Maltaş consists of a façade currently 10.5 m high carved in a pattern of squares and crosses, a niche doorway, and a rectangular shaft behind.<sup>650</sup> Below the eave on the left and under the lintel of the doorway are inscriptions; the lintel inscription ends in “[s/he] dedicated [the ritual façade] to Pormates/Mater” (*e]daespormatey[*).<sup>651</sup> The reading of the verb *e]daes* (dedicated) is sound; the name *pormatey* or the phrase *por mäter[an]* is more tentative, and could be the person whom the inscription commemorates, the deity to

<sup>649</sup> Ramsay 1882:26-7, pl. 21; Perrot and Chipiez 1892:102 fig. 60, 106; Gabriel 1965:85-90, pl. 45; Haspels 1971:85-6, 100, 101, 103; figs. 157-8, 519, 520.1-3; Berndt-Ersöz 2006:227-8 no. 24, *passim*. Gabriel describes the shaft as a well and used a pump after encountering the water table 1 m below the lintel of the niche (1965:86), and Haspels describes “water ... bubbling up continuously” but assumes that the water is from channel cut through the upper quarter of the shaft (1971:85 n.58). Berndt-Ersöz concludes, however, that “whether [Maltaş] is situated in connection with a spring or not is unclear (2006:5). With the lower ground surface when Maltaş was carved (8 m below the ground surface in 1936 [Chaput 1941:75]) and with a similar (probably higher) water table, it is clear that water would have reached the ground surface at the cliff face and formed a spring.

<sup>650</sup> A roughly circular passage connects the niche and the shaft. Gabriel reports that villagers tunneled from the niche to the “well” in an attempt to find treasures (1965:86, Haspels 1971:86 n. 59); Maltaş does mean “treasure rock.” It is possible that the villagers enlarged an existing passage, although the only niche and shaft with a clearly unmodified connection, Değirmen Yeri, has square window openings in the upper right and left panels of the door. The roughly circular passages at Değirmen Yeri and the other three façades with shafts are not comparable to these squares (*contra* Berndt-Ersöz 1998:90-1, 2006:39-40). At Değirmen Yeri and Deliklitaş, furthermore, the roughly circular passages cut through either a rockcut closed door or the traces of a rockcut standing figure. The water channel cut by villagers 2.5 m behind the façade also disturbs the upper quarter of the shaft (Haspels 1971:85 n. 58). Due to these modifications and the difficulty Gabriel experienced in excavating below the water table, most of the cuttings for the capping of the shaft and the placement of a statue in the niche cannot be confirmed.

<sup>651</sup> Haspels 1971:85, 293-4 nos. 14-5; fig. 603.14-5; Brixhe and Lejeune 1984:47-9 no. W-05 a & b, pls. 25-6; Orel 1997:43-5. The inscription under the eave is transliterated *natimeyonnaq*, but it is not yet translated. A third inscription identified by Gabriel on the threshold has not been confirmed (1965:87 fig. 41, 89).

whom Maltaş is dedicated, or *por* could begin a clause.<sup>652</sup> Regardless of the reading of *pormatey*[,<sup>653</sup> the reading of [*e*]daes supports the interpretation that Maltaş is a carved dedicatory elaboration of an already significant place in the landscape, the spring. The shaft behind the façade possibly held objects deposited at Maltaş's dedication.<sup>654</sup> Whatever the significance of the spring before the carving of Maltaş, the dedication of the ritual façade reimagined the spring within the shared Phrygian veneration of Matar. The dedicatory inscription and carved features place Maltaş in the first half of the sixth century.<sup>655</sup> Niche doorways contemporary with Maltaş feature inscriptions, preserved sculpture, or cuttings for the placing of sculpture, all of which support the presence of

<sup>652</sup> In Vassileva's opinion Brixhe and Lejeune "have not succeeded in closely examining" the inscriptions of either Maltaş or of the nearby Aslankaya outcrop with ritual façade. She reads the lintel inscription of Maltaş as an unambiguous dedication to Matar, [*e*]daes *por mate*[(Vassileva 2001:54, referring to Brixhe and Lejeune 1984:43-5 no. W-03 [Aslankaya], 47-9 no. W-05 a & b [Maltaş]). It was Haspels's suggestion that the partially preserved last letter is a rho (1971:294). Lubotsky supports the transliteration of *por mater*[an] (or *por mater*[ey]) and translates the phrase as "for Mater" through comparison to the preposition *πουρ* in a Roman Phrygian curse inscription (1989:151), whereas Orel still follows Brixhe and Lejeune's suggestion that *pormates* is a name with a syncopated *i* similar to the Lycian *Ποριματις* and *Πυριβατης* (1997:45, referring to Zgusta 1964:437 §1292-1, 5; Brixhe and Lejeune 1984:49). Casting doubt on all readings of *pormatey*[, Berndt-Ersöz observes that the verb *edaes* falls at the end of other dedicatory inscriptions (2006:80).

<sup>653</sup> In a comparable inscription above the gable of the ritual façade at Yazılıkaya, *Ates* dedicated the façade to a king *Mida* (*midai lavagtaei vanaktei*), but *mater* appears in three inscriptions in the niche doorway (Brixhe and Lejeune 1984:6-9 no. M-01a, 11-5 no. M-01c-e, pls. 1-2, 4-7). The inscription above the gable and other comparable dedicatory inscriptions do not support reading Matar into the Maltaş lintel inscription.

<sup>654</sup> The purpose of the shaft behind Maltaş's façade is debated. Although the water channel cuts the upper quarter of the shaft, a ledge is preserved halfway down the shaft that would have supported a stone lid capping deposits or a removable wooden lid. If the lid was wooden and the passages between the niches and shafts are not later modifications, priests may have pronounced oracular sayings from the shaft. Other purposes suggested for the shafts are a ritual similar to an oracle where a priest entered the shaft, a ritual where sacrifices were thrown into the shaft, as burial shafts, and as dedicatory deposits (Berndt-Ersöz 1998:92-8, 2006:191-3). A more conclusive purpose is unlikely to emerge from further study of the rockcut features of Maltaş or the adjacent deposits—disturbed as they are by villagers and the excavations of Gabriel—or later classical literary sources; but further excavations in the Göynüş Valley or of comparable Phrygian ritual places may swing the debate in favor of one of the interpretations. The later classical literary sources that support an oracular purpose for the shafts and the roughness of the circular passages themselves suggest that the shafts may have been reimagined as oracular in a secondary, Roman phase when the passages were cut.

<sup>655</sup> All of the dating evidence is stylistic. Berndt-Ersöz proposes a date just before 550 (2006:104, 114, 141, 142, 207-8), but the styles of the letters, geometric patterns, and members jutting out above the doorway do not merit such a specific date, as Berndt-Ersöz confirms in her catalog (*ibid.*:227-8).

Matar *or a similar watery and mountainous deity* in their doorways.<sup>656</sup> Through the architectural elaboration of the niches as doorways, a deity's presence in rocky mountains and the imagination of springs as passageways become more explicit in the landscape.

Probable similarity to built temples leads in part to Matar's explicit presence at the rockcut passageways,<sup>657</sup> but similarity is not imitation. The niche does not imitate a doorway, as the gable and patterns do not imitate the façade of a building.<sup>658</sup> On historiographical grounds, I insist on this, even with the knowledge of how a now missing acroterion crowned the 'roof' and a band carved with raised square lozenges similar to terracotta revetment plaques crosses below the gable, on the king post, and on the right and left edges of the façade.<sup>659</sup> As discussed in the sixth chapter on Hirschfeld's interpretation of Paphlagonian rockcut tombs, the theory that the first stone building or rockcut tomb is an imitation of wooden precedents depends on nineteenth century aesthetic and ethnic theories. Aslantaş is not a tomb because it imitates a palace gate; rather, bedrock is the place of the tomb because funerary "cut open" bedrock is a passageway to the afterworld. Similarly, Maltaş's pattern of squares and crosses does not imitate a Phrygian temple façade; the pattern rather defines the threshold, possibly by heightening the transparency of the bedrock at a place where a deity appears.

---

<sup>656</sup> For a recent summary of the evidence see Berndt-Ersöz 2006:49-53, 58-9, 205. Whether all the watery and mountainous goddesses were understood as Matar cannot be settled, but it is improbable.

<sup>657</sup> Phrygian built temples have not been identified in the archaeological record, and whether Matar would have been worshiped at a built temple is not known.

<sup>658</sup> For example, Berndt-Ersöz assumes the imitation of terracotta, wood, and stone architectural members in the façades (2006:105-114). Roller argues that the façades imitate Phrygian royal residences and demonstrate a close relationship between Matar and Phrygian rulers (2007a:143-4).

<sup>659</sup> Terracotta roof tiles and revetment plaques with a single line of lozenges are known from Pergamon and Gordion (Åkerström 1966:22-4, 148-51; pls. 9.1, 3; 85.1-2), but Maltaş's lozenges may resemble wooden architectural details or terracotta revetment plaques. See Berndt-Ersöz for a summary and bibliography of the broader argument on terracotta revetment plaques (2006:111-2).

The preceding section on Kalekapı and Persepolis argues that, in light of Gell's reworking of the apotropaic pattern,<sup>660</sup> the figural reliefs at Kalekapı and Persepolis must be understood to be mimetic and not apotropaic. In Gell's framework, Maltaş, by contrast, would fall under his category of the apotropaic pattern, and the pattern of squares and crosses surrounding the niche doorway would be understood to enchant and capture malevolent beings at the threshold. In his words, apotropaic patterns are sticky "demonic fly-paper" and do not *turn away* malevolent beings.<sup>661</sup> He retains *apotropaic* because the patterns protect against such beings. His emphasis on describing patterns as art, however, leads him to see only the visual effect of patterns to capture the gaze of a malevolent being.<sup>662</sup> Tim Ingold similarly critiques Gell's interpretation of the labyrinth as a sticky apotropaic pattern because of Gell's assumption of a bird's eye gaze for the malevolent being when contemplating a labyrinthine pattern. According to Ingold, the labyrinthine pattern is a representation drawn by a traveler to the underworld after his return, and the representation becomes either a guide to future travelers or paths on which they might lose their way.<sup>663</sup>

Although Gell's apotropaic and Ingold's labyrinthine patterns are associated with thresholds, such as Maltaş's niche doorway, my interpretation of the pattern on the surrounding façade is inspired by Maltaş as a place of epiphany. The squares and crosses are sunken, leaving the raised pattern of a screen that limits access of the worshiper

---

<sup>660</sup> Gell 1998:83-94.

<sup>661</sup> Ibid.:84.

<sup>662</sup> Gell's emphasis on art is complicated by his failure to ground his theory on a coherent definition of art (an observation of many readers, e.g. Bowen 2004:323-4). As a consequence, the nature of the connection of art with the visual is confused. A concomitant outcome of Gell's reliance on the visual is that he becomes unwittingly entangled in the European scholarship on observation as a scientific methodology through Hegel and beyond, especially in anthropological scholarship (e.g. Fabian:1983:105-41).

<sup>663</sup> Ingold draws upon ethnographic evidence in his critique of Gell (Ingold 2007:56-7).

visually and bodily into the bedrock, but suggests its transparency and permeability.<sup>664</sup> Therefore, like the lions of Aslantaş, the pattern is a mimetic representation effective through similarity and re-presentation at the place of divine epiphany. In other words, because the pattern manifests itself differently in a rockcut place and not, for example, a built temple, it is not a likeness, but something akin to Benjamin's "nonsensuous similarity."<sup>665</sup> If the pattern protects the doorway niche, it is not a consequence of Gell's apotropaic, or Ingold's labyrinthine pattern, but a specific mimesis emerging out of the ritual and place-making practices in its vicinity.

The Aslantaş tomb, Matar Kubileya step shrine, and Maltaş ritual façade are part of a landscape of diverse openable passageways to another world. They are places animated through ritual practices in their vicinity and woven into the everyday pathways of the inhabitants. They are also the places that shape the creation of the place of a tomb carved in the tuff cliffs of the Göynüş Valley in the Achaemenid period.

Flanking Aslantaş on the west lies the collapsed tomb of Yılantaş (**fig. 42**).<sup>666</sup> The entrance of the tomb, similar to Aslantaş, is a framed, square opening facing north. Two roaring but possibly seated lions are sculpted in profile on the western face. They press their inner paws together and turn their faces backwards over their shoulders, facing north

---

<sup>664</sup> The interpretation of the pattern as a screen gives more weight to the similarities of the pattern with openwork wooden furniture and less to similarities with terracotta revetment plaques and roof tiles. Compare the serving stand from Tumulus P dated to the first half of the eighth century (Simpson 1996:198-201, pl. 61d; Simpson and Spirydowicz 1999:52-4, figs. 61-3; DeVries 2007:80-1). The interpretation depends on whether paint would have altered the pattern significantly. Berndt-Ersöz constructs two possible geometric patterns out of the squares and crosses (2006:35-6, 37-9, 388-9 figs. 103-4). Similar patterns may have been painted, but Berndt-Ersöz seems to be leaning toward interpreting the 'geometric decoration' as a wooden screen and not textiles, painted plaster, or architectural terracottas (ibid.:37-9, 98-105).

<sup>665</sup> Benjamin writes on similarities not dependent on the senses as likeness is dependent on sight (1978:335).

<sup>666</sup> Ramsay 1882:20-4, pls. 18-9; Ramsay 1888:354-67; Perrot and Chipiez 1892:109-18, 138, 168-77; Akurgal 1965:473; Haspels 1971:129-34, 136-8, figs. 135, 141-56, 499.7, 544; von Gall 1999:149-53, von Gall 2001:257-9; Baughan 2004:540 no. A157.



and south (**fig. 43a**).<sup>667</sup> On the bedrock's northern face on the same collapsed corner as the head of the northward facing lion is a warrior in a crested helmet flanking the opening (**fig. 43b**). The warrior bears a round shield and a spear pointed at a frontal gorgoneion with horse ears.<sup>668</sup> Although a second warrior mirrors the first across the entrance,<sup>669</sup> it is clear that the composition references the combat between Medusa and Perseus, particularly with Medusa's horse ears.<sup>670</sup> The reliefs, however, may also refer to a local variant of the Late Hittite version of the Gilgamesh and Huwawa myth, which is itself a source of the Perseus and Medusa myth.<sup>671</sup>

<sup>667</sup> The backward facing composition was chosen to allow the northern lion to face northwards, like the entrance.

<sup>668</sup> Haspels reconstructs the warriors as pointing their spears at the entrance, and, consequently, interprets the western warrior as "threatening with his spear whoever approaches the tomb (1971:130). She is arguing against Ramsay who reconstructed and interpreted the warrior as threatening the gorgoneion (ibid:130 n.57, Ramsay 1888:362-4). Although Ramsay's reconstruction of the entrance of the tomb as the chest of the gorgon is doubtful (1888:360 fig. 7, 363 fig. 9), the warriors' spears are threatening the gorgoneion. A second interpretation would have them threatening each other across the entrance, but this interpretation is less probable because the warriors are reconstructed as bearing the same weapons. Additionally, Haspels observes that the spear touches the hair of the gorgoneion, "spear, from gorgoneion (touching hair, below) to corner of wall" (1971:136 n. 76).

<sup>669</sup> The preserved fragment of the eastern warrior mirrors the preserved section of the western warrior, but the eastern fragment is small (approximately 1.2 m) with forearm, hand holding spear, and part of helmet's crest (1882:23 fig. 7 [upside down]). Without the excavation of additional fragments and confirmation of Blunt's 1881 drawing—Ramsay qualifies the drawing by observing that the fragment "is in such a position on the under side of a huge mass of rock, that one can hardly see it" (1888:362)—nothing definite can be said about the reliefs to the west of the entrance.

<sup>670</sup> Medusa's horse ears represent the birth of the horse Pegasos at her beheading. The association between gorgoneia (generally with human ears) and the Medusa myth in the seventh and sixth centuries is disputed (Ogden 2008:37-8). The horse ears support the association at Yılantaş despite the symmetrical arrangement of warriors. The eastern fragment, however, possibly belongs to not another warrior, but to Athena, who assisted Perseus in the beheading and is depicted wearing crested helmet and spear (cf. *LIMC* Gorgo 299, 301).

<sup>671</sup> Lambert 1987:51, Burkert 1992:83-7, Beckman 2001:161 §18-22, Henkelman 2006:812-3, Ogden 2008:38. Enkidu assists Gilgamesh in his killing of Huwawa, and compositions place Huwawa between them, such as the orthostat relief on the Herald's Wall at Karkamiš (Hogarth 1914:pl. B15b; Woolley and Barnett 1952:185-91, 203-4; Orthmann 1971:31-3, 407, 460, 505 [Karkemis E/11], pl. 28a; Lambert 1987:47-8, pl. 9.14). The Herald's Wall possibly was built in the late eleventh or tenth century, during the reign of Suhis I or Astuwatamanzas (if the wall dates to around the time of the Atrisuhas statue), but the orthostats may have been reused (Woolley and Barnett 1952:185-6, 193-4, pl. 42b; J.D. Hawkins 2000:77, 80, 100-1, pls. 12-3 [II.10=Karkamiš A4d]; cf. Özyar 1998:635-6 on bull-man reliefs). Burkert compares compositions similar to the Karkamiš relief to sixth century bronze plaques from Olympia of Athena assisting Perseus (1992:85, 86 fig. 6; *LIMC* Gorgo 292, Perseus 120). Two kneeling and running Gorgons with frontal faces, a decapitated Medusa, and Chrysaor and Pegasos

A similar gesture of participation in Achaemenid period innovation occurs at Kalekapı where the man and lion combat compositionally refers to the combat of Herakles and the Nemean lion. I have discussed the Herakles reference at Kalekapı at greater length in my comparison of Kalekapı to the Alexander sarcophagus in the fourth chapter. Here I note only that both the Perseus and Herakles references represent the heroic body of the deceased in conflict with liminal supernatural beings.<sup>672</sup> Even more than in the myth of Perseus and Medusa, the theme of a mortal king's quest for immortality is prominent in the Gilgamesh myth. Both this theme and the frontal aspect of the gorgoneion—brought forth from the underworld and turning away all but the deceased and mourners—endow the reliefs with intelligibility within a landscape of accessible passageways.

A second Achaemenid period innovation at Yılandağ emerges from von Gall's recent comparison of the lions to the Kalekapı lion griffins and the Aslandağ lions.<sup>673</sup> Von Gall describes the stylistic similarities of the Yılandağ lions to Achaemenid lion griffins, especially in the spiral curls of the mane, and their stylistic differences from Achaemenid lions. He argues, consequently, for a transformation of a lion griffin cast in gold into a lion sculpted in stone, with the removal of the wings and horns in response to the tradition begun by Aslandağ and influenced by the Late Hittite lions such as at those at

---

are painted on the south interior wall of the Kızılbey tumulus chamber dated to c. 525 (Mellink 1998:35-6, 53-4, 57, pl. 35, guide-sheet D).

<sup>672</sup> The placing of myths varies with the literary source and ritual landscape, but generally Medusa resides beyond the ocean in the west where the sun begins its journey through the watery underworld (Ogden 2008:47-50). Along the northeastern coast of the ocean, Homer also mentions a gorgoneion emerging from the underworld; after sailing to where the Kimmerians live and raising souls from the underworld, Odysseus fears that Persephone will send a "Gorgon head of a terrible monster" (*Od.* 11.13-5, 633-5).

<sup>673</sup> Von Gall 1999, 2001. These two articles are von Gall's first scholarly return to Kalekapı after forty years. Although Akurgal encouraged von Gall to study the Paphlagonian rockcut tombs, von Gall's failure to obtain permission for his fieldwork in 1957 and 1958 thwarted further work (von Gall 1966a:7).

Göllüdağ.<sup>674</sup> Whereas von Gall refers to the lions as transformed, I understand them as participating in the subtle reconfiguration of the landscape of the Göynüş Valley through burial monuments. In contrast, the very novelty of the warrior and gorgoneion in the valley makes it difficult to qualify how their appearance reimagines the landscape within the wider Achaemenid world. These reimaginings are not a consequence of an iconographic dialectic produced in negotiation between the local elite and the Achaemenid administration. Other indications reveal that burial and other practices were changing along with the Yılantaş reliefs.

In addition to the Perseus and lion griffin references, a third Achaemenid period innovation that separates Yılantaş from Aslantaş is the rockcut furniture in the tomb chamber. The opening leads to a square chamber twice the size as Aslantaş with two rockcut couches and one chair or table. The ceiling is pitched and carved in a pattern of rafters. A shelf spanning the entire wall extends the chamber to the east, and two columns with palmette capitals on their fronts support the pitched ceiling above the shelf. The rockcut furniture of Yılantaş belongs to a trend of the increased popularity of the funerary banquet as part of the burial repertoire, both as represented on stelai and within tomb chambers.<sup>675</sup>

The funerary banquet is part of a realignment in banqueting practices towards the consumption of wine and associated changes in furniture, architecture, and agriculture.

---

<sup>674</sup> Although von Gall's argument about "provincial retardation" and transmission through goldwork is dated and grounded on weak evidence (1999:157; 2001:257, 259), the preserved features of the northern Yılantaş lion's head does support his descriptions of the similarities and differences. For the Göllüdağ lion see Schirmer et al. 1993:127 fig. 5.

<sup>675</sup> Baughan 2004:405-10. Baughan locates the funerary banquet within the house and argues for a close association of the banquets with domesticity, and of the tomb as a house of the dead. This arises, I think, from an insufficiently critical approach to the relationship of the house with domesticity and feasting.

Beginning in the earlier Iron Age among the Late Hittites, Phrygians, and Lydians, the evidence of Gordion shows that these banqueting practices change on the Anatolian plateau in the Achaemenid period.<sup>676</sup> Aegean wine begins to be imported in the last quarter of the sixth century, and reclining on couches becomes the more popular style of banqueting in elite burials, such as the couches at Yılantaş.<sup>677</sup> Consequently, through these burial practices we can extrapolate to the changes in the trading and farming landscape occasioned under the Achaemenid administration of the Göynüş Valley. Notwithstanding the broad range of the changes, they all are continuations of practices begun in the earlier Iron Age.

The landscape of Yılantaş with its openable passageways and Achaemenid innovations is comparable to the landscape of Kalekapı. I have referred to this comparison as situated, but what is a situated comparison? I introduced at length the archaeological and geomorphological features of the Göynüş Valley to make intelligible how the Achaemenid period Yılantaş is *situated within its own landscape*. The purpose of emphasizing the Göynüş Valley's specificity is to indicate that the comparability of Yılantaş and Kalekapı derives not from being varieties of sameness. They are not similar in identity so much as similar in significance; they are equivalent in that both are

---

<sup>676</sup> The Midas Mound tumulus at Gordion belongs to the earlier Iron Age banqueting practices with grape wine mixed with barley beer and honey mead, and this grog drunk with omphalos bowls and a bucket vessels represented in Assyrian reliefs (Stronach 1996:184-8, McGovern 2003:279-98). For the wider Mesopotamian and Mediterranean evidence see Dentzer 1982:35-69, pls. 11-5; Gorny 1996:160-2; Powell 1996:118-21; Stronach 1996; McGovern 2003:188-206; Baughan 2004:186-205, 218-24. Aegean wine is imported in increasing quantities to Gordion in the Achaemenid period (see Lawall in Voigt et al. 1997:21-3). Although it is difficult to date rockcut grape presses, Tüfekçi Sivas has recently published grape presses in the vicinity of Phrygian forts in other valleys of the highlands of Phrygia (2003:13-5).

<sup>677</sup> Von Gall's suggestion for the transmission of the lion griffin through a goldwork amphora similar to the Duvanli amphora would further support the presence of vessels associated with reclined banqueting in the Göynüş Valley. Other means of transmission seem just as plausible, however, such as itinerant sculptors (von Gall 1999:157, 2001:259).

innovative and participate in landscape practices that continue from the earlier Phrygian period. The known Phrygian period presence in the Gökırmak Valley is attested through survey, and it cannot be inferred from the absence of known and datable ritual façades and step shrines that the valley was less entangled with landscapes of diverse openable passageways to the afterworld.

#### ***F. Kalekapı and Kazankaya Canyon***

Understanding these landscapes as culturally Phrygian is a flawed lens to see them through. Such an emphasis could only serve to confuse our understanding of Kalekapı in relation to its precursors in the Gökırmak Valley of the first half of the first millennium. In the preceding section, I gradually shifted from writing of distinctively Phrygian landscapes and practices to the practices and landscapes of the Phrygian period, which is chronologically equivalent to my Early and Middle Iron Ages. Let us remember that each Phrygian period landscape emerged from the political and cultural relations of its inhabitants, and its particular geomorphology. Additionally, the extensive continuity of Hittite practices in the Late Hittite and Phrygian Iron Age casts doubt on the unity of the constellation of practices associated with Phrygians, such as their exclusive worship of Matar,<sup>678</sup> introduction of tumulus burial,<sup>679</sup> and rockcut ritual façades.<sup>680</sup>

---

<sup>678</sup> Berndt-Ersöz argues for an unnamed male partner to Matar (2006:158-72, 209-11; 2007), but few scholars are prepared to assume that multiple deities of both genders were worshipped at rockcut ritual places, and not just Matar (e.g. F. Naumann 1983; Roller 1999:71-115, especially 109).

<sup>679</sup> The introduction and association of tumulus burial with Phrygians has gradually been questioned; see Mellink (1991) and comments in Tuna, Aktüre and Lynch (1998:166-7, 172).

<sup>680</sup> Strobel argues that a Phrygian ethnicity producing such a constellation emerges in response to the historical expansion of the Phrygian state out of Gordion (2001:45-6, 49-51). I do not find his narrative history of the Phrygian state convincing.

The most revisionary historian currently writing on the settlements of Phrygians in Anatolia is Karl Strobel, who entered into the debate after researching the more historical Galatian settlement in Hellenistic Anatolia. Strobel argues that the migration of Phrygians into Anatolia is a linguistic argument wrongly applied to the interpretation of societies and their material traces.<sup>681</sup> Ceramics, in particular, were misinterpreted to support immigration into the Kızılırmak Basin and elsewhere in Anatolia.<sup>682</sup> Strobel's principal insight lies in his emphasis on local historical continuity in place of generalizing comments about the recurrence of the Hittite sacred mountain, birds of prey, springs, and other religious iconography among the Phrygians.<sup>683</sup> Through an analysis of inscriptions on the sacred mountains of Kızıldağ and Karadağ, Strobel argues for continuity from the Bronze to Iron Age in the surrounding Konya Basin.<sup>684</sup>

Despite my approval of Strobel's debunking of entrenched *archaeological* interpretations, I question the particulars of his *historical* narratives, such as the expansion of an eleventh century Hittite king, Hartapus, from the Konya Basin into the northwest of Anatolia.<sup>685</sup> His argument, however, for the dissolution of the Hittite

---

<sup>681</sup> Strobel 2005:195-7. On the comparable Aiolian migration see the paired articles by H.N. Parker (2008) and Rose (2008). Wittke represents the traditional history of migration with Phrygians developing from a Late Bronze Age migrating tribe to an Early Iron Age tribal state (2004, 2007).

<sup>682</sup> Genz argues that the Early Iron Age ceramics of the Kızılırmak Basin exhibits regional features that support ceramic assemblages situated in local practices (Genz 2004b, 2005; Strobel 2005:201-2; Tsatskheladze 2007:289-95). For the Early Iron Age handmade ceramics of Gordion, see Tsatskheladze 2005:212-3 (trade not migration as an interpretation of the ceramics), 2007:289-95 (summary of a study of the ceramics by Maya Vassileva [contra Sams 1994:19-29, 175-7; Voigt 1994:276-8; Henrickson and Voigt 1998:101-3; Voigt and Henrickson 2000a:354-6]).

<sup>683</sup> Roller, a scholar who assumes that the Phrygians were immigrants, concludes that the Phrygians imitated the symbols of their Hittite predecessors (1999:42-3, 62) and were influenced by their late Hittite neighbors (2007b).

<sup>684</sup> Strobel 2008a:128-31, 2008b:666-9.

<sup>685</sup> Strobel is at heart a historical geographer who employs problematic concepts, such as politically constituted ethnicity and ethnogenesis (Strobel 2001:43-5), in place of the entangled social identities. Examples of Strobel's historical narratives: Strobel 2008b:666-9 (on the Hartapus foundation of Gordion); Strobel 2001:45-51 (on Phrygian ethnogenesis). Hutter's explanation of continuity of the Palaic sun god Tiya also depends on historical continuity in the elite of society and not social memory

Kingdom into lesser principalities, and for their continuity, is compelling. In particular, he argues for the continuity of Tumanna in Domanitis and Pala or Pla in Paphlagonia and Blaene.<sup>686</sup> Admittedly, his argument is again linguistic; however, the settlement history known through survey is comparable to the histories within the bend of the Kızılırmak and the Porsuk and Sakarya Valleys around Gordion, where epigraphy and excavations lend more support for local historical continuity.

In addition to continuity in material culture, however, social memory is also a source of continuity, and Strobel's narrative history and emphasis on the historical agency of Hartapus and other elites neglects this aspect of places that bears so much relevance with respect to everyday practices. In the Karadere Valley around Kalekapı, the agency for the reliefs (distributed among sculptor, patron, and audience) replaces historical agency, and the absence of local historical continuity from the earlier Iron Age into the Achaemenid period pushes us to rely on social memory as constituted in contemporary practices. The landscape of Kazankaya Canyon in the Hellenistic period is a comparable later example where social memory was the means of reimagining a continuing, but changing, local landscape.

In the heart of the Hittite Kingdom during the Late Bronze Age within the bend of the Kızılırmak, the Çekerek River winds north through the Kazankaya Canyon.<sup>687</sup> The Hittite city of Šapinuwa lies 7 km to the west of the mouth of the canyon, and the Hittite route east from Hattuša to the northeastern borderlands of the kingdom passes the

---

(2006:86-7). The archaeologist Işık argues for continuity in ruler cult through several approaches, e.g., continuity in settlement (2003:198-202), but emphasizes a national Anatolian continuity (ibid.:216).

<sup>686</sup> Strobel 2008a:126-8, see also Hout 2004.

<sup>687</sup> The classical Skylax River, a tributary of the Yeşilırmak (the classical Iris River).

southern entrance to the canyon.<sup>688</sup> Geoffrey Summers surveyed Bronze and Iron Age mountain passes to the east and west of the canyon that would connect Šapinuwa to the Hittite city of Zippalanda and the sacred Mount Daḫa, both south of the canyon.<sup>689</sup> His interpretation of the impassible canyon with no surveyed Bronze or Iron Age sites includes a passing reference to a published Hellenistic relief and tower with tunnel.<sup>690</sup>

The canyon is a naturally dramatic gorge cut by the Çekerek River through the Alandağı (**fig. 44**).<sup>691</sup> Precipitous naked limestone cliffs fall straight to the river channel. Latife Summerer has recently republished the relief, tunnel, and tower.<sup>692</sup> Whereas Summers suggested that the tower and the tunnel protected the mountain pass to the east of the canyon and were unrelated to the relief, Summerer discovered weathered rockcut steps from the lower mouth of the tunnel to the river channel on the eastern bank facing the relief.<sup>693</sup> The relief is of a female figure standing 3 m high that, according to Summerer's comprehensive analysis, resembles the statuary type of Artemis-Hekate and dates to the second half of the second century B.C.E. Summerer identifies the figure, however, as the water deity Anaïtis on account of the riparian placement of the relief and the temple of Anaïtis in Hellenistic Zela, located 45 km east of the canyon as the crow

---

<sup>688</sup> The tablets excavated at Ortaköy, Çorum, that identify the site as Šapinuwa date to the Middle Hittite period (Süel 2002).

<sup>689</sup> G.D. Summers 1998. Gurney locates Zippalanda at Kuşaklı Höyük, west of Sorgun, and Mt. Daḫa at Kerkenes Dağı, just to Kuşaklı Höyük's south (1995). Gorny supports Gurney's locations (1997); Popko locates Zippalanda at Alaca Höyük (2000).

<sup>690</sup> G.D. Summers 1998, Atalay and Ertekin 1986.

<sup>691</sup> For a description of the geomorphology see Duran and Hamzaoglu 2002.

<sup>692</sup> Summerer 2006.

<sup>693</sup> Ibid.:26, 28. The narrow dimensions of the tunnel (3 m high, 1.5 m wide) causes me to suspect that the tunnel may be an enlarged phreatic tube following a fault in the limestone, but without further survey nothing sure can be said (ibid.:27 fig. 12).



flies. Summerer concludes that the canyon is a “natural sanctuary” comparable to the area where the upper Tigris flows through a natural tunnel.<sup>694</sup>

The natural landscape is only what the imagined landscape makes of it, and the imagined landscape is enlivened through the everyday practices of the inhabitants of settlements in the vicinity of the canyon from the Late Bronze Age through the Iron Age to the Hellenistic period. The rockcut Hellenistic features in the canyon are neither an elaboration of a residual Hittite landscape nor a dramatic natural place, but rather an indication of the social reimagination of an impassable watery and mountainous place in the landscape.

The possibilities for the disruption of social memory over so many centuries are readily apparent. The story of the relief’s discovery is revealing of both the disruption and production of this social memory. In 1985 Satılmış Uymaz from İncesu, the village at the northern mouth of the canyon, encountered the relief behind vegetation while collecting firewood.<sup>695</sup> Indeed, through knowledge of the landscape as engendered by everyday practices, continuity becomes possible. Knowledge of the imagined landscapes of the past is, however, elusive, and I want to avoid advancing an interpretation that imposes the conceptual landscape as known from literary sources on a natural landscape.<sup>696</sup> In the following section, therefore, I resort to archaeological

---

<sup>694</sup> “Naturheiligtum” (ibid.:28-9). See also Harmanşah 2007. The eighth century reliefs at İvriz are comparable, particularly the second weathered relief of Warpalawas in adoration of the storm god Tarhunzas in the seasonally dry canyon to the southwest of the more widely published relief above the spring (Karauğuz and Kunt 2006:29-32, 36-7 sv İvriz III). The approach to the second relief from the north passes a limestone arch, and the relief itself faces the mouth of a fossil phreatic tube.

<sup>695</sup> Summerer 2006:17, 19.

<sup>696</sup> A conceptual landscape is, for example, a sacred landscape or mapped cosmology, where the landscape is not embodied in practices but “constructed in the mind” (Knapp and Ashmore. 1999:8).

geomorphology as one of the possible ways of understanding how Kalekapı emerges as a powerful transitional place in the landscape comparable to the Kazankaya Canyon.

### ***G. Anatolian phreatic landscapes***

Phreatic caves and other karst geological features are numerous in the humid forests of Paphlagonia north of the Gökırmak and Araç Valleys. Frequently, these features can be associated with the İnaltı Formation, a significant potential aquifer consisting of thickly bedded limestone dating to the Jurassic and Cretaceous periods, with widely distributed outcrops in the Küre-Devrekani Massif region. The geological landscape is, however, not only what the imagined landscape makes of it, but also very local. Not all outcrops are found in comparable geomorphological environments. In the northern foothills of the Gökırmak Valley, east of Kastamonu, the İnaltı limestone is exposed at east-west running thrust faults of the Ekinveren Fault Zone, a secondary fault zone of the North Anatolian fault.<sup>697</sup> The limestone is an aquifer lying in near-vertical beds unconformably sandwiched between earlier impermeable metamorphic rocks and later weakly consolidated sands and impermeable clays. In the middle Gökırmak Valley around Kalekapı, the limestone is a ridge that walls in the valley from the Küre-Devrekani Massif at the north. But what is the significance of this geological walling? Kalekapı is at a place on the ridge where the tributary of the Gökırmak, the Karadere, has cut through, and offers an opportunity to investigate a context-specific understanding of

---

<sup>697</sup> My geomorphological reconstruction is based on the following geological publications: Yılmaz 1980, Aydın et al. 1986, Boztuğ and Yılmaz 1995, Ustaömer and Robertson. 1997. I am grateful for feedback of Ediz Kırman.

the İnaltı limestone's walling, just as the Hellenistic features indicate the reimagination of the Kazankaya Canyon.

Four specific karst phreatic and erosional features are present on the ridge at Kalekapı. The first is nearby, on the ridge's northeastern continuation, where a shepherd's spring and a Medieval bath building provide evidence for active springs. Near the artificial trench is a grotto formed by breakdown, the characteristic form of collapse of caves in fractured limestone. At the western end of the northeastern ridge is a natural arch. Of most interest is the fourth feature: four stepped tunnels currently accepted in the archaeological literature as artificially cut. The first is a simple curving tunnel with steps carved into an inactive phreatic tube located on the slope below the precipitous cliff of the eastern outcrop.<sup>698</sup> Phreatic tubes with carved steps are known from the Byzantine settlement of Doğanlar Kayası.<sup>699</sup>

The other three tunnels have additions that probably date to the Hellenistic period, such as steps, doors, and a semicircular vault. One tunnel is carved into the southern flank of the eastern outcrop; another is carved from the plateau down into the outcrop. The last is carved into the southern flank of the western outcrop. Of the tunnels with Hellenistic additions, all have filled up with earth and debris to above the water table, but the tunnel on the southwestern outcrop is clearly a cave of phreatic origin. In this tunnel, the infilled earth is damp. In these tunnels is the intertwining between the architecture of

---

<sup>698</sup> Unfortunately, I did not jump down into this tunnel, and from above the few steps visible, it appeared to be carved into a phreatic tube. Survey would quickly confirm whether this tunnel is phreatic or a mining shaft. Metalliferous sediments are present in the gully behind the limestone outcrop (Ustaömer and Robertson 1997:274 fig. 11, Yılmaz and Kırkoğlu 1985).

<sup>699</sup> The tunnels of Doğanlar Kayası are inactive branching phreatic tubes with steps carved into them, probably during the Byzantine period. The tubes have phreatic features, such as avens, and follow fissures in the limestone.

geological formations, subtle human interventions to them, and the etching of these processes in the landscape imagination.

Into these outcrops filled with karst phreatic and erosional features, an Achaemenid leader cut a tomb. If we examine the tomb and the landscape with its karst features, especially the phreatic features, it is clear that the social memory of the Hittite conceptual landscape is manifest, especially in the engagement with particular geological formations as passages to the underworld. This is true in spite of the fact that Kalekapı lacks a known corpus of comparable antecedents or contemporaneous monuments and representational repertoire. Both the phreatic features *and* the tomb itself let us argue that Kalekapı is a passageway to the watery world of ancestors. This world is not clearly an underworld at Kalekapı, but placed beyond the İnaltı wall where, upstream from the gates of the Kalekapı outcrops, the Karadere enters a mountainous valley.

Before turning to comparable tumuli contemporary with Kalekapı, some insights drawn from the Hittite conceptual landscape as known from Late Bronze Age tablets and excavations must be touched on. The cutting of the rockcut tomb into the İnaltı wall can be contrasted with the relief of the “Sword-god of the Underworld” in Tudhaliya IV’s funerary chamber at the extramural limestone sanctuary of Yazılıkaya (**fig. 45**). In the relief, the blade cuts into the earth to open a passage out of, and back into, the underworld.<sup>700</sup> A spring once flowed from Yazılıkaya,<sup>701</sup> and the relief makes clear that Yazılıkaya was a liminal space for access to the world of the ancestors. Yazılıkaya was a

---

<sup>700</sup> The relief of the “Sword-god of the Underworld” is interpreted by reference to a ritual text from Boğazköy where the deities of the underworld are summoned and enliven clay sculptures of them “as swords” (Otten 1961:122-3 II.18, Gurney 1977:41-2, Collins 1997:169 §18). In this ritual, the deities are summoned so that they might carry a “misfortune” (*waštai-*) to the underworld with them when they return. The phrase “great misfortune” (*šalliš waštaiš*) means the death of a king or queen (Kassian, Korolëv and Sidel’tsev 2002:9-11).

<sup>701</sup> Marsh 2008.

sacred spring even before the sculptural and architectural modifications of Tudhaliya IV. In the Hittite conceptual landscape, springs and other phreatic features constitute passages to the watery underworld.<sup>702</sup>

At Kalekapı a tenuous connection can be posited among all of the reliefs, to the Hittite Nergal, the deity probably represented as “Sword-god of the Underworld” at Yazılıkaya.<sup>703</sup> The Herakles is an embodiment of Nergal, the Hittite god of mining and smelting. Below the ridge of the gable at Kalekapı is the bird of prey with outspread wings; bird sacrifice is associated with the underworld deities in Hittite rituals.<sup>704</sup> The pair of opposed lions under the bird’s wings and the winged rampant lion-griffins protect passage through the columns as lions and lion-monsters protect Nergal’s gates. Below the lion-griffin on the northeast is the lion in profile above the unfinished bull, and below the lion-griffin on the southeast is the bull with its head lowered. The bull and lion paring suggests Nergal’s lion form in the underworld and bull form in the sky.<sup>705</sup>

In conclusion, the reliefs of the tomb perhaps engage in specific Hittite place-making practices and perform the mapping of the vicinity, particularly in mapping the route to the land of the dead, and for Kalekapı, the deified dead. If we extend this proposal out to the landscape of the middle Gökırmak Valley, we see that the İnaltı limestone’s presence in the Ekinveren Fault Zone does wall off the valley from the mountains, but the mapping

---

<sup>702</sup> Gordon 1967, J.D. Hawkins 1995, Hansen 1997a, b.

<sup>703</sup> Dalley 1987:63.

<sup>704</sup> Bittel mentions that bird sacrifice was important in the cult of the underworld;” he also describes a bird “pinned down and intentionally confined in a small depression by fourteen bronze nails stuck vertically in the ground” (1970:109). In the publication of the Yazılıkaya excavations, however, the animal pinned down is identified as a piglet in Crevice D (Bittel et al. 1975:64-70, 231-2). The bird skeletons (11 bones from a single Golden Eagle and 1 femur from a Common Kestrel) were excavated in Chamber C (ibid.:53, 62). The eagle is also associated in the Palaic version of the Disappearing God ritual myth with the sun god Tiyaz, “the mother and father of the kings.” Tiyaz sends an eagle to find the god, who is found on a meadow near Lihzina. Hutter defines Tiyaz as a sky and sun god connected to the eagle and the king and queen (Hutter 2006:82-3).

<sup>705</sup> Wiggermann 2007:223-6.

shows that the geological landscape has merged with a memory of the Hittite cosmological landscape; together both become the beginning for Kalekapı's reimagination. This approach situates the tomb in the everyday construction of its place and reveals the subtle adaptations of this landscape to Achaemenid rule. Surprising as it may seem, it is through an Achaemenid leader's intervention at a powerful place in the landscape that the Hittite imagined landscape may be manifest.

#### *H. Afirözü and Karaburun*

More surprising, however, is to remember that in the fourth chapter these Kalekapı reliefs—mentioned above as marking the threshold to the afterworld in a reimagined Hittite landscape—were compared to a sarcophagus interred in a rockcut tomb belonging to an elite of the Achaemenid and Macedonian Mediterranean in the coastal city of Sidon. The pediment of the Alexander sarcophagus was found to share the same iconographic repertoire of architectural sculpture as the reliefs below the gable at Kalekapı: the center acroteria of two opposing lion-griffins flanking a palmette, the corner acroteria of outward facing reclining lion pairs, the roof sculptures of eagles with outstretched wings, and lion-griffin headed spouts.<sup>706</sup> The man and lion combat above the porch at Kalekapı was further compared to the figure of Alexander in the hunt panel on the long side of the sarcophagus.<sup>707</sup> Wearing the pelt of the lion, the Alexander figure is embodied as his ancestor Herakles. Herakles' popularity spread among rulers in the fourth century, and the Kalekapı combat shows a Paphlagonian elite interred in the tomb elite responding

---

<sup>706</sup> Schefold 1968:figs. 32, 47,78-80.

<sup>707</sup> Ibid.:fig. 52.

closely to contemporary political and artistic language, and, more specifically, the language of ruler cults.

As effective as the Alexander sarcophagus comparison was for explicating the meaning of the iconography of the Kalekapı reliefs and demonstrating the extensive connections of the Paphlagonian elite to the Mediterranean world, their shared iconographic repertoire only serves to disappoint if the purpose of the analysis is make Kalekapı coherent and intelligible. A site specific comparison of the temple tomb at Belevi with its opposing lion-griffins flanking urns along the roof of the peristyle is possible, but only because of its landscape, not its iconography.<sup>708</sup> The tomb chamber is cut into the bedrock of a limestone outcrop protruding into a marshy lake, Belevi Gölü, another landscape on the threshold of the underworld.<sup>709</sup> Within the chamber a funerary banquet was mounted with a one and a half life-sized male figure reclining on a sarcophagus sculpted as a couch with table and footstool, a seated female figure in the same scale, and a standing server slightly less than life-size.<sup>710</sup> The temple tomb shares the landscape with a sixth century tumulus that crowns a ridge that rises on the temple tomb's east side.<sup>711</sup> Both the tumulus and the rockcut chamber of the temple tomb introduce the situated comparison of the landscapes of Afirözü and Karaburun that follows. At this place in my argument, I choose to pass by additional comparisons motivated by less significant iconographic similarities, such as between the lion griffins

---

<sup>708</sup> Praschniker and Theuer 1979:86-91, 142-5. Polat's argument in favor of identifying the intended deceased for the temple tomb as Autophradates, the satrap of Sardis, seems more likely than Lysimachos (2001, 2005b).

<sup>709</sup> Hansen argues that the Gygean Lake near the Lydian royal tumuli at Bintepe is a "lake/meadow of the Netherworld" (1997b:507). The marsh lying before the tomb at Belevi is probably a comparable liminal watery place.

<sup>710</sup> The three figures were recarved during their Roman reuse.

<sup>711</sup> Kasper 1976/77, Praschniker and Theuer 1979:170-2. The tumulus has a second phase in the fourth and third centuries.

of the Kalekapı and Belevi tombs. Simultaneously, I shift my attention to the other funerary markers of the Achaemenid period in Paphlagonia: tumuli including the sculptures at their summits and the altar platforms at their bases.

In the middle Gökırmak Valley surrounding Kalekapı, groups of tumuli follow the terraces above the flood plain of the river and crown the more distant foothills. The tumuli are known only through the various surveys of the Gökırmak Valley and are difficult to date, but begin before the Achaemenid period and become widespread in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>712</sup>

The only tumulus in the Gökırmak Valley confidently datable to the Achaemenid period is the Yığma Tepe tumulus, located where the foothills approach the Daday Stream, a tributary flowing from the west of the Gökırmak. Upstream to the west, the valley of Daday opens; to the east spreads the Gökırmak Valley around Kastamonu and Taşköprü. Pauline Donceel-Voûte associates the tumulus with a relief block found during road construction with other ashlar blocks on the slope of a hill to the east of the tumulus.<sup>713</sup>

The relief, which is shallow and appears more as a sketch than sculpture, adorns a face of a rectangular block pierced by a dowel hole (**fig. 46**).<sup>714</sup> On the sculpted face, a narrow frame surrounds a scene of two banqueters seated and reclining on a couch with a table and servant on the left. The servant wears a tiara with loose ear flaps, belted tunic, trousers, and pointed boots; he holds a ladle in his right hand and a cup in his left.

---

<sup>712</sup> Gökoğlu 1952:47-57, Donceel-Voûte 1979, Marek 2008. Ceramics from an Early or Middle Iron Age Tumulus was surveyed south of Kastamonu (Catherine Marro, personal communication).

<sup>713</sup> I visited the provenance of the relief block on June 24<sup>th</sup>, 2002 and noted the presence of blocks similar in size to the relief block.

<sup>714</sup> Donceel-Voûte 1983; von Gall 1989:143, 149-52, pl. 2; Durugönül 1994a:12-13; Calmeyer 1996:225 fig. 3, 226; Paspalas 2000:153 no. 7; Briant 2002:699 fig. 55; Baughan 2004:341, 561 no. C2 (dowel hole cuts through block), 713 fig. 218, Polat 2005b:59-61.



Behind the servant hangs a knife, and in front of him is the table laden with food and an Achaemenid kantharoid cup. Behind the reclining banqueter is a large serving vessel. The seated banqueter appears to be unbearded and wears a tiara with tied ear flaps, full tunic under a mantle, trousers, and pointed boots.<sup>715</sup> The reclining banqueter is bearded and wears the same tiara, tunic, and mantle. He holds a lotus in his right hand and a cup in his left. A tall serving vessel is visible behind his back.<sup>716</sup>

The most frequently noted aspect of the relief is the “replacement” of the seated female figure, presumed to be the wife of the reclining figure, with a male figure. Von Gall considers the seated figure as the reclining figure’s son or close relative. With the replacement, he finds a shift in the relief from representing life in the underworld to a monument commemorating the funerary banquet and the continued pious festivities of the son and his descendants in memory of the deceased. Von Gall’s interpretation sees a translation of the Greek composition into the visual language of Persia.<sup>717</sup> The relief, however, reflects the practices of the elite of Achaemenid Anatolia, and not of Persia. Additionally, with this relief, the deceased was indexing less of a domestic identity, and more of a political gesture of Achaemenid affiliation. The tumulus is situated in the landscape and grounds the elite in a local identity; it is the relief that indicates a wider web of connections. In support of this interpretation, Polat compares the relief to a series of representations of more official funerary banquets where women are not

---

<sup>715</sup> Donceel-Voûte describes the seated banqueter without a beard (1983:105); my examination of the block, admittedly in less than ideal light, did not exclude the possibility of a beard.

<sup>716</sup> Donceel-Voûte argues that the banqueters wear the tiara of Medes, or perhaps of Magi (1983:103-12); subsequent studies demonstrate that clothing is typical of the Achaemenid period.

<sup>717</sup> Von Gall 1989b:150.

represented.<sup>718</sup> We may also remember Otys's banquets with the Spartans and Spithridates.

Considering the Achaemenid clothing, furniture, and drinking vessels in the relief,<sup>719</sup> the block was probably stacked with similar blocks and held together with a long dowel to build a pillar similar to the Achaemenid period funerary stelai of Daskyleion, Sardis, and elsewhere in western Anatolia.<sup>720</sup> Funerary banquets are the most common scene on stelai at Sardis, which begin in the second half of the sixth century and continue into the fourth.<sup>721</sup> Three stelai at Sardis were found in place at the entrances to their rockcut chamber tombs. Durugönül suggests that the funerary banquet block was placed at the entrance of a tumulus where stelai were often set.<sup>722</sup>

The placement of the relief block on the summit of the tumulus is just as possible. Dengate publishes a 'mushroom' tumulus marker that couples on a massive plinth a round knob with torus molding and a building model with reliefs on three sides from the Yeşilırmak Valley northwest of Amasya. The building has a hipped roof at back and a gable at front; both front and back have a single column in antis. The third side has a relief of a horse and wheel set within a frame. Perhaps the dowel hole of the Afirözü block attached a pediment block and plinth. Five comparable 'mushroom' tumulus markers found in the Gökırmak Valley, and the provenance of the funerary banquet block

---

<sup>718</sup> Polat 2005b:59.

<sup>719</sup> Baughan 2004:340 (couch legs), 341 (kantharoid cup).

<sup>720</sup> Donceel-Voûte suggested the block belonged to a Lycian pillar tomb (1983:111). See also Durugönül 1994a. The block does not fit the standard stele bases (see Polat 2005a). The provenance of the block argues against placement on the summit of a tumulus similar to the Mısımlağaç mushroom marker (Dengate 1978:250-1, pl. 66 figs. 6, 10-1).

<sup>721</sup> McLauchlin 1985:117-26; Baughan 2004:328-50, 557-60.

<sup>722</sup> Durugönül 1994a:12-13.

near the tumulus support the original placement of the block on a tumulus summit.<sup>723</sup> An argument against the summit is that the practice of building models on the summit of tumuli does appear to be present only in the stretch of Yeşilırmak Valley where it zigzags through the Canik Mountains north of Amasya.

Altar platforms at the base of tumuli are, in contrast, attested in tumuli throughout their distribution in Anatolia.<sup>724</sup> The conscious identification of the patron of the funerary banquet relief with the Achaemenid dress, banqueting, and tumuli of western Anatolia supports the reconstruction of an altar platform and pillar with funerary banquet relief. Machteld Mellink excavated the best example of such an Achaemenid period platform on the Karaburun Ridge in the Elmalı Plain in the north of Lycia.

The plain is a karst depression, or *polje*, enclosed in the high mountains of northern Lycia. Until the 1970s the depression was filled with three marshy lakes, several ponors, and an exsurgence cave in the south of the western lake.<sup>725</sup> A limestone ridge rises to the southwest of the most northern of the lakes that filled the northeastern arm of the depression. The northeastern route out of the plateau crosses the northern part of the ridge and passes along the shore of the lake before branching to Antalya in the south and Burdur in the north. The Elmalı Plain presents the *polje* variation on the karst landscapes

---

<sup>723</sup> Dengate 1978:250-52, pl. 66 fig. 9; McLauchlin 1985:126-39 (with catalog of Anatolian examples then known but missing Dengate's three examples). The Paphlagonian 'mushroom' markers average c. 70 cm in height and range from 64 to 143 cm in diameter. 'Mushroom' markers are only found elsewhere in a cemetery at Old Smyrna where the graves mainly date to the sixth century (McLauchlin 1985:135-6). More 'phallic' markers also begin in the sixth century but there are much later examples (*ibid.*:136). On the markers in surveyed around Daskyleion see Rose, Tekkök and Körpe 2007. Belke publishes a "ein alter [?] Steinmörser zum Stampfen von Getreide" with a photograph from Kızıllar 6 km northwest of Antonionopolis (southwest of the Olgassys massif) that clearly is a mushroom tumulus marker (1996:235, fig. 82). Von Gall's mushroom marker from Acıkişi has a dowel hole in its top and was possibly a column base (Summerer and von Kienlin [in press]), but the molding is above and not below the torus on the Kalekapı and other rockcut column bases (1966a:114-15, pl. 16, cf. 118 fig. 29).

<sup>724</sup> The platforms are mostly not preserved and attested by stelai (Roosevelt 2006; Rose, Tekkök and Körpe 2007:72-4).

<sup>725</sup> Karagöl, Avlan gölü, and Gölova (Warner 1994:1, 11-2; pls. 1-2).

of Turkey, with the watery threshold of the underworld evoked through the marshy lake and the ponors as passageways. On a limestone outcrop in the middle of the northeastern lake stands the exposed chamber of a sixth or fifth century tumulus.<sup>726</sup>

The rest of the numerous tumuli are a couple of kilometers distant from the shore; they spread northeast from the limestone ridge, called Karaburun, to the village of Bayındır, where two tumuli of the seventh century with wooden chambers were excavated in the 1980s.<sup>727</sup> After the seventh century tumuli continue to be built between Bayındır and the Karaburun Ridge. In the 1970s Mellink excavated two tumuli built in the second quarter of the fifth century adjacent to each other on the ridge: on the north a child was buried in a simple limestone sarcophagus, Karaburun I, and on the south, a painted Achaemenid period tomb was built, Karaburun II.<sup>728</sup> Mellink excavated much of the latter tumulus in the process of conserving its plastered and painted walls. Consequently, a good amount is known about the construction of the tumulus, and not just the chamber, as is the situation generally.

The limestone ridge was leveled and the tomb chamber was built directly on the bedrock in limestone blocks. The rubble mounded on the chamber was capped with a layer of light clay for weathering, according to Mellink. A platform with cuttings for the insertion of a double door with frame was placed 16 m in front of the east side of the chamber.<sup>729</sup> A very fragmentary lion sculpture was also placed on or near the platform. All of these features are most intelligible if we understand the tumulus as equivalent to

---

<sup>726</sup> Mellink 1971:249 (the earlier name of Gölova was Müğren).

<sup>727</sup> Özgen and Özgen 1992:32-49, 187-95 nos. 29-62; Özgen and Öztürk 1996:27.

<sup>728</sup> Mellink 1971:249-55, pls. 53-6; 1972:261-9, pls. 57-60; 1974a:355-9, pls. 67-70; 1974b, 1975:349-53, pls. 58-60; 1976:382-4; 1988b; Mellink and Angel 1973:297-301, pls. 44-6; Calmeyer 1996:226; Özgen and Öztürk 1996:47; Briant 2002:504-5; Baughan 2004:351-6, 551-2 no. A182, 562 no. C4, 636-7 figs. 72-3.

<sup>729</sup> Mellink 1975:349-53, pls. 58-60, 1976:383-4. For comparable doors see Roosevelt 2006.

the rockcut tomb. The tomb chamber becomes an extension of the bedrock, the mound is capped by a surface like rock, and doors are built or painted on the outside of the tumulus and inside the chamber. Thus, the platform becomes a place for the veneration and epiphany of ancestors, and the doors are passageways, just like the porch door of the rockcut tomb. Building the tumulus as an equivalent to the rockcut tomb, however, highlights the extent to which the tomb chamber is a hollow space in the mountain. As such, the chamber is not a house for the dead, but an extension of the landscape and a space connected to the waterways of the afterlife. The tumulus does not become part of the *natural* landscape, but it couples its mound to the ridge in a manner that engenders a sense that tumuli are *natural* and have always already existed in the landscape.

The landscape of the Karaburun tumulus is not only equivalent to Yığma Tepe *and* Kalekapı, but the paintings on the interior walls connect the deceased to the very centers of Achaemenid control in western Anatolia through their shared iconographic repertoire: Daskyleion, Sardis, and even to Persia. Facing the door on the east wall is the painting of a very refined funerary banquet above the couch. The reclining banqueter is dressed in a loose short-sleeved tunic with a rosette border and a blue mantle with red trim. A female server standing behind him holds a cloth; four more servers stand at the foot of the couch on the west and south walls. It is, however, the clothing of the elite figure and his attendants on the south wall that is most similar to the Afirözü relief. Riding a throne chariot in a funerary procession, an elite figure with the squared beard of the reclining banquet wears a tiara with loose ear flaps and a cloak. Attendants wear tiaras with loose ear straps and long-sleeved tunics that hang to the knee. The man riding the throne chariot may be the son of the deceased. The other scene is a battle on the north wall.

The site-specific comparison of Afirözü relief block to Karaburun tumulus serves to emphasize the relationship of the funerary practices to the imagined liminal places in the landscape. It also highlights the ways in which identities were brought into being from concluding alliances, both personal and military, with the other elites of the western empire. The reclining banqueteer in the Afirözü relief constructed his identity—at least that part of his identity represented in the preserved relief block—in response to military alliances that he negotiated with the elites of the satrapal center at Daskyleion.<sup>730</sup> The deceased interred in Kalekapı was no less affiliated with the empire, but he chose a powerful place whose height guaranteed him visual authority. Although both Kalekapı and Afirözü are located in the Gökırmak Valley, it is possible that Kalekapı is within Domanitits, and Afirözü is in the borderlands between Domanitis and Blaene.<sup>731</sup> The distribution of tumuli, however, might suggest that it is more probable that the Afirözü relief indexed an identity of someone subordinate to the leader interred at Kalekapı.

## ***I. Conclusion***

The Afirözü funerary banquet relief block brings this chapter to a close by illustrating the complexity of the associations that monuments might bear despite their embeddedness in local landscapes. Multi-sited archaeology offers an important way forward for landscape research by not only articulating monuments and places in a site-

---

<sup>730</sup> Because of the abundance and variety of Lycian tombs dating to the Achaemenid period, much ink has been spilled over how the tombs map the dynastic political organization of Lycia (Bryce 1991, Keen 1998:182-92, Draycott 2007). Included in this group are the three Lycian specialists who have argued that the “categories” of contemporary tombs in Achaemenid Lycia “may reflect a fairly clearly defined hierarchy in Lycian society” (Bryce 1991:73 [quotation]). Rather than a defined hierarchy, the Lycian tombs shine a light on the web of social relations that each family wove around itself.

<sup>731</sup> Keen suggests that the man interred in the Karaburun tumulus was a Milyan leader with strong ties to the Achaemenid administration and independent from the leaders of the Lycian coast.

specific, well-situated fashion, but also by highlighting long distance transfers and translations of knowledge and practices. Such a methodology is especially critical in speaking about Paphlagonia as a politically contested, and culturally negotiated place, which was brought closer to the administrative relations of the Achaemenid Empire due to gradually increasing satrapal oversight.

In this chapter I presented a series of situated comparisons of Paphlagonian monuments as localities of significance. Their architecture, their visual repertoire, and their technologies of carving are a complex assemblage of material features in dialogue with various trends and practices in the Achaemenid Empire, as well as local relationships. Traditional iconographic analyses of their visual repertoire through direct analogies with monuments elsewhere have been rejected in favor of a material agency perspective. At the Kalekapı monument, one finds strong affiliations with rockcut tombs and architectural sculpture of the empire, while it maintains a dialogue with the Aegean artistic *koiné*.

Concerning the representations of the fabulous beings that border and configure the monument, I critiqued the standard art historical explanations involving apotropaism and demonstrated how carefully chosen mythological beings mediated and animated the liminal space of the tomb façade between the lived world and the world of the ancestors. The mimetic representations of Paphlagonian rockcut tombs do not only protect the tomb; they animate it through a magical resemblance to what the monument embodies. In this way pictorial components of funerary monuments become site-specific meaningful features in the Paphlagonian context.

I further supported this point by exploring the fascinating recursive relationship between technologies of rock carving and the geological—especially the phreatic karst—features of the landscape. This point further emphasizes the firmly site-specific aspects of the Paphlagonian monuments. Comparisons to the Phrygian monuments of Matar has been instructive in trying to make sense of embedding monuments in bedrock as a place-making practice. Such connection also opens up in the scholarship important questions of continuity and rupture in Anatolian landscapes from the Late Bronze Age through the Hellenistic period. Practices of carving living rock for commemorative funerary monuments remain in place throughout this period.



## CHAPTER 6:

### *From Region to Landscape: Indigenous Tombs, Hirschfeld and the Making of Paphlagonia*

#### *A. Introduction*

In 1966 Hubertus von Gall published his dissertation, *Paphlagonischen Felsgräber*, on a group of rockcut tombs in north central Anatolia. Von Gall dated ten of these tombs to the two centuries of Achaemenid administration in Anatolia. Significant questions about von Gall's dating led me to research why the tombs were labeled Paphlagonian, and why they were dated so early. This research resulted in my discovery of Gustav Hirschfeld, an energetic theoretical archaeologist and historical geographer, working within the modernist paradigm in archaeology.

With Hirschfeld's publication in 1885 of *Paphlagonische Felsengräber* the region of Paphlagonia rose as a phoenix from the ashes of European geographical imagination to become a materialized real region.<sup>732</sup> Through his description, typology, and mapping of the 'Paphlagonian' rockcut burials onto the Ottoman landscape, Hirschfeld endowed the toponym with a distinctive ancient material culture and thereby determined its geographical boundaries. It is precisely with Hirschfeld that the *archaeological practice*

---

<sup>732</sup> Hirschfeld 1885. In the report of the French consul in Sinop on Pompeiopolis, for example, Paphlagonia is solely the historical province of which Pompeiopolis was the capital (Fourcade 1811:passim), and to the antiquarians, Paphlagonia is a region defined by its physical geography (Ainsworth 1839:passim) or historical geography (Kinneir 1818:282, 286, 296; Hamilton 1842, vol. 1:268, 298, 306).

of referring to this mapped region as Paphlagonia started.<sup>733</sup> How this designation came about is significant for our understanding of the ancient cultural make-up of the region, and more broadly, such a discussion also informs how archaeologists construct bounded regions and types. The preceding chapters have discussed in depth the Kalekapı rockcut tomb and its landscape associations. In this chapter my concern is to further elucidate the entangled status of early archaeological scholarship with issues of region, regional identity, and landscape.

This chapter begins with a historiographical reading of Hirschfeld's interpretation of these rockcut burial monuments and subsequent archaeological interpretations of Paphlagonia. The middle section of this chapter analyzes the Hellenistic tombs that von Gall dated as Achaemenid in the light of the historiography. Finally, I briefly turn to a discussion of the academic practice of regional archaeology in Paphlagonia and the types of knowledge that it produces.

The historiography of the modern conceptualizations of Paphlagonia consists of both a Paphlagonia of the imperialist German discourse and a related "Paflagonya" of the Turkish nationalist discourse.<sup>734</sup> Rather than simply reproducing interpretations that derive from German imperial archaeological debates, which depended on meager evidence, this chapter attempts to construct a discursive clearing around Paphlagonia that complements the analyses of discursive Paphlagonias and the material Paphlagonias of settlement pattern.

---

<sup>733</sup> Fourcade mentions that Kalekapı's "ornemens sont très-communs dans la Cappadoce et dans la Paphlagonie" and compares Kalekapı to the three tombs at Asarkale and Kapıkaya where the Kızılırmak debouches onto its coastal delta (1811:39-41). Likewise, Ainsworth refers to the columns of the İskilip tombs as of "indistinct order" (1842:104).

<sup>734</sup> Compare Hamilakis's discussion of indigenous Hellenism (2007:57-123).

In particular, I attempt to analyze Hirschfeld's Paphlagonia theoretically to emphasize how the nineteenth century realist discourse of archaeological description predisposed archaeologists not only to assume the adequacy and accuracy of their representations, but also of their analytical methodologies, such as the definition of types, and, finally, of their interpretations.<sup>735</sup> The inconsistencies that I identify in Hirschfeld's arguments and the connections that I draw between Hirschfeld's interpretations and German imperialism and orientalism in the Ottoman Empire are not Hirschfeld's alone; they are representative of the knowledge-production process prevalent at archaeology's own beginnings.<sup>736</sup> If contemporary archaeologists find themselves practicing similar methodologies, this is evidence of archaeology's peculiarly steady attachment to the discipline's theoretical foundations. For Hirschfeld, a consequence of his realist discourse is that he does not question the adequacy and accuracy of his descriptions and interpretations, notwithstanding his caveat about the insufficiency of his knowledge.

Before Hirschfeld other travelers in the Eyalet of Kastamonu on occasion mentioned antiquities but neglected to describe them in detail. The first to publish his discoveries was the French consul under Napoleon at Sinop, Pascal Fourcade, in 1811. He explored the Gökırmak Valley from Kastamonu to Boyabat and described the scattered architectural fragments, inscriptions, and tombs of Pompeiopolis and its environs along

---

<sup>735</sup> Although Marchand has published extensively on the historiography of archaeological expeditions in the Ottoman Empire (1996a, 1996b, 2009), more critical analyses of archaeological interpretations in the light of this background, such as Hauser's analysis of Hirschfeld's contemporary Herzfeld (2005), are necessary for a more self-reflexive practice of archaeology to emerge.

<sup>736</sup> For a broader picture of German archaeology and informal imperialism in the Ottoman Empire, see Díaz-Andreu 2007:110-8.

with observations on the geology and agriculture of the valley.<sup>737</sup> Fourcade described the Kalekapı rockcut tomb but dated it to the Roman imperial period (C.7).<sup>738</sup> The English geographer and antiquarian William Hamilton was the second to publish his travels undertaken in 1836 through the eastern Gökırmak Valley and the Kızılırmak Valley, moving from Bafra in the Kızılırmak Delta southwards, although he mentions only medieval and later monuments in these areas.<sup>739</sup>

The Russian diplomat and orientalist Nikolaus Chanykoff traveled from Sinop through the Gökırmak Valley to Kastamonu in 1846. He noted the architectural fragments at Taşköprü, the Ottoman city on the other side of the river from the Roman city of Pompeiopolis. At Kastamonu he sketched and briefly described the rockcut tomb that alerted Hirschfeld to the presence of the tombs in the region (C.18).<sup>740</sup> Another brief description of the Kastamonu tomb is found in the report of the orientalist Andreas David Mordtmann on his journey to Kastamonu in 1856.<sup>741</sup> The reports of these dilettante

---

<sup>737</sup> Fourcade mentions a planned article on Kastamonu that apparently was never published (1811:33 n.1).

<sup>738</sup> Ibid.:39-40.

<sup>739</sup> Hamilton 1842, vol. 1:292-331, vol. 2:map.

<sup>740</sup> “Hier zeigte sich die Façade eines im Felsen ausgehöhlten Gemaches von 11 Schritt Länge, das durch einen 7 Schritt langen dunklen Gang mit einer zweiten 5 Schritt langen Felskammer zusammenhängt, aussen aber durch einen Giebel mit einem Bildwerke geschmückt ist, worin zwei geflügelte Löwen sich gegenüber stehen und zwischen ihnen ein schwer erkennbarer, stark von der Verwitterung mitgenommener Gegenstand, der mir eine Säule mit einer Art Krone darauf darzustellen scheint [note 1: Die Skizze des Verfassers, welche wir auf dem Kärtchen reproduciren, zeigt in der oben erwähnten Zusammenstellung eine merkwürdige Aehnlichkeit mit dem sogenannten Löwenthore von Mykenae, daher dieses von anderen Reisenden noch nicht bemerkte asiatische Denkmal wohl eine genauere Untersuchungen und Zeichnung verdienen möchte]” (1866:421). Chanykoff is also spelled Chanykof or Khanikof[f].

<sup>741</sup> “Sopra questa terza, là dove la pietra retrocede, vi si trovano altre caverne scavate con maggiore arte; sotto un frontone triangolare s’incontrano due porte quadrangolari, e alla destra due altre caverne con entrata bassa semicircolare. Finalmente la pietra avanza di nuovo e la faccia è scolpita con grande regolarità [sic]. Vi troviamo un portico formato da due pilastri quadrilateri e da due ante, e sopra questo vedesi un frontone, nel quale sono scolpiti due leoni alati e nel mezzo una corona sovrastante ad una colonna. Sotto al portico, due ingressi conducono all’interno di altre caverne. Il primo, 2 o 3 piedi sopra il livello del portico, è molto stretto e di forma semicircolare; l’altro è al livello della sala stessa;

travelers were the foundation for Hirschfeld's observation that speculation can lead to erroneous chronologies and incongruous comparisons like that of Chanykoff who compares the gable of the Evkayası tomb (C.18) in Kastamonu with the Mycenaean lion gate.

*i. Hirschfeld's methodology and subjectivity*

Hirschfeld traveled through Paphlagonia in 1882 and studied seven rockcut tombs in Kastamonu (C.18), İskilip (I.12) and Kargı Ambarkaya (I. 17, fig. 47). Hirschfeld himself is the first to admit that his knowledge about Paphlagonia is insufficient to help with the interpretation of these seven rockcut tombs.<sup>742</sup> Frustrated, he writes, “nevertheless, we are so far removed from a secure knowledge that we not able to assign to the monumental tombs their places based on their historical commemoration, but rather we must turn our research around this time, and take the monuments themselves as the evidence.”<sup>743</sup> This insufficient knowledge that prevents him from endowing accuracy to his interpretation stems from the absence of literary and epigraphical sources, and therefore the historical context that would be based on them.<sup>744</sup> With his dissertation Hirschfeld had become known for research that coupled not only literary sources and sculpture,<sup>745</sup> but also epigraphical evidence. He later published on a wide range of

---

entrando in quest'ultimo, una galleria scavata nella pietra conduce fin'alla prima delle due porte anteriormente descritte, che si trovano sotto un frontone commune” (Mordtmann 1859:203). See also Mordtmann 1925:229-31.

<sup>742</sup> Hirschfeld 1885:31-3.

<sup>743</sup> “Sind wir doch von einer sicheren Kenntniß derselben so weit entfernt, daß wir aus derselben heraus nicht nur nicht den Monumenten ihre Stellen anzuweisen vermögen, sondern hier vielmehr einmal den umgekehrten Versuch machen müssen, die Denkmäler zum Aussagen zu bewegen” (ibid.:3-4).

<sup>744</sup> Hirschfeld avoids referring to specific events in Paphlagonia mentioned in Greek historical sources (such as those in Xen. *An.* 5-6), because he regards the tombs as belonging to earlier Paphlagonians contemporary with the Phrygians.

<sup>745</sup> This is the methodology of Johannes Overbeck, with whom he had studied at Leipzig.

subjects, from Geometric vases excavated in the Dipylon cemetery in Athens to Pausanias's description of Olympia. He directed most of his attention, however, to the epigraphical exploration and the historical geography of Anatolia.<sup>746</sup>

Hirschfeld's unease with basing his interpretation on the tombs alone reflects the perennial concern of classical archaeologists of the nineteenth century to distinguish their scholarship from the dabbling of antiquarian travelers.<sup>747</sup> "I sought to undertake my research within strict limits on what is *real*; because it seems insecure to grant a place to the hypothetical in a field now still so open ended, as it easily leads and has led into boundless speculation."<sup>748</sup> Unable to verify a historical context that would contain speculation, Hirschfeld compensates by following an empirical methodology preferred by classical archaeologists of what was then called "the philology of monuments."<sup>749</sup> He writes: "I let the conclusions and comparisons—which seemed to unfold naturally—follow a detailed description of my tombs and of their analogues."<sup>750</sup> It is the detailed description in Hirschfeld's methodology that stands in the place of textual criticism and is

---

<sup>746</sup> Curtius 1895:377-8, Lehnerdt 1899:65-66, Rühl 1905:371. Hirschfeld's discussion of his preference for referring to the earliest culture of the western half of contemporary Turkey as Anatolian indicates that he follows the new British usage of Anatolia, a regional name just coming into archaeological publications in the 1880s (1885:45).

<sup>747</sup> Marchand 1996a:40-2, Whitley 2001:32-6, Donohue 2005:9-14.

<sup>748</sup> "Ich habe das durch strenge Beschränkung auf das Thatsächliche durchzuführen gesucht; denn dem Hypothetischen auf einem jetzt noch so unbegrenzten Felde einen Platz einzuräumen, erscheint gefährlich, weil es leicht ins Grenzenlose führt und geführt hat" (Hirschfeld 1885:4, italics added). The hesitation Hirschfeld expresses in this and the previous quotation about speculation within the field of prehistoric archaeology relates to the contentious debates on the Semitic and Indian origins of Greek culture that Hirschfeld participated in (Marchand 1996a:45-7).

<sup>749</sup> The classical archaeologist who first used the phrase "the philology of monuments," Eduard Gerhard, discusses how literary knowledge is the foundation of any archaeological study in his fourth and eighth theses (Gerhard 2004:173-4). See also Curtius 1895:383, Marchand 1996a:40-3, Schnapp 2004, Donohue 2005:3-14.

<sup>750</sup> "Einer detaillirten Beschreibung meiner Denkmäler und ihrer Analoga lasse ich die Schlüsse und Vergleiche folgen, welche sich ungezwungen zu ergeben schienen" (Hirschfeld 1885:4).

referenced in the phrase “the philology of monuments.” Both the detail of the description and its separation from the interpretation that follows lend authority to the interpretation, and, by association, to Hirschfeld’s standing as an academic archaeologist.<sup>751</sup>

Similar to other academic disciplines, classical archaeology has produced a language to enable communication among its practitioners, one that could be mastered during a course of study. Hirschfeld’s detailed description with its emphasis on an accurate descriptive vocabulary and quantification is an example of this language as found in the context of archaeological documentation. Although this documentary language fosters the production of archaeological knowledge as Hirschfeld intended, his assumption that this knowledge remains unchanging through time imparts to the reader a misleading sense of objectivity and disinterestedness.<sup>752</sup> The implication is that research on the rockcut tombs would lead to the same interpretation, regardless of who conducted the research or when it was done. The division of the treatise into separate chapters for description and interpretation also adds to the sense of the objectivity of the description, which stands untainted by comparisons and allows the real meaning of the tombs to emerge naturally. In Hirschfeld’s words the researcher becomes a *passive conduit* with the conclusions and comparisons flowing easily—“which seemed to unfold naturally”—out of the description. Similar positivist approaches, although perhaps not so inductive as

---

<sup>751</sup> Hirschfeld studied at the universities in Berlin, Tübingen, and Leipzig before completing his dissertation under Ernst Curtius at the University of Berlin in 1870. Between 1875 and 1877 he was the field director of the German excavations at Olympia where he worked with the architect Adolf Bötticher. His conversion to Christianity occurred in 1877 before his appointment in 1878 as a professor of archaeology at the University of Königsberg. His expedition to Paphlagonia was undertaken in the summer of 1882. Until his death in 1895 he fulfilled his professorial obligations in Königsberg and undertook other expeditions in Greece and western Ottoman territories. (Curtius 1895, Prutz 1895, Lehnerdt 1899, Rühl 1905.)

<sup>752</sup> Donohue 2005:17-9.

Hirschfeld's, characterized much of classical archaeology from the middle of the nineteenth through the middle of twentieth century as they attempted to systematically construct knowledge about the past. In Hirschfeld's German milieu this disinterested specialist knowledge was the product of *Altertumswissenschaft*, or what set scholars apart from antiquarian travelers.<sup>753</sup>

Regardless of the successes or drawbacks of Hirschfeld's chosen methodology, the question I would like to address first is whether any incompatibility existed between his assertions about his research and how he conducted it. Doubts about the objectivity of Hirschfeld's description begin in the introductory paragraph to the treatise. The reasoning appears circular when he says that the importance of the conclusion justifies the detail of the description. "The importance [*Wichtigkeit*], which must be conferred on these monuments in the end, may justify the detail of the description."<sup>754</sup> In other words, the more in depth the study is, the more significant the conclusion will be; the more significant the conclusion is, the more reasonable an even more detailed description would be. Inescapably, however, the supposed objectivity of Hirschfeld's methodology appears to be predicated on the concept that there is only one correct description and not more or less detailed descriptions. Despite its logical inconsistency, this introductory paragraph is clearly a statement addressing a problem that confronted his contemporaries:

---

<sup>753</sup> For a discussion of the beginning of *Altertumswissenschaft* and as practiced by Hirschfeld's professor Ernst Curtius, see Marchand (1996a:22-4, 77-83). See also Morris 1994:18-26. Curtius praises the balanced treatment of literary sources and monuments in Hirschfeld's *Altertumswissenschaft* in his obituary (1895:382). Hirschfeld's archaeological methodology is comparable to Eduard Meyer's historical methodology that Hauser has explored (2005:529-33), although Curtius and Meyer had several historical and philological differences (Marchand 1996a:108-9).

<sup>754</sup> "Die Wichtigkeit, welche diesen Denkmälern schließlich beigelegt werden muß, mag die Ausführlichkeit der Beschreibung rechtfertigen" (Hirschfeld 1885:4).



how to select what monuments to describe and interpret when faced with multiple possibilities?

Following the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, Hirschfeld allows subjectivity to enter his argument in his selection of monuments.<sup>755</sup> Central to this philosophy is the concept of value (*Werth*) that determines the importance (*Wichtigkeit*) that Hirschfeld attaches to the rockcut tombs. He refers to this concept in the quotation summarized above. “After more in depth study, but also in their relationship to other monuments in Asia Minor, it became clear that they seemed to earn gradually a *higher value* for answering a series of questions about the earliest national and cultural connections of the country.”<sup>756</sup> With the phrase earliest national and cultural connections (*älteste Volks- und Culturzusammenhänge*) Hirschfeld refers to the principal debate among his contemporaries between those arguing for the local origins of artistic traditions and those assigning more weight to foreign influence. The importance of the tombs to Hirschfeld resides in how they enable him to engage in this debate. Applying his empirical methodology, he regards the questions addressed in the debate as emerging gradually during the descriptive and comparative phases of research, and as leading to the most suitable conclusions. Although I would not like to make light of the difficulty of interpretation in a region where only antiquarian travelers had tread, I argue nonetheless

---

<sup>755</sup> Hauser discusses Kantian subjectivity in Hirschfeld’s contemporary Meyer (Hauser 2005:529-31).

<sup>756</sup> “Je mehr dieselben bei eindringenderem Studium aber auch in ihrem Verhältniss zu anderen Denkmälern Kleinasiens klar wurden, desto *höheren Werth* schienen sie allmählich für eine Reihe von Fragen über älteste Volks- und Culturzusammenhänge auf dem Boden des Landes zu gewinnen” (Hirschfeld 1885:3, italics added).

that Hirschfeld's interpretation of the tombs in response to the debate can be linked to the orientalist and imperialist preoccupations of his time about landscapes and nationality.<sup>757</sup>

## *ii. Imperialism: kaleidoscopic landscapes*

To understand Hirschfeld's contribution to this debate, *Paphlagonische Felsengräber* cannot be read separately from its companion, *Die Felsenreliefs in Kleinasien und das Volk der Hittiter*, published in 1887.<sup>758</sup> Hirschfeld divides Anatolia into the bounded lands of the northern mountains,<sup>759</sup> versus lands of passage of the Anatolian plateau and along the Aegean and Mediterranean shores.<sup>760</sup> The lands of passage are the subject of the later work, where Hirschfeld presents an argument for the heterogeneity of Anatolian sculpture and argues against identifying Hittite sculpture both in Kappadokia and around Karkamiš.<sup>761</sup> His concept of "lands of passage" influences his argument against

---

<sup>757</sup> The changes in the theoretical preferences of archaeologists, such as the rejection of positivism, have made Hirschfeld's separation of description from interpretation problematic. Although positivism may have ended with the demise of processualism, accurate description and representation still form the core of archaeological publications. I turn to the questions brought up by description and representation in the fifth chapter when discussing the Kalekapı tomb and multi-sited archaeology.

<sup>758</sup> *Die Felsenreliefs in Kleinasien und das Volk der Hittiter* begins with: "every attempt to clarify earliest national and cultural connections in the important land of Asia Minor has to begin with the monuments" ("jeder Versuch, die ältesten Volks- und Kulturzusammenhänge auf dem wichtigen Boden Kleasiens aufzuklären, hat bei den Monumenten zu beginnen" [1887a:5]).

<sup>759</sup> "There are countries, which nature so firmly bounds and has enclosed wholly that they seem predestined also to the development of a homogeneous nation and national life..." (es giebt Länder, welche die Natur selbst so fest umgrenzt und zu einer Einheit abgeschlossen hat, daß sie auch für die Entwicklung eines einheitlichen Volkes und Volkslebens vorausbestimmt scheinen...) [1897:1]). In more popular articles where the preceding quotation is drawn from, Hirschfeld's argument is more geographical; in *Paphlagonische Felsengräber*, the bounded character of Paphlagonia emerges in the discussion of Paphlagonian columns (1885:42-4).

<sup>760</sup> Yet other countries in the end are entirely built as transitional lands and places of passage..." ("noch andere endlich sind ganz vorgebildet als Übergangsländer, als Durchgangspunkte..." [ibid.:1]). Hirschfeld continues this statement with the comment that compared to all the countries in antiquity, Asia Minor is most similar to a passage or bridge (ibid.:1-7).

<sup>761</sup> Hirschfeld 1887a:45-72. Hirschfeld opposes the "hetitischen Kulturkreise" (1897:4, cf. 1880:407-8), Archibald Sayce's identification of Boğazköy as Hittite (1887a:45), and prefers the label Kappadokian; only Karkamiš is Hittite (ibid.:68-9).

homogeneity, and for a constantly changing colorful Anatolia that is a historical kaleidoscope.<sup>762</sup>

Both this concept and argument together participate in the German imperial discourse on Anatolia as a cosmopolitan bridge.<sup>763</sup> Whereas a comparable American discourse (cultivation of arable wilderness) emerged during territorial expansion, the discourse on the Ottoman Empire as bridge is coupled with German economic imperialism, particularly with the construction of the Baghdad railway.<sup>764</sup> Hirschfeld's orientalist perspective emerges in his discussion of the passive landscape and its people. The country is "a mediator between east and west, a bridge of peoples, on which east and west could approach each other for peaceful as well as hostile gauging of strength,"<sup>765</sup> and "Asiatic peoples because they differed in race and language, were not unified, and, therefore, could not oppose invading armies with any serious resistance."<sup>766</sup> Just as Hittites could not extend from Karabel near the Aegean to Boğazköy and Karkamiş, the Ottoman landscape and subjects were so cosmopolitan that they effectively formed a landscape without history and without people.

---

<sup>762</sup> Hirschfeld 1897:3-4.

<sup>763</sup> A second discourse that influences Hirschfeld's argument against a Hittite Anatolia is the rising anti-Semitism of late nineteenth century Germany. The Hittites were identified as Semites (contrary to the argument of Sayce 1881:282-7), and Anatolia would be a lesser imperial possession if it were Semitic. Hirschfeld was himself raised in a Jewish family but converted to Christianity in 1877, the year before his appointment as a professor in Königsberg (Singer and Frankfurter 1904:420, Rühl 1905:369).

<sup>764</sup> Marchand 1996b:298-9, Hauser 2004:155-61. The Germans did not have an exclusive hold on the Ottoman Empire as bridge discourse; the American James Henry Breasted's *ex orient lux* is coupled with writing on the bridge as an American military strategy in the Ottoman Empire (Mourad 2007:159-63). Carl Blegen's concise article on the bridge more fully adopts the bridge as the trope of Anatolian archaeology (1956).

<sup>765</sup> "Vermittlerin zu sein zwischen Ost und West, eine Brücke der Völker, auf der Orient und Occident einander nahen konnten zu friedlicher wie zu feindlicher Kraftmessung...." 1897:3.

<sup>766</sup> "...asiatischen Völkern, wie sie ihr Stamm und Sprache verschieden, ungeeignet waren und gerade deshalb einbrechenden Heeren keinen ernstlichen Widerstand entgegenzusetzen vermochten." 1897:4.

In Hirschfeld's cosmopolitanism, leaders, cultures, and people are constantly changing and migrating; people and places are separated from their history. Due to this mobility the Ottoman Empire becomes, through this discourse, a wide open landscape cleared for German expansion and constituted as an open space.<sup>767</sup> In practice, Hirschfeld's Kantian subjectivity leads not to a scholarship of value, but rather a scholarship in the service of imperial expansion. The characteristics that Hirschfeld's orientalist discourse holds against the Ottomans are the absence of exclusive and coextensive race, language, and land; in other words, the myth of universal nationalism is the foundation for his work.<sup>768</sup> Hirschfeld's more in depth discussion of nationalism and his application of its framework to archaeology, however, is reserved for his work on the bounded lands of the northern mountains, *Paphlagonische Felsengräber*.

### ***iii. Colonial nationalism: migrating tribes***

Hirschfeld's professor Ernst Curtius, when praising his student's qualities as a researcher, describes how he studies the entire life of the people under study. "As a researcher he grasped the undertaking of our time to make the science of antiquity independent of the incidental aspect of the literary sources and to conduct research on the entire life of humans on the ground in the country with its monuments."<sup>769</sup> With this comment, Curtius judges Hirschfeld's attempt to place the literary sources and

---

<sup>767</sup> This genealogy of the bridge is not discussed with a sufficiently critical approach in *Brückenland Anatolien* (Blum et al. 2002). Berman discusses additional examples of how German colonial discourses constitute landscapes beyond the Ottoman Empire (1998).

<sup>768</sup> On the contingency, and against the universal necessity of nations, and the dependency of normative nationalism on European industrialism, see Gellner 2006:5-7, 46-8. German industrialization is the foundation of German economic imperialism in the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>769</sup> "Hat er als Forscher die Aufgabe unsere Zeit erfaßt, die Alterthumswissenschaft von dem zufälligen Maße literarischer Ueberlieferung unabhängig zu machen und im Boden des Landes mit seinen Denkmälern das gesammte Leben der Menschen zu erforschen" (Curtius 1895:382).

monuments in context through fieldwork to be an admirable scholarly undertaking, an admirable application of *Altertumswissenschaft*. Hirschfeld's understanding of *Altertumswissenschaft* is, however, only one of several competing methodologies. His is none other than a methodology drawn from the work of Curtius's own professor, the philologist August Böckh, who advocated the study of antiquity in its entirety to more fully understand an ancient people's spirit, their *Volksgeist*.<sup>770</sup> For Böckh, monumental art, such as Paphlagonian rockcut tombs, was an expression of *Volksgeist*.<sup>771</sup>

Hirschfeld's interpretation of the Paphlagonian rockcut tombs also draws upon the work of another student of Böckh, Karl Otfried Müller, who adapted the concept of *Volksgeist* to the study of ancient Greek ethnicity and nationality.<sup>772</sup> In divergence from Müller's methodology as proposed, Hirschfeld does not in practice inductively locate Paphlagonian *Volksgeist* in the description of architectural style, when faced with the challenge of interpreting the rockcut tombs. The Paphlagonian *Volksgeist* is dislocated towards Hirschfeld's imperial and national *theoretical* concerns, and towards implicit knowledge drawn from the classical literary sources.<sup>773</sup> Although Hirschfeld never explicitly references these sources in the scholarly *Paphlagonische Felsengräber*, he assumes knowledge about the Paphlagonians derived from the sources in addition to his description of style. The first example of implicit knowledge is the geographical

---

<sup>770</sup> The historicism in Böckh's philology of things, *Sachphilologie*, stands in contrast to comparative studies of, for example, Hittites before the decipherment of Hittite cuneiform and Luwian hieroglyphic scripts. Hirschfeld's research on Paphlagonian rockcut tombs and Hittite rockcut reliefs placed him in the middle of historicist and comparative debates (1885, 1887a).

<sup>771</sup> Marchand 1996a:42-4.

<sup>772</sup> Müller's writings on the Dorians were influential in the creation of a nineteenth century German identity founded on its ancient—Dorian—past (Müller 1844, Marchand 1996a:46-7).

<sup>773</sup> In this chapter I prefer "theoretical" where others may prefer "ideological" because Hirschfeld explicitly argues for particular interpretations of imperialism and nationalism.

boundaries of where Paphlagonians live. “The series of rockcut tombs regarded so far is noticeably only in a relatively small region; the tombs can be called Paphlagonian after the landscape where they are most numerous.”<sup>774</sup> During the nineteenth century when the writings of classical poets, historians, and geographers were the traveler’s guide, and an education in the classics was a necessity, Hirschfeld’s assumption that the region is called Paphlagonia is not surprising.<sup>775</sup>

My earlier discussion highlighting the inconsistencies in the literary sources that refer to the place names and borders of Paphlagonia show Hirschfeld’s assumption to be unwarranted, however. Regardless of how the numerous conflicts are resolved,<sup>776</sup> Hirschfeld sidesteps the conflict by identifying the tombs as Paphlagonian, and by drawing a map of Paphlagonia with the distribution of the tombs known to him and with

---

<sup>774</sup> “Die bisher betrachtete Reihe von Felsengräbern findet sich, wie man bemerken wird, nur auf verhältnismässig kleinem Gebiete; nach der Landschaft, in welcher sie am zahlreichsten sind, sei es gestattet, dieselben paphlagonisch zu nennen” (Hirschfeld 1885:28).

<sup>775</sup> Unlike some classical and Byzantine regional names, such as Anadolu/Anatolia (Taeschner and Louis 1960), that continued to be employed in the nineteenth century by Ottomans and foreigners but with shifting meanings, Paphlagonia disappeared after the end of the Byzantine Empire, except in the Greek Orthodox patriarchate. The county of Kastamonu was the region more or less coterminous with Hirschfeld’s understanding of Paphlagonia during the late Ottoman period (Cuinet 2001).

<sup>776</sup> Solutions to the conflict in the literary references have been diverse in earlier historians; archaeologists have showed less concern. Ruge seeks to make sense of the discrepancy between *Paphlagonies* around the Parthenios river in the west, yet also around the Halys river in the east, and other numerous conflicting descriptions of the borders of Paphlagonia. He also distinguishes between descriptions of the political and ethnographic borders (Ruge and Bittel 1949:2489-94 [see 2491 on political and ethnographic borders]). Another historian of Paphlagonia, Saprykin, resolves the discrepancies by dating the references to different periods and understanding the Paphlagonians as an ethnic group that migrates around northern Anatolia from the second millennium down to the Hellenistic period (1991 [see 241-3 on migration between the late second millennium and the second quarter of the first millennium]). Saprykin belongs to the Soviet tradition of scholars working on Paphlagonia. His scholarship on the ethnogenesis of the Paphlagonians is similar to that of Hirschfeld and other German scholars only in so far as he writes on ethnicity and nationality. Not only does Soviet scholarship on ethnicity and nationality have different emphases, it also has not had an impact on contemporary scholarship on Paphlagonia outside of former Soviet countries. For a discussion of Soviet and now Russian scholarship on ethnicity and nationality, see Shnirelman (1996).

accurate boundaries between the groups (**fig. 48**).<sup>777</sup> The distribution of the Paphlagonian tombs, when compared to the other rockcut monuments in Anatolia, clarifies the southern border of Paphlagonia: with the Phrygians in the southwest and the “so-called” Hittites to the southeast.<sup>778</sup> Hirschfeld identifies rockcut tombs as distinctive to Anatolia, and the national burial type among the Phrygians and Paphlagonians.<sup>779</sup> In *Paphlagonische Felsengräber*, an implicit knowledge of historical geography drawn from literary sources is coupled with Hirschfeld’s description to support his mapping of the distribution of a rockcut burial type within the theoretical framework of national boundaries with contained ethnic groups.

The second example of implicit knowledge derived from classical literary sources is the primitive and indigenous character of the Paphlagonian nation and, by extrapolation, their rockcut tombs. Hirschfeld states that these qualities become apparent through his descriptions and comparisons, when discussing the importance of the earliest national and cultural connections in his introductory paragraph as earlier quoted. Then again, in the interpretive section of his treatise, he reiterates how lucky he is to have chanced upon a series of monuments that let him address these connections:

“I argue against the conclusion [that Anatolian columns imitated Greek ones] with several observations on the relationship of our tombs to other ancient monuments of Asia Minor. With continuing supplements and investigations, this argument will just increase in significance ever more; accordingly, from these we ought to expect, if very unusual

---

<sup>777</sup> In his summary of the process of drawing the boundary (*Trennungslinie*), Hirschfeld insists that he is confident in its course, “although both groups [of monuments] trespass at individual points” (“obgleich beide Gruppen an einzelnen Punkten in einander greifen...” [1887a:5]).

<sup>778</sup> The map’s “sogen. hittische Denkmäler” refers to Hirschfeld’s argument against the Hittite Empire hypothesis of Sayce (Hirschfeld 1885:44-5; 1887a:5-9, 45-72; Sayce 1881:266-9).

<sup>779</sup> Hirschfeld 1885:28-30. A reminder of the limited knowledge of the archaeology of Anatolia in 1885—Hirschfeld relies on Georges Perrot for Pontic and Phrygian comparisons (1872, 1983 reprint)—is Hirschfeld’s comment that the tumulus was the primitive national type of Aeolia but scarce in Phrygia.

and unexpected fortuitous coincidences have not happened, the most information on the oldest national and cultural currents of the country.”<sup>780</sup>

In contrast to Hirschfeld’s attribution of the suitability of the rockcut tombs for an inquiry into national and cultural influences to fortuitous coincidences, the suitability is primarily a consequence of his imperial and national theoretical framework. Secondly, the Homeric and Herodotean references to the Paphlagonians support Hirschfeld’s theoretical inclination to find them as primitive and indigenous.

More than implicit classical knowledge, however, Hirschfeld’s interpretation of the Paphlagonian tombs derives from a particularly pernicious orientalist combination of his division of Anatolia into remote mountainous lands and lands of passage, and Müller’s concepts of the Volksgeist and the “migration of the Dorians” (*Einwanderung von den Doriern*).<sup>781</sup> In contrast to the lands of passage, the northern mountains, bounded by the forested slopes and ports few and far along the Black Sea, a Paphlagonian nation could emerge, but this landscape also hindered national development. In similarity to the lands of passage, Hirschfeld’s orientalist perspective emerges in the framework of his nationalist discourse. Paphlagonians are the most “Asiatic” of the Anatolia nations, yet they are not indolent, rather they recall the “so-called savages of Central Africa!”<sup>782</sup>

---

<sup>780</sup> “An den Schluss stelle ich einige Bemerkungen über das Verhältniss unserer Denkmäler zu andern alten Monumenten Kleinasiens; bei fortgesetzter Vermehrung und Prüfung wird gerade dieser Punkt an Wichtigkeit immer mehr zunehmen; von diesem aus haben wir, wenn nicht ganz besondere und unerwartete Glückszufälle eintreten, am meisten Belehrung über die ältesten Volksströmungen und Kulturströmungen des Landes zu erwarten” (Hirschfeld 1885:44-5).

<sup>781</sup> Müller 1844, vol. 2:85, passim.

<sup>782</sup> “It is noteworthy enough for these parts, which we present to ourselves as civilized in antiquity, that those descriptions seem to us as when we now read of the so-called savages in Central Africa” (“es ist bemerkenswert genug für jene Teile, die wir als altcivilisiert uns vorzustellen pflegen, daß jene Beschreibungen uns anmuten, als wenn wir jetzt von den sogenannten Wilden Central-afrikas lesen” [1897:7]).



“Wandering tribes of extreme ferocity, they were almost naked...;”<sup>783</sup> Hirschfeld’s discourse follows with their futile resistance and subsequent development assisted by the civilizing effect of the colonizing Greeks. Hirschfeld’s representation of the Paphlagonians has all the standard characteristics of a colonial discourse that constructs a primitive ethnicity not developed enough for a nation to emerge.<sup>784</sup>

#### *iv. Hirschfeld’s invention*

A century and a quarter after its publication, rather than an exemplary application of disinterested specialist knowledge, *Paphlagonische Felsengräber* shows its author to have been an archaeologist eager to write on contemporary intellectual preoccupations. From the introductory summary of his realist methodology to his discussion of the Hittite Empire and the origins of Paphlagonian architecture and style, Hirschfeld participated in the heated debates and contributed research based on difficult fieldwork.

Hirschfeld’s interpretations soon entered the canon of Anatolian archaeology. In 1892 Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez in their general survey of Anatolian art included a section on the “Tombs in Paphlagonia” summarizing the work of Hirschfeld in their chapter on Phrygia (**fig. 49**).<sup>785</sup> Hirschfeld’s published interpretations, however, never shake the theoretical framework of German economic imperialism and colonial nationalism. Simultaneously, he participates in the stigmatizing of the Ottoman subjects, particularly in the northern mountains, and he empties the landscape of people able to

---

<sup>783</sup> The Greek mercenaries of Xenophon encountered “...wandernden Völkerschaften von der äußersten Wildheit..., sie gingen fast nackt...” (ibid.:7).

<sup>784</sup> E.g. Chatterjee’s critique of nationalism and development (1999b:1-6).

<sup>785</sup> Perrot and Chipiez interpret the tombs as derived from Greek temple façades introduced to Paphlagonia from Sinope (1892:192-211). The Paphlagonian rockcut tombs continue to be covered in surveys of Anatolian art; see Akurgal 1955a, Fedak 1990.

oppose German expansion. Both his intellectual preoccupations and theoretical framework negate his archaeological interpretations of the Paphlagonian tombs, particularly his dating of the tombs to the seventh century. In addition to the 5 tombs discussed in the following section, the catalog has entries on 10 more rockcut columnar tombs that I date to the Hellenistic period: Durağan Ambarkaya (**A.3**), Aygırkayası (**C.8**), Evkayası (**C.18**), Karakoyunlu (**E.1**), Beşdut (**I.8**), İskilip (**I.12**), Kargı Ambarkaya (**I.17**), and Zindankaya (**I.18**). Three of these tombs (**C.18**, **E.1**) are not stylistically similar to the other 7, and 3 more of the tombs have plain shafts and simple façades. Many other rockcut tombs are spread across the landscape of Paphlagonia and further east on the Black Sea Coast and in the bend of the Kızılırmak. The tombs are too diachronic (but mostly Hellenistic and Roman), too unevenly distributed, and too divergent in style to support their assemblage. If I may paraphrase Gellner's quotation on nationalism,<sup>786</sup> Paphlagonia is not Hirschfeld's awakening of a nation to self-consciousness: he invented a nation where it did not exist—but it does need some pre-existing differentiating marks to work on, namely its rockcut tombs.

While both the boundedness of Paphlagonia and the indigenesness of its inhabitants are part of Hirschfeld's fabrication of the national borders of Paphlagonia and his representation of a primitive Paphlagonian ethnicity, both ideas are bound up in a broader argument of the interpretive section of the treatise. This section is occupied with an argument about the local origins of Anatolian artistic traditions, and artistic influences traveling first from the east to the Aegean then from the Aegean to Anatolia. Similar to

---

<sup>786</sup> "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist—but it does need some pre-existing differentiating marks to work on...." (Gellner 1964:168).

the classical literary sources, the scholarly preoccupation with the search for origins predisposed Hirschfeld to finding the Paphlagonians primitive and indigenous. The search for origins among classical art historians and archaeologists led, in the nineteenth century, to the search for the origins of architecture. As mentioned above it is the Paphlagonian rockcut tombs that enable Hirschfeld to engage in this debate on origins. His argument proceeds in stages from a demonstration, first, that the tombs imitate wooden architecture, and, second, that they imitate houses and not temples. Subsequently, he develops the relationship between Paphlagonian tombs and Greek architecture. I argue that Hirschfeld's interest in this debate influenced his dating and that the debate has a lingering influence on subsequent scholars. Achaemenid dates—dates that are too early—persist in the most recent analysis of the tombs by Eray Dökü: Terelikkayası (**A.1**) is placed in the fourth century, Salarköy (**A.9**) in the second half of the fifth century, and Kapıkaya and Asarkale (**J.14**) before the third century tombs at Amasya.<sup>787</sup> I date all five tombs to the period from the middle of the third century to the middle of the first century B.C.E. In the following section, therefore, I review a few of the Hellenistic tombs that have been identified as Achaemenid.

---

<sup>787</sup> Terelikkayası (Dökü 2008:115-6), Salarköy (ibid.:114-5), and Kapıkaya and Asarkale (ibid.:119).

## ***B. Hellenistic tombs***

### ***i. Kannenberg***

German military surveyors working in the lower Kızılırmak Valley were soon adding to the inventory of published Paphlagonian rockcut tombs.<sup>788</sup> Karl Kannenberg in 1895 published descriptions and measured drawings of the three tombs with multiple columns at Kapıkaya and Asarkale (located on either bank of the Kızılırmak where it debouches from the Küre mountains onto its delta south of Bafra [J.14]) and one upstream at Ambarkaya near Durağan (on an outcrop overlooking the confluence of the Kızılırmak with the Gökırmak [A.3]) and another at Terelikkayası nearby (A.1). Additionally, Kannenberg published concise descriptions of simpler double and single columned tombs in the Kızılırmak catchment from Durağan upstream to Çankırı.<sup>789</sup>

Kannenberg and the other military surveyors have comprehensive geographic interests encompassing the biology, geology, and ethnography, in addition to archaeology, of the Kızılırmak landscape.<sup>790</sup> Not surprisingly, they see this landscape through an imperial gaze, and the emphasis of their descriptions is on itineraries and nodes of control, in other words, passage. Their descriptions are accompanied with sketches that represent just this imperial gaze on the landscape. Because of the placing of rockcut tombs near gorges and forts, in other words, narrowed itineraries and nodes of control, the surveyors often sketched the tombs (**fig. 50**). Although Kannenberg shared

---

<sup>788</sup> Prittwitz und Gaffron 1894; Kannenberg 1894, 1895a, 1895b, 1897; Flottwell 1895; Maercker 1899.

<sup>789</sup> Kannenberg 1895a.

<sup>790</sup> Kannenberg 1895a, 1895b, 1897.

the imperial gaze of Hirschfeld<sup>791</sup> and was only an amateur classical archaeologist,<sup>792</sup> the distribution of tombs leads Kannenberg to be very skeptical of Hirschfeld's interpretation. Kannenberg argued that the more southerly tombs belonged to the elites of the Hellenistic Paphlagonian kingdom centered in Gangra (Çankırı).<sup>793</sup> The more northerly tombs dated after the establishment of a colony at Sinope (Sinop).<sup>794</sup> All of the tombs are imitative with poor comprehension of the original Greek façade, and, consequently, are degenerate and done in poor taste.<sup>795</sup> When gazing on the Paphlagonian landscape with tombs, therefore, Kannenberg is seeing the degenerate imitation of the Greek architecture that is Germany's artistic inheritance.<sup>796</sup>

## *ii. Terelikkayası (A.1)*

Although Kannenberg's article on the Paphlagonian rockcut tombs leaves an unpleasant aftertaste on the tongue, one positive consequence of the surveyors' expedition and two perceptive conclusions of Kannenberg's article are worthy of mention. The consequence, not the least significant of the three, is the surveyors'

---

<sup>791</sup> Hirschfeld himself often traveled with military officers (e.g. Lehnerdt 1899:67) and edited the Ottoman letters of field marshal Helmuth von Moltke ([1893]1917).

<sup>792</sup> Although Kannenberg says they found the Asarkale and Kapıkaya tombs, Fourcade mentions but does not describe or draw them (Kannenberg 1894:190, Fourcade 1811:41). The German surveyors' measured drawings of the tombs are the only documentation of the tombs (Asarkale and Kapıkaya: Kannenberg 1895a:102 fig. 1, 103 fig. 2, 104 fig. 3, Flottwell 1895:21; Hambarkaya near Durağan: Kannenberg 1895a:106 fig. 5; Terelikkayası: Kannenberg 1894:189, *ibid.*:105 fig. 4). Kannenberg drew a comparison of the proportions of the porch columns (1895a:106 fig. 6).

<sup>793</sup> *Ibid.*:106-7.

<sup>794</sup> *Ibid.*:120-5.

<sup>795</sup> Similarities between Paphlagonian and Greek style "must be regarded as Greek imitations and not as Greek models" ("...als griechische Nachahmungen und nicht als griechische Vorbilder ansehen müssen...") [Kannenberg 1895a:122]. Kannenberg supports his argument by referencing Perrot's description of Gerdekkayası near Alaca as "degenerate Greek forms" ("entartete griechische Formen" [*ibid.*:122]), and concludes his article with a comment about the poor taste (*Geschmacklosigkeit*) of İskilip tomb 4 (*ibid.*:124).

<sup>796</sup> Fuhrmann 2002:5-7, Marchand 2009.

documentation of the tombs; few of the archaeologists to subsequently study the rockcut tombs in the Kızılırmak Valley published reworked measured drawings.<sup>797</sup>

Terelikkayası is one of the German surveyors' newly documented tombs, unknown to Hirschfeld. The tomb is cut in a marble outcrop downstream of the confluence of the Gökırmak with the Kızılırmak (**fig. 51a**).<sup>798</sup> The smoothed vertical surface of the outcrop surrounding the triple columned porch is irregular, and the sculptor placed the principle composition, Herakles fighting the lion, to the west of center (**fig. 51b**). According to Kannenberg, the Greek origin of the Herakles composition demonstrates that Hirschfeld's argument on the indigenous character of the Paphlagonia tombs is erroneous.<sup>799</sup> Kannenberg separates the Paphlagonian tombs into five known groups, and interprets each according to historical sources: the fourth group belongs to the Hellenistic Paphlagonians of Gangra, the groups nearer Sinope are more Greek, and so on.<sup>800</sup> All of the tombs, however, correspond to a settlement pattern of hereditary Paphlagonian chieftains that possess a fort and its surrounding lands.<sup>801</sup> Kannenberg's conclusions about Terelikkayası and the historical contingency of each group are perceptive critiques of Hirschfeld; however, his emphasis on the tombs as imitative has led to misconceptions.

---

<sup>797</sup> The Terelikkayası tomb was covered with cornelian cherry trees in 1893 when Kannenberg was surveying; the architect and archaeologist Mahmut Akok measured the tomb in 1944 (Gökoğlu 1952:59 fig. 9). I have adapted von Gall's drawing with new drawings of the sculpture. With a permit in hand solely for the façade of Kalekapı, I only documented Kalekapı with single point photogrammetry.

<sup>798</sup> A marble quarry is located approximately 500 m to the north. Kannenberg comments that Terelikkayası must be on the route east to Vezirköprü from the Gökırmak Valley (1895:103-4).

<sup>799</sup> Gökoğlu concludes the opposite: "We too [as Leonhard] believe that this rockcut tomb, which does not show any aspect of Greek influence, was built in the middle of the seventh century BC by the Paphlagonians...." ("Hiç bir veçhile Yunan tesiri göremediğimiz bu kaya mezarının (M. Ö. 7) yüz yılın ortalarında Paflagonyalı'lar tarafından yapıldığına biz de inanıyoruz...." [1952:60]).

<sup>800</sup> Kannenberg 1895:102-7.

<sup>801</sup> Kannenberg 1894:190.

The observation most often repeated of the sculptures of Terelikkayası is their asymmetrical arrangement.<sup>802</sup> The Herakles composition is centered over the western intercolumnar space with a so-called frontal Matar relief centered over the eastern column, and a single couchant lion in the eastern corner of the porch. Neither the Herakles nor the lion are balanced in position or scale. Examination of the outcrop itself reveals that the Herakles composition fills the entire available ground, and a recess in the outcrop frames the Herakles figure on the east (**fig. 52a**). Consequently, the outcrop restricts a composition that is not of a standing Herakles,<sup>803</sup> but a crouching Herakles similar to the rockcut tomb at Salarköy that is discussed in the next section.

The placement of the lion, additionally, accommodates a ledge cut above the westernmost column; a similar ledge was cut above the central column. Both ledges clearly were cut for the placement of sculpture long since missing that complemented the sphinx ‘capital’ on the easternmost column (**fig. 52b**). From Kannenberg’s publication through more recent scholarship, this relief has been interpreted as a Matar figure with raised arms.<sup>804</sup> After comparison with the winged bull capitals of Salarköy (**fig. 54**) and the sphinxes framing the central figure at Kastamonu (**figs. 55**), however, the undeniable conclusion emerges that the Terelikkayası figure is a kneeling sphinx capital that would have been complemented by what was placed on the ledges. Similar to other rockcut tombs, Terelikkayası was never completed: the sphinx capital was begun but the porch

---

<sup>802</sup> E.g. von Gall 1966a:85.

<sup>803</sup> Earlier in my research I thought that the Hellenistic popularity of the standing Herakles with lion dated Terelikkayası later than the crouching Herakles at Salarköy (Felton 1990:20 Herakles IV.B.1.b.iii, Salis:32-4, Künzl 1968:70-83).

<sup>804</sup> Kannenberg 1894:189-90; Kannenberg 1895:105; Leonhard 1915:244, 249, 267; Gökoğlu 1952:58-9; von Gall 1965:82, Dökü 2008:66-7.

ceiling was not raised, and, as an alternative, a Herakles and the lion relief was carved.<sup>805</sup> Kannenberg's imperial disposition to see asymmetrical reliefs led him to find degenerate Greek imitations entangled in an Anatolian burial practices, rather than to find the process of sculptural technique at the outcrop.<sup>806</sup> The Terelikkayası tomb is difficult to date because the influence of the bedrock on the process of carving and the absence of a adjacent settlement. The tomb is similar to the tomb at Salarköy, and the two are likely to be of the same date.

### *iii. Salarköy (A.9)*

At Salarköy, a Hellenistic and Roman settlement spreads across a terrace to the north and northwest of a ridge on the southern flank of the Gökırmak Valley, approximately 40 km upstream from its confluence with the Kızılırmak.<sup>807</sup> The principle tomb is cut into the north facing cliff of the ridge; cuttings for a gate and wall foundations of fortifications, a stepped tunnel, and a simple second tomb are also present on the ridge (**fig. 53**). The Terelikkayası tomb shares with the Salarköy tomb the triple columned porch with winged capitals and the composition with Herakles in profile and the lion's head seen from above. At Salarköy, however, the Herakles and lion figures are carved in higher relief and set within a pediment crowned with acroteria: an eagle framed by striding lions in profile in the center with forward facing lions on the corners. Despite these differences, the Terelikayası and Salarköy tombs spin a web of similarities among a

---

<sup>805</sup> Only one of the benches in the burial chamber is completed; the entrance to the chamber is between the western columns. The process of carving Kalekapı is discussed in depth in the fifth chapter.

<sup>806</sup> Kannenberg 1894:190. This interpretation persists because of the identification of Matar as Anatolian and indigenous.

<sup>807</sup> Doonan measures the settlement as approximately 5 ha (1999:231). The Early Bronze Age is also present (Dönmez 2000:231).



number of tombs: from Terelikkayası to the sphinxes in the pediment of the Evkayası tomb in Kastamonu (**C.18**) and to the couchant lions resting in front of the porch at Ambarkaya east of Kargı (**I.17**), and to the bull capitals in İskilip tomb 4 (**I.12**). This web of similarities is, in all probability, a contemporaneous distribution of settlements with associated fortifications, and, for each settlement, not more than a few columnar tombs.

Additionally, the Salarköy tomb spins a web of similarities with the fourth century Achaemenid Kalekapı tomb situated 60 km further upstream: the eagle with pair of opposed lions, Herakles and the lion, and similar columns with bull capitals. What differs are features at Salarköy that are drawn from Greek temple design, such as the pedimental sculpture in high relief, acroteria, an increased number of columns, and coffers in the portico ceiling. The tomb's particular allusion to the Kalekapı tomb suggests a Hellenistic leader's display of affiliation to the occupant of the Kalekapı tomb. Rather than belonging to the Achaemenid period, the Salarköy and Terelikkayası tombs exemplify the emulation of an Achaemenid dynastic symbol by a wider group and a devolution and dissemination of the tombs' signification. These later tombs belong to a group of Hellenistic—and even Roman—features that allude to the local Achaemenid heritage, such as the bull statues compared by Robert Donceel to the bull capitals of the tombs.<sup>808</sup> The continuation of Achaemenid features is partly due to the policy of the Mithridatic kings of referring to their Achaemenid ancestry and partly due to a wider

---

<sup>808</sup> Donceel 1983b; additional statues published by Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996:283.

popularity of Achaemenid features through the Hellenistic period.<sup>809</sup> As the Achaemenid rockcut tombs remained visible through the Hellenistic and later periods they also had an afterlife that reverberated in later tombs and bull statues.

#### *iv. Asarkale and Kapıkaya (J.14)*

The three tombs with multiple columns at Asarkale and Kapıkaya present a second aspect of the adaptation and dissemination of the column proportions known by their example at Kalekapı. Facing each other on either bank of the Kızılırmak where it debouches from the Küre Mountains onto its delta, two tombs were cut into striking high cliffs on the left bank upstream of Asarköy, and another into a mirroring cliff upstream from Kapıkaya köyü (**figs. 56-8**). Similar to Salarköy, these tombs are carved into bedrock that survey a landscape often presumed to be an itinerary, and the tombs are associated with a fort. The Kapıkaya cliff is not named after the tomb, but a spectacular natural arch crowning its summit.<sup>810</sup> The fort associated with the Asarkale and Kapıkaya tombs and guarding the first gorge upstream of the delta has received the attention of archaeologists, but the evidence of ceramics is poor on account of the walls of a Byzantine fort. In Önder Bilgi's survey of the walls of the fort, the standing lower courses indicate unbonded ashlar Hellenistic masonry below the Byzantine bonded rubble and brick masonry.<sup>811</sup>

Von Gall dates the tombs by their heavy column proportions to the fifth century: the eastern Asarkale tomb cut in the fortress cliff has five columns and a shallow inset

---

<sup>809</sup> Erciyas 2006, Matthews 2009.

<sup>810</sup> Kannenberg describes a tunnel not associated with a fort on the far side from the river (1895).

<sup>811</sup> Bilgi 1999a:38, 47-49; von Gall lists a stepped tunnel (1967b:513 no. 12).

pedimental façade with corner acroteria; the upper Asarkale and the Kapıkaya tombs have four columns and a smoothed plain façades. Dökü extends von Gall's date down to the end of the fourth century based on comparison to the multiple columned royal tombs in Amasya. Dökü's comparison is a step in the right direction, but it does not go far enough. Rather than arguing that the Kapıkaya and Asarkale tombs influence the later royal tombs, as Dökü does, I would argue that the third century royal tomb of Mithridates I with six columns influences the three Asarkale and the Kapıkaya tombs (**fig. 59**). The third century rockcut tomb of Mithridates II also had four columns and a pediment, as well as the early second century tomb of Mithridates III.<sup>812</sup> Although the tombs at Asarkale and Kapıkaya are the last to be covered in the inventory, the argument for their Hellenistic date is the strongest, particularly the five columned porch with pediment.<sup>813</sup> The only aspect of the tombs that appears to support an earlier date, their column proportions, is a consequence of viewing Paphlagonian tombs as primitive.

The network of connections that the Asarkale and Kapıkaya tombs spin with other tombs with multiple columns in stocky proportions is much more extensive than Paphlagonia: from Ünye east of the Çarşamba delta, to Gerdekkaya in the bend of the Kızılırmak, and Güverncik in Kappadokia.<sup>814</sup> After the critique of the concept of the Paphlagonian tombs as indigenous, their broad distribution demonstrates that this

---

<sup>812</sup> Fleischer 2009:112-3 fig. 4, 115 s.v. tomb A (Mithridates I), tomb B (Mithridates II), and tomb D (Mithridates III). The later tombs in Amasya have an arched façade.

<sup>813</sup> The burial chambers also support this date. The tomb in the Asarkale fortress cliff has a slightly vaulted ceiling, a bench, a kline with a turned leg, and two square tables. The tomb to the west of the Asarkale fortress has an L-shaped double bench with two depressions with semi-circular arcs around the head and two square tables. The burial chamber of the Kapıkaya tomb is unfinished.

<sup>814</sup> Von Gall interprets these tombs as belonging to ethnic Paphlagonians (1966a); Dökü associates them with the Hellenistic spread of Paphlagonian tombs under the Mithridatic Kingdom (2008).

network has less to do with a Paphlagonian identity and more with burial practices in the Hellenistic period. Above all, it would far more productive to adopt a multi-sited approach in order to understand the signification of each tomb and the broader pattern together, but this is the subject of another dissertation based on extensive site-based fieldwork and not extensive surveys.<sup>815</sup>

### *C. The twentieth century*

Despite the critique of Kannenberg, the predilection to see Paphlagonian tombs as early, or at least as early as Hirschfeld was strong and reemerged in the later writings. A similarly broad perspective, but with more emphasis on the regional settlements that are absent in more narrow scholarly studies such as von Gall's survey of the tombs, is characteristic of the work of the Jesuit missionary teacher Guillaume de Jerphanion, who investigated similar tombs during his residence between 1903 and 1907 in Tokat.<sup>816</sup> Sharing interpretive interests with Hirschfeld, Jerphanion comments that "the similarities between the monument types proves that they were built by populations of the same race and culture." Jerphanion dated to the fourth millennium rockcut tunnels and tombs in the Kızılırmak Valley and eastward that are thought at present to be Hellenistic.<sup>817</sup> Whereas Hirschfeld's interest in the earliest inhabitants of Anatolia led him to date the Paphlagonian rockcut tombs three centuries too early—the earliest tombs date to the fourth century—Jerphanion's similar interests led him to date the rockcut features four

---

<sup>815</sup> Erciyas struggled with the limitations of the publications of extensive surveys in her dissertation on the Mithidatic Kingdom (2006).

<sup>816</sup> Jerphanion 1928, Luisier 1998, von Gall 1966a.

<sup>817</sup> Jerphanion 1928:28-9.

millennia too early. Hirschfeld's dating of the tombs was not revised until von Gall researched the Paphlagonian rockcut tombs in the 1960s.<sup>818</sup>

*i. Anthropogeography and Leonhard*

Hirschfeld's interpretation of the rockcut tombs was largely adopted by the next German to turn his attention to Paphlagonia, Richard Leonhard. A geographer, Leonhard explored the region in 1899, 1900, and 1903. Even though he was more thorough in his exploration and published many previously undocumented archaeological sites, he was an archaeological amateur. The first third of his treatise is a travelogue followed by a series of chapters on diverse subjects from cartography and geological tectonics to Paphlagonian rockcut tombs and ethnography. Similar to Hirschfeld, Leonhard throughout his professional life stood in the shadow of his far more famous professor, Joseph Partsch, whose position at Breslau he inherited when Partsch left for Leipzig.<sup>819</sup> A notable contribution of Partsch was to bring prestige to his young discipline by marrying it to *Altertumwissenschaft*. Leonhard in his own research worked mostly in the Aegean, with Paphlagonia being the furthest east he explored.

Additionally, Partsch and Leonhard owe their broader geographical methodology to Friedrich Ratzel and his writings on anthropogeography, where he developed the concept of *Lebensraum*. Ratzel was able to develop his interest in the *Volk* (nation or ethnic group) and its relationship to its environment in this particular paradigm. How Leonhard combines his discussion of the Paphlagonian tombs and other archaeological sites with their contemporary geology and ethnography is attributable to Ratzel's theories on human

---

<sup>818</sup> Von Gall's treatise on the Paphlagonian rockcut tombs was his doctoral research (1966a). Because he failed to obtain the necessary permits, he became a *persona non grata* within Turkish archaeology.

<sup>819</sup> Partsch 1916.

geography. In his study of Paphlagonian monumental tombs, Leonhard seeks out the Greek, Phrygian, Assyrian, and other ethnic elements, but asserts above all that “in the Paphlagonian rockcut tombs is imitated a house ... still occurring today.”<sup>820</sup> In other words, he asserts that what it means to be Paphlagonian is vernacular and constant over two thousand years.<sup>821</sup> Similar to the philologically educated Hirschfeld and his *Volksgeist*, the geographer Leonhard finds himself addressing similar questions about the Paphlagonians.

Despite subsequent scholars’ corroboration and refinement of Hirschfeld’s and Leonhard’s definitions and mapping of the region, their ideological foundations are often overlooked. Numerous publications in the past decade have studied the relationship between archaeology as a field of knowledge construction within the context of both nationalism and colonialism.<sup>822</sup> Hirschfeld’s discussion of national types is an extension of the ideology of national liberalism and the regionalism of the German empire onto its neo-colonial possession, the Ottoman Empire. Both Hirschfeld’s and Leonhard’s methodologies are dependent on both the regionalism and particularism of local politics in the German empire and its imperial policies in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>823</sup> A rather narrow difference exists between the geographer’s cartography and an epigrapher’s historical geography; both are colonial projects of mapping an occupied landscape.<sup>824</sup> Many scholars now dispute Edward Said’s statement that Germany had no “protracted,

---

<sup>820</sup> Leonhard 1915:242 (“in den »paphlagonischen Felsgräbern« is ein Wohnhaus nachgebildet worden ... noch heute vorkommende”).

<sup>821</sup> Cf. Hamilakis 2002:6-7.

<sup>822</sup> For example, Özdoğan 1998, Thomas 2004.

<sup>823</sup> Smith 1991:219-33, White 1996.

<sup>824</sup> If the Ottoman empire had been further Balkanized in the early twentieth century, Europeans could have established the nation of Paphlagonia.

sustained *national* interest” in the Ottoman Empire, although, at the same time, they concede that Said shores up his argument by qualifying this statement with “during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century.”<sup>825</sup> Where Said lies open to criticism is in his excuse for not studying German orientalism. “The German Orient was almost exclusively scholarly, or at least a classical, Orient,” where German scholarship extended “a kind of intellectual *authority* over the Orient.”<sup>826</sup> My analysis of Hirschfeld’s writing demonstrates how German scholarship did not bear an imprecise kind of authority, but rather that a precise kind of nationalism appeared in the universalizing gesture of German imperial scholarship.<sup>827</sup>

## ***ii. Translating Leonhard: Gökoğlu***

The purpose of the Turkish project of nationalism in the late Ottoman Empire through the middle of the twentieth century, nonetheless, had very similar aims, and the archaeology practiced by the Ottomans and Turks followed the precedents set by the European travelers and archaeologists who had defined the discipline.<sup>828</sup> Mehmet Behçet was the first to publish on the archaeology of Kastamonu with his *Kastamonu; âsar-i kadimesi* in 1925. Local epigraphical research and the publications of travelers formed the basis for a short catalog of artifacts in the local museum.

---

<sup>825</sup> Said 1978:19, italics in original.

<sup>826</sup> Ibid.:19.

<sup>827</sup> For recent revisions of Said’s discussion of orientalism, see Marchand (1996a:188-227, 1996b, on German philhellenic orientalism), Makdisi (2002, on Ottoman orientalism in Lebanon), Sensenig-Dabbous (2004, on German orientalism in Austria), and Polaschegg (2005:241-75, on German philhellenism as an orientalist gesture).

<sup>828</sup> See Makdisi on the internal orientalism of the Ottomans in Lebanon (2002) and Meeker on nationalism in Trabzon (2002). Kastamonu, as a center of Young Turk activity and Kemalist reforms, underwent just such a nationalist transformation.

The provincial museum director Ahmet Gökoğlu published a comprehensive catalog of all known sites in the province and artifacts in the museum in 1952. Entitled *Paphlagonia (Paflagonya); gayri menkul eski eserleri ve arkeolojisi* Gökoğlu's catalogue exemplifies the practice adopted by many in the province of Kastamonu of equating with Paphlagonia the ancient culture within the borders of the contemporary province. The re-imagination of the Paphlagonia of German scholarship into Turkish national historical tradition is, in Gökoğlu's catalog and article length publications on Paphlagonian rockcut tombs, a rather straightforward process reflected in the catalog's title itself: *Paphlagonia (Paflagonya)*. The interpretations of rockcut tombs in the articles are near translations of Leonhard's interpretations, and lengthy quotations are spread throughout the catalog.<sup>829</sup>

Even considering the shared nationalism of Leonhard and Gökoğlu, the smoothness of this process of translation is surprising. Particularly surprising is the mapping of the classical toponyms onto the Ottoman landscape.<sup>830</sup> Because the Germans claimed Hellenic legacy, this mapping is the very epitome of imperial appropriation through the redefinition of Ottoman lands as Hellenic. An explanation emerges in two conflicting processes at work in the late Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Turkish Republic. The first was a process of westernization and the second was the invention of a narrative to rebind Turks to their land in the face of competing claims. In Paflagonya, a narrative approximating a coherent discourse could emerge because of Paphlagonia's double connotations. Not only was Paphlagonia a classical toponym, and therefore

---

<sup>829</sup> I must thank Murat Karasalihoğlu for the observation that there are the close parallels between Leonhard (1915) and Gökoğlu (1945, 1946, 1952).

<sup>830</sup> Ergün Laflı's conference on "Pontos" fell victim to a misunderstanding between a classical archaeologist and the larger public. In the mind of many, mapping Pontos supports the legacy of Greeks to Merzifon and further east.



western, but it was also indigenous, and as indigenous it could stand as a provincial proxy for Anatolia in the national discourse.<sup>831</sup>

### *iii. Regional archaeology*

In the 1990s, the Turkish Ministry of Culture initiated a policy encouraging extensive surveys in provinces where extensive surveys had not been conducted.<sup>832</sup> Ultimately, for governmental archaeologists, these surveys were bureaucratic in purpose: the writing of provincial inventories. This policy had been preceded in the 1980s with surveys by Christian Marek and David French who continued a long tradition of classical epigraphical surveys,<sup>833</sup> and Klaus Belke on a monument survey for the Byzantine period. The Project Paphlagonia survey of Çankırı Province and the Kastamonu Survey in Kastamonu Province both were beneficiaries of this policy. The Kastamonu Survey was planned at the outset as an extensive survey with a geomorphological component added later. The Project Paphlagonia and a third project, the Sinop Regional Survey, both were planned to reproduce the regional surveys conducted in the 1980s elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Both projects founded their fieldwork on a geomorphology and selected landscapes to obtain a representative sample, and both projects produced significant conclusions on settlement patterns but with a project area coterminous with contemporary county boundaries.<sup>834</sup> Foreign surveys are in this way bent to the service of the nation state. With each new project named after Paphlagonia, however, a new

---

<sup>831</sup> Atabay 2002, Aydın 2002, Bilsel 2007, Kafadar 2007, Tanyeri-Erdemir 2007, Erimtan 2008. On wooden architecture, see H. Alkım 1983, Dönmez and Naza-Dönmez 2007.

<sup>832</sup> Matthews 2009.

<sup>833</sup> Marek 1993; French 1981-1988.

<sup>834</sup> Regional surveys and landscape studies appear in the second chapter, where the settlement pattern of the Gökırmak Valley is analyzed.

classical mapping occurs and a new historical period is taken as emblematic of the name.<sup>835</sup> Matthew's Paphlagonia Project championed the Hellenistic Paphlagonian kingdom centered in Gangra and the early Byzantine residence of the bishop of Paphlagonia in Gangra as the periods emblematic of the region of Çankırı. To Ergün Laflı's cooption of the name for his now terminated project in the environs of Hadrianopolis, Paphlagonia was the homeland of the founder of the Mithridatic Kingdom, Kimista (**E.5**). A new period in surveys was announced in 2009 at the annual symposium of archaeologists working in Turkey. The policy was announced to be small, short problems addressing specific research questions. Bleda Düring's Cide Project and Summerer's Pompeiopolis hinterland projects fall into this category.

When Hirschfeld began his description of the Paphlagonian rockcut tombs, few were known. As the number of published Paphlagonian tombs grew, not many scholars truly questioned the meaningfulness of the classification. When Pierre Briant began to comment on the lack of political unity among the Paphlagonians, I began to ask myself whether grouping the archaeological material of the region was an adequate representation of the context from which it derived. This chapter is an attempt a critical reading of the scholarship on Paphlagonians. It is to question the epistemological underpinnings and methodology of colonial archaeological research and its relationship to the ideology of the German empire. This is not to question the fundamental aspect of archaeology as a discipline based on quantifying and qualifying the material record of the past, but rather to focus on the evolving nature of the categories we use in doing so.

---

<sup>835</sup> The Kastamonu Project is the one exception.

What are the categories that are responsive to archaeological research at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

***D. Conclusion: archaeological heterotopias***

The practice of archaeology within an imperial environment largely leads to unreflexive, prejudiced interpretations that reproduce imperial ideology without presenting the past honestly. To discuss the power dialectics within the discipline of archaeology is to engage in a metaphorical *archaeology*, in the sense of Foucault's cross-disciplinary use of archaeology as a metaphor for the analysis of the humanities and social sciences. The infusion of concepts of power relations into archaeology produces a consciousness of the implications of archaeological work in contemporary society. In Foucault's thought, however, it is not possible for the archaeologist to escape the inseparability of contemporary theory and evidence about the past. In *Reading the Past*, Hodder and Hutson outline a solution for the writing of a subjective archaeology that is dependent on being as explicit as possible. Through such self-reflexive honesty, the text becomes more accessible to the reader. "The concern of this volume has been to argue for the necessity of this relationship, to argue that we should be more explicit and rigorous in our reconstructions of historical meanings, and that we should discuss the theoretical and methodological issues which result."<sup>836</sup> For Hodder, clarity of expression and understanding of the practice is part of the reconstruction. In this way, an archaeologist reconciles the disjunction between the contemporary archaeological artifact

---

<sup>836</sup> Hodder and Hutson 2003:183.

and its writing within a text, and allows colleagues and a wider audience to judge the strength of the interpretation.

According to Foucault, the purpose of history is to create a past different from the present, and thereby demonstrate the contingency of present truths. On this point Hodder's contextual archaeology does not make any pretences of positivism or objectivity, but holds that one can create an archaeological past. "It is possible to understand 'otherness'...We always translate 'their' meanings into 'our' language, but our language is flexible and rich enough to identify and perceive differences in the way the same 'words' are used in different contexts."<sup>837</sup> It is possible to create a plurality of present interpretations of the past, based in part on the perspective of the researcher and in part on the objectivity of the archaeological record. Hodder's objectivity is, however, neither the objectivity of a positivist, but rather a definition of objectivity as the material reality of the archaeological record. Hodder's skepticism leads him to a critical, but not unduly relative approach. The perspective that the past neither belongs exclusively to the present nor to itself is drawn from Foucault's lectures on heterotopias, places neither here nor there.<sup>838</sup> The methodology that Hodder proposes is critical hermeneutics, a methodology of question and answer between the evidence, i.e. the archaeological objectivity, and subjective interpretation judged on its consistency with the evidence.

With the perspectives of Foucault and Hodder in mind, when we turn to analyzing the practice of classical archaeology in Paphlagonia, it becomes clear that the scholarship of Hirschfeld and Leonard produces an imperial heterotopia:

---

<sup>837</sup> Hodder and Hutson 2003:181.

<sup>838</sup> Foucault 1986.

There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places- places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society-which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias.<sup>839</sup>

Through discursive practices, such as Hirschfeld's and Leonhard's scholarship, Paphlagonia becomes constituted as an imperial, timeless place. With the re-imagination of Gökoğlu and the contemporary residents of Kastamonu province, Paphlagonia became, and is still becoming, a national place that is both elusively abstract and embedded in the landscape through the agency of the monumental rockcut tombs. If Paphlagonia as a region is a heterotopia, it is neither a real nor an imaginary space but a discursive space, where the *effective* quality of discourse remains, but where ruptures, substitutions, and alterations mar the connection between discursive and experienced Paphlagonias, as in all contested places.

---

<sup>839</sup> Foucault 1986:24.

## CHAPTER 7:

### *Conclusion: Placing Paphlagonia*

#### *A. Discursive and social landscapes*

During the retreat of the Greek mercenaries in 401 through northern Anatolia, Hekatonymos, the Sinopean representative of the Paphlagonian king, describes the landscape of Paphlagonia to the mercenaries.

[5.6.6] I am acquainted with both the country of the Paphlagonians and their power. There are both the fairest plains and the highest mountains. [7] And, first, I know straightaway where it is necessary for you to make your entry; there is no other place than where the mountain peaks are high on both sides of the road; very few occupiers could hold the road; and if they are holding, all the men could not pass through. I would show it to you, if you were to send someone with me. [8] Secondly, I know that there are plains and a cavalry.... [9] If you are able to win, by taking the mountains by stealth or anticipation and by fighting the calvary and their more than 120,000 infantry, you will come to the rivers. First is the Thermodon, three plethra in width, which I think would be difficult to cross, especially with many enemies in front and many following behind; second, the Iris, likewise three plethra in width; third, the Halys, not less than two stadia in width, which you could not cross without boats. Who will be there who has boats? Similarly, the Parthenius is also not fordable; [10] to which you would come, if you should cross the Halys.

[5.6.6] ἔμπειρος γάρ εἰμι καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς Παφλαγόνων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως. ἔχει γὰρ ἀμφοτέρωθεν, καὶ πεδία κάλλιστα καὶ ὄρη ὑψηλότατα. [7] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οἶδα εὐθὺς ἢ τὴν εἰσβολὴν ἀνάγκη ποιεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλη ἢ ἡ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ ὄρους τῆς ὁδοῦ καθ' ἑκάτερά ἐστιν ὑψηλά, ἃ κρατεῖν κατέχοντες καὶ πάνυ ὀλίγοι δύναιнт' ἄν. τούτων δὲ κατεχομένων οὐδ' ἂν οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι δύναιнт' ἂν διελθεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ δείξαιμι ἂν, εἴ μοί τινα βούλοισθε συμπέμψαι. [8] ἔπειτα δὲ οἶδα καὶ πεδία ὄντα καὶ ἱππείαν.... [9] ἢν δὲ καὶ δυνηθῇτε τὰ τε ὄρη κλέψαι ἢ φθάσαι λαβόντες καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κρατῆσαι μαχόμενοι τοὺς τε ἱππέας τούτων καὶ πεζῶν μυριάδας πλέον ἢ δώδεκα, ἥξετε ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμούς, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Θερμῶδοντα, εὖρος τριῶν πλέθρων, ὃν χαλεπὸν οἶμαι διαβαίνειν ἄλλως τε καὶ πολεμίων πολλῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὀπισθεν ἐπομένων· δεύτερον δὲ Ἴριν, τρίπλεθρον ὡσαύτως· τρίτον δὲ Ἄλυν, οὐ μείον δυοῖν σταδίων, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δύναισθε ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ τίς ἔσται ὁ παρέχων; ὥς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ ὁ Παρθένιος ἄβατος· [10] ἐφ' ὃν ἔλθοιτε ἂν, εἰ τὸν Ἄλυν διαβαίητε. (Xen. An.)

In Xenophon's rendering, Hekatonymos' description is a military itinerary through a landscape of high-peaked mountain passes, plains defended by calvary, and unfordable

rivers. The mountain pass leading into Paphlagonia is close enough to Kotyora, where the mercenaries are encamped, that Hekatonymos offers to escort a witness to the pass. If the mercenaries are able to negotiate the mountain pass and the plains, Hekatonymos says, “you will come to the rivers.” Despite the appearance of an itinerary, Hekatonymos’ description has no relation to an actual route of travel. Even if we stretch the other literature on Paphlagonia, it is not possible to locate the Paphlagonian plains east of the Thermodon River. Xenophon’s rendering is a conceptual Paphlagonian landscape that imagines travel through an ordered sequence of mountains, plains, and rivers.

One objective of this dissertation has been the critical analysis of the discursive imagination of Paphlagonian landscapes both in ancient literary sources *and* in the modern archaeological scholarship. I selected the concept of landscape because of the recognition within landscape studies of different constructions of space, both discursive, such as Xenophon’s literary imagination, and social, that is, produced and reproduced through everyday practices. To analyze Xenophon effectively it is necessary to abandon modernist archaeology’s emphasis on placing the past into cartesian cartographic space.

For much of the past century, archaeologists have attempted to do exactly that, to twist the literary and material evidence into referring to the region bounded by the Kızılırmak and Bartın Rivers. The first archaeologist to conduct research in Paphlagonia, Gustav Hirschfeld, was very much a Kantian scholar who choreographed an elaborate dance between objectivity and subjectivity in order to produce real and fixed types, and a bounded and mapped region. The stage of Hirschfeld’s dance was a spatially circumscribed Paphlagonia characterized by a distinctive material type, which was the

monumental rockcut tomb. Paphlagonia became a product of modernity's desire for cultures and regions, and nations and states to have coterminous boundaries. Likewise, Hirschfeld's scholarship became the handmaiden to the universalizing nationalism in the rationalization of the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire.

Similar to Hirschfeld, Xenophon operated in an imperial framework of military itineraries and discourses on crossing and conquering space. By contrast, the modernist universalizing nationalism of Hirschfeld is replaced by colonializing Panhellenism in Xenophon's framework. Typical of the idiosyncrasies that emerge on the Anatolian Peninsula during the Achaemenid period, colonizing Panhellenism is coupled with the Achaemenid imperialistic attitudes of a mercenary. Despite the differences between the modern and ancient imperial situations, and between colonial Panhellenism and Achaemenid imperialism, these trends are similar in their marginalization of Paphlagonia as a remote mountainous space with wild indigenous inhabitants.

For the analysis of Paphlagonia, a mountainous region that experienced the prejudices of both ancient and modern imperialism, the broader postcolonial framework for landscape studies is particularly persuasive. Landscape studies were primarily intended to reconfigure and reorient modernity's bounded regions towards places constructed through connections and local narratives designed to counter the marginalization of frontiers in imperial narratives. Microhistories and archaeological histories portray landscapes as a constellation of culturally meaningful places, and thereby deconstruct and resist the colonial and imperial narratives that marginalize, stereotype, and dehistoricize the same landscapes.



### ***B. Regional settlement patterns***

The study of the processes of the social construction of landscapes begins with an analysis of long-term patterns and changes. In Paphlagonia, the Middle and Late Iron Age pattern of settlement is characterized primarily by continuity with only gradual changes. Archaeological survey has revealed a Middle Iron Age pattern of fortified settlements located on ridges surveying valley terraces and regulating access to mountain passes. These routes are both the pathways of trade, and the taskscapes of mining and forestry related activities such as wood and food collection. The location of fortified settlements indicates that neighboring valleys were interconnected. The comparatively mountainous location of Tıngıroğlu Tepesi (**K.1**) on the Sinop Promontory, for example, was clearly selected to foster communication with the Gökırmak Valley.

Surveys, particularly the collected ceramic assemblages, further support the wider cultural integration of the region between the Kızılırmak and the Bartın Rivers. The Gökırmak Valley, south of the Ilgaz Massif, and the valleys to the west share commensal practices as evinced in the similarity of their fine and common grey ware assemblages. Surveys, however, have not indicated evidence for the wider political integration of this region. In contrast, the architectural similarity of Akalan and Kerkenes Dağı offer the possibility of Akalan's dependency on the Middle Iron Age kingdom of which Kerkenes Dağı was a capital. The Gökırmak Valley settlements of Yüklütepe (**C.6**) and Gavurevleri (**C.21**) were possibly dependent on a comparable kingdom on the Anatolian Plateau west of the Kızılırmak River and/or the Lydian Kingdom towards the end of the Middle Iron Age.

The study of the social construction of landscapes through an analysis of material culture allows alternate, locally-centered interpretations of Paphlagonia to emerge. The recourse to the local in landscape studies is, however, not a return to an emphasis on local *origins*, but rather, on situated interpretations. Likewise, a dependence on knowledge generated through *regional survey* such as the preceding settlement pattern should not allow us to slide back into the characterization of a *bounded region*. Whereas the archaeological concept of the region has become significant again with the increase in popularity of regional survey of the Mediterranean variety, the concept remains inadequately theorized and dependent on the early twentieth century modernist concept of cultural regions that is so entangled in nationalism and imperialism.<sup>840</sup>

### ***C. Social and natural landscapes***

To avoid the dependency between regional survey and cultural regions, social archaeology has proposed the analysis of regions as constituted through connections: everyday taskscapes, pathways over mountains, and on the distance of imperial connections. The analysis, however, is not of connections illustrated in Xenophon's itineraries, but multi-sited comparisons built on situated understandings of the places being compared. Thus, Kalekapı becomes a crucial place for analysis since it participates in the multiple scales of communication.

Furthermore, at Kalekapı a nexus of features emerges that does not allow the separation of the social and natural landscape. A primary component of the situated understanding of archaeological places is the study of their natural landscape and the

---

<sup>840</sup> E.g. Horden and Purcell 2000:19-20; Cherry 2003; Reger 2007.

social memories that the landscape fosters through constituting and being constituted by taskscapes and pathways.

Natural landscapes merge with the social landscapes partly through these same connections. Of more importance for the construction of merged social and natural landscape is the perspective that landscapes *always already* exist. When there are alterations to the natural landscape, such as a tomb cut in a gorge, the altered landscape is already a continuation of what existed before. Consequently, a situated understanding assumes a merged social and natural landscape. This assumption is the foundation of the first half of the second chapter on the physical and ecological landscape. I extrapolate from Kalekapı, a socially constituted place in the landscape of the Achaemenid period, to characterize not just places within the landscape, but the wider landscape itself. This is an attempt to approximate a more expansive experience of landscape than a discussion focused on dispersed cultural localities would allow.

#### ***D. The Black Sea coast***

The regional settlement patterns, and the natural and social landscape discussed so far are aspects of long-term local developments. In the introduction to my dissertation, however, I proposed that it was an appropriate time in the archaeological investigation of Paphlagonia to insert some archaeologically grounded historical specificity. In my discussions of Greek colonial settlements and Achaemenid administration, I have attempted to follow through on my proposal. The analyses of Greek colonial literature document three phases of discursive colonialism that approximately coincide with three phases in the the archaeological evidence. The gradual Hellenization of the coast began

with Homer and the translation of place names and their incorporation into a Greek mythopoetic landscape. The settlement pattern of this period consists of fortified settlements and dispersed agricultural settlements. The colonial settlers arrived in this landscape with fully constituted settlement patterns evincing strong connections to the Gökırmak Valley and further south.

The second discursive phase dates to the beginning of the fifth century, with the beginnings of Greek urbanism. The literature on this period turns into more menacing stereotyping, however; these discourses are mostly about Athenian constituencies, and the archaeological evidence provides ambiguous evidence of Paphlagonians and Athenian settlers in Sinope. The fourth century witnesses a period of complex negotiations between the Achaemenid administration and the Greek cities that coincides with the beginning of an expansion in settlement density.

### ***E. The Achaemenid Empire's Paphlagonia***

My dissertation also attempted to insert some archaeologically grounded historical specificity into Paphlagonia's interaction with the Achaemenid Empire. Similar to the colonial Greek settlers, Achaemenid leaders of Anatolia, sometime after c. 546, began to take an interest in the northern Anatolian Peninsula. I began by proposing that Paphlagonia was an administrative region of convenience *gradually* experiencing greater satrapal oversight. Even if the territory of Achaemenid Paphlagonia (from Sinop to Çankırı and from the Bartın to the Kızılırmak River) was previously incorporated into a kingdom such as the Hittite or Lydian, the same area was probably not under one ruler.

For example, the Gökırmak Valley settlements could have been allied with Sardis, and the Acıçay and Tathçay Valleys allied simultaneously but separately.

Secondly, I critique the imperial histories articulated from the perspective of the Achaemenid Empire *and* the historians of that empire, who offhandedly refer to marginal regions of the imperial territories as tribally governed and composed of chiefdoms. These histories of the imperial center present to us a view of the rural margins, especially the mountains, as barbarous, trouble-making regions, in a manner comparable to the othering of the same regions in the fifth century and later Hellenocentric literature. The chapter discusses methodological fallacies of the imperial histories that fabricate an image of the tribal margins through the universalizing lens of imperial discourses that marginalize them. Evolutionary models of state formation and increasing imperial complexity need to be critiqued, if the objective is to find a balanced understanding of the relationship between the mountainous frontiers and the imperial centers.

With the pervasive marginalizing stereotypes of the historical sources—Athenaeus’ dialogues, Theopompos’ histories, and Nepos’ biographies—critical analysis revealed, not surprisingly, that the sources are themselves imperial discourses committed to providing a retrospective, discursive justification for greater satrapal oversight. The chapter also unpacks how anthropological theories are mobilized to write modern colonial narratives on regions through ethnographic analogies with concepts such as chiefdoms lifted from European colonial experience. Contemporary perspectives from postcolonial theory and critical thought allows us to trace the genealogies of such colonial fictions that assert the existence of chiefdoms on the mountainous frontiers of the empire.

The imperial incorporation of Paphlagonia is manifested in the landscape of the fourth century with the foundation of Kalekapı and the carving of the monumental tomb. Furthermore, through an analysis of the tomb a material response to the marginalizing imperial discourses emerges. The marginalizing discourses of the center are recursively related to the construction of the frontier. My historical analysis emphasized Bhabha's writings on the *almost the same but not quite* quality of colonial and imperial discourses. The recursive gesture in funerary practices to the *almost the same* is unambiguous; for example, at Kalekapı, the framing of the porch with lion griffins is a practice that would be out of place at Persepolis. If the relationship was truly recursive, the "*but not quite*" should not be bounced back, but reimagined or resisted. In the modern situation, reimagination often expresses itself in converting the sense of the historical discourse to nonsense. Resistance often can be as simple as an exaggerated acceptance of the historical discourse, such as the 'if you think I am wild, then I really am wild' response.

In the Paphlagonian situation, however, where landscapes are not discursive heterotopias but real experienced places, resistance rarely causes imperial disjunctions. Rather than resistance, inconsistencies emerge in the implementation of imperialism through the unintended consequences of the strength of the local practices over the dissipated efficacy of the imperial intention. The menace of Paphlagonians, therefore, arises in an inconsistency between imperial desires and the situated present.

The Paphlagonian material response is to construct an innovative composition of features drawn from the Achaemenid and Aegean artistic repertoire. The composition is unprecedented and seemingly odd, but if the landscape of copper mining and phreatic features is understood to situate the monument, the composition can be comprehended as

both a Mediterranean statement on ruler cult, and an embodied entrance to the underworld animated by local monsters and deities associated with Phrygian and Hittite mental landscapes. The Paphlagonian response in Kalekapı is “I participate in the shared Mediterranean artistic, political, and funerary culture, but really I belong in the Paphlagonian landscape.”

## **CATALOG:**

### ***A selected inventory of archaeological sites***

#### ***Introduction***

This inventory contains probable Achaemenid period sites and sites previously identified as Achaemenid, such as rockcut tombs and their surrounding settlements. Additionally, sites within the limits of the the inventory that are relevant for comparison to Achaemenid period sites are included. The limits of the inventory are the Filyos Valley to Safranbolu, the Eskipazar Valley to the Çerkeş Valley, and the Orta and Terme Plains in the west. The southern and eastern limits are the right bank of the Kızılırmak River, south of Çankırı to east of Kargı; the Vezirköprü and Havza Plains; the Kavak Valley; and the hills around Samsun up to the Çarşamba Delta. The northern limit is the Black Sea.

Each subregion is introduced by a short descriptive paragraph on the landscape. Entries appear in a geographical sequence, and occasionally several sites are combined in one entry. This sequence is intended to emphasize how places work together in constructing the social landscape. The name for each site is coupled by the following abbreviations:

IA.....	Iron Age (c. 1200 - 330 BCE)
M&LIA.....	Middle & Late Iron Age (c. 950 - 330 BCE)
EIA.....	Early Iron Age (c. 1200 - 950 BCE)
MIA.....	Middle Iron Age (c. 950 - 550 BCE)
LIA.....	Late Iron Age (c. 550 - 330 BCE)
LLIA.....	Long Late Iron Age (c. 650 – 350 BC)
LLIA1.....	Early phase of long Late Iron Age (c. 650 – 500 BC)
H.....	Hellenistic period (c. 330 - 6 BCE)
R.....	Roman period (c. 6 BCE - 285 CE)
FS.....	Fortified settlement
F.....	Fort/fortified residence
SM.....	Occupation layer on settlement mound
S.....	Small/flat settlement



SC.....	Copper mining settlement
US.....	Urban settlement
RCT.....	Columnar or pedimental rockcut tomb/s
TUM.....	Tumulus/i
TUN.....	Rockcut tunnel/s
RC.....	Rockcut feature/s (niche, altar, quarry, etc.)
NEC.....	Necropolis/cemetery
M.....	Mine
MISC.....	Miscellaneous artifact
?.....	Possible classification

The published survey results rarely quantify the extent of a settlement for each occupational phase.<sup>841</sup> Consequently, the inventory identifies sites according to their class, but not size.

On the second line of each entry are the coordinates for the site<sup>842</sup> which are provided in place of a set of directions.<sup>843</sup> The third line begins the bibliographical references to the site with an emphasis on the Achaemenid period occupation. A description of what is known about the site and its location follows.

The inventory begins with the Gökırmak Valley, where my fieldwork has concentrated. It continues with the upper Filyos-Soğanlı-Gerede Valleys and follows a right-handed spiral around the Ilgaz Mountains through the Devrez and Kızılırmak Valleys, and the coastal valleys, ending at the lower Filyos Valley.

### ***A. Lower Gökırmak Valley***

The extensive surveys conducted upstream of the confluence of Gökırmak with the Kızılırmak have yet to reveal Late Iron Age settlements in a density that the extent of arable valley floors and terraces would predict. Around the confluence, however, is a

---

<sup>841</sup> The published sizes of settlements with the exception of Project Paphlagonia are for documentation and not analytically meaningful.

<sup>842</sup> The number of significant figures corresponds to both the accuracy of my two handheld Garmin GPS units ( $\pm 10$  m and  $\pm 2$  m) and the accuracy of GoogleEarth ( $\pm 5$  m in the Gökırmak Valley in 2009).

<sup>843</sup> The Archaeological Settlements of Turkey website ([www.tayproject.org](http://www.tayproject.org)) was consulted extensively to understand the location of sites that I did not visit personally.

cluster of Hellenistic columnar rockcut tombs and settlements. My discussion of this cluster of sites is the beginning of my argument for down-dating many of the rockcut tombs and forts placed by previous scholars in the Achaemenid period.

***A.1. Terelikkayası*** H-R RCT TUN NEC

41.3566° N, 35.1449° E

Kannenberg 1894:189-90 no. 10; Kannenberg 1895a:103-5; Maercker 1899:378; Leonhard 1915:244, 249, 267; Gökoğlu 1952:58-60; von Gall 1966a:82-8, 116-22, pl. 9; Alkim 1973:65; Olshausen and Biller 1984:217-8 s.v. Kemberbahçe; Kızıltan 1992:229; Dökü 2008a:15, 64-8, 115-6, 119-20, 127, cat. no. 14, ill. 7, figs. 66, 87, 115, 132.

Terelikkayası is a tomb cut in a marble outcrop with a nearby spring which lies 6 km downstream of the confluence of the Gökırmak with the Kızılırmak, c. 275 m above the left bank of the river (**figs. 51-2**).<sup>844</sup> Terelikkayası is not adjacent to a known fortified settlement, but it is surrounded by a Hellenistic and Roman necropolis.<sup>845</sup> A rockcut stepped tunnel descending from the necropolis to the river is probably a trace of the defensive features of the settlement associated with the necropolis.<sup>846</sup> The tomb itself has a triple columned porch set within rabbets on the sides. The columns have stocky tapering shafts, square abacus ‘capitals,’ and wide half torus bases with a fillet around the join with the shaft. A square opening leads to a roughly hewn burial chamber with a bench along the east wall and an unfinished bench along the rear wall.

---

<sup>844</sup> Kannenberg 1895a:105. A marble quarry is located c. 500 m to the north. Kannenberg comments that Terelikkayası must be on the route east to Vezirköprü from the Gökırmak Valley (1895:103-4).

<sup>845</sup> Dökü 2008a:15, 127. Olshausen and Biller mention traces of walls (1984:217).

<sup>846</sup> Dökü 2008a:127, fig. 132. The Terelikkayası tunnel and gorge are very similar to the fort, tunnel, and relief in the Kazankaya Canyon discussed in the fifth chapter. A closer comparison is the cluster of six Hellenistic and Roman rockcut tombs around Yukarı Arım on the Asarcık Stream that Kannenberg grouped with the Paphlagonian tombs, although none has a columnar porch (41.3671° N, 34.8855° E; Kannenberg 1894:191 s.v. Jokark-Arym, Kannenberg 1895a:105). A tunnel is cut into an outcrop near Arım on the Asarcık Stream (41.3623° N, 34.8642° E; Gökoğlu 1952:64-5, 125; von Gall 1967b:514 no. 24). French surveyed a stretch of a Roman road near Gökçebelen to the southeast of Arım and maps a Roman road from Boyabat to the Kızılırmak as passing by Arım (French 1988:195). No Late Iron Age, Hellenistic, or Roman settlement has been surveyed in the vicinity of Arım.

The smoothed vertical surface of the outcrop surrounding the triple columned porch is irregular, and the sculptor placed the principal composition, Herakles fighting the lion, to the west of center. The observation most often made of the Terelikkayası sculptures is their asymmetrical arrangement.<sup>847</sup> Not only is the Herakles composition centered over the western intercolumnar space, but also a kneeling sphinx ‘capital’ (the so-called frontal Matar relief) is centered over the eastern column, and a single couchant lion lies in the eastern corner of the porch. In the Herakles composition, neither he nor the lion is balanced in position or scale. Examination of the outcrop reveals that the Herakles composition fills the entire available ground, and a recess in the outcrop frames the Herakles figure on the east. Consequently, the outcrop restricts a composition that is not of a standing Herakles,<sup>848</sup> but a crouching Herakles similar to a rockcut tomb at Salarköy upstream on the Gökırmak. The placement of the lion, additionally, accommodates a ledge cut above the westernmost column; a similar ledge was cut above the central column. Both ledges clearly were cut for the placement of sculpture long since missing that complemented the sphinx ‘capital’ on the easternmost column. Similar to other rockcut tombs, Terelikkayası was never completed: the sphinx capital was begun but the porch ceiling was not raised, and, as an alternative, a Herakles and the lion relief was carved.<sup>849</sup>

---

<sup>847</sup> E.g. von Gall 1966a:85.

<sup>848</sup> Earlier in my research I thought the that Hellenistic popularity of the standing Herakles with lion dated Terelikkayası later than crouching Herakles at Salarköy (Felton 1990:20 Herakles IV.B.1.b.iii, Salis:32-4, Künzl 1968:70-83, Summerer 2009).

<sup>849</sup> Only one of the benches in the burial chamber is completed. The rabbets that frame the porch of other Paphlagonian tombs on all sides but the floor are absent above the columns. The process of carving Kalekapı and its similar incompleteness are discussed in depth in the fifth chapter. The possibility exists that the sphinx is intended to be a winged bull.

On the evidence of a stylistic analysis of the column shaft proportions and the form of the bases, Leonhard and Gökoğlu dated Terelikkayası to the seventh century. Kannenberg, von Gall, and Dökü preferred later dates: the sixth century or later, first half of the fifth century, and fourth century, respectively. The necropolis that Terelikkayası belongs to is Hellenistic and Roman, and presumably the settlement associated with the necropolis had a similar date. To confirm a Hellenistic date for the tomb, two survey-based methods are available. The first is comparison to the tomb at Salarköy (A.9) that has a similar Herakles and the lion composition; the Salarköy tomb can be dated by the surrounding settlement surveyed by both the Sinop Project under Owen Doonan in 1997 and by Şevket Dönmez in 1998.<sup>850</sup> Both projects dated the settlement to the Early Bronze Age, Hellenistic, and Roman periods. The tomb must, therefore, be Hellenistic or later. The second is to demonstrate how Terelikkayası connects to a cluster of Hellenistic sites and the mines around the confluence of Gökırmak with the Kızılırmak. The tombs at these sites adopt the multiple columns of the third century royal tombs in Amasya and presumably date between the middle of the third century and the middle of the first century B.C.E.

### **A.2. Eğrikale** H F

41.2945° N, 35.1257° E

Hamilton 1842 vol. 1:325; Kannenberg 1895a:104; Olshausen and Biller 1984:161 s.v. Pteria.

The Gökırmak Valley upstream of the confluence has a fertile flood plain and gentle terraces. In contrast, the Kızılırmak upstream and downstream of the confluence flows through impassable gorges. The stepped tunnel at Terelikkayası descends to the

---

<sup>850</sup> Doonan et al. 1999:365-6, 371 fig. 5; Dönmez 2000:231, 241 fig. 6, 242 fig. 7-8.

narrowest place in the downstream gorge. Eğrikale is a fortress on a distinctive limestone summit 7 km south-southwest of Terelikkayası above the opposite bank of the river. The fortress is identified as the Iron Age Pteria mentioned by Herodotus; however, artifacts supporting this identification have not been published.<sup>851</sup> It seems more likely that Eğrikale is a Hellenistic fortress comparable to the Çukurhan fortress east of Kovuklukaya (**A.8**). The route from the Vezirköprü Plain to the Gökırmak Valley bypasses the gorge by ascending the left bank of the Kızılırmak and passing in front of the Terelikkayası tomb before descending to the confluence.<sup>852</sup> Together Terelikkayası and Eğrikale regulate access through the route and gorge. The stepped tunnel gives access from Terelikkayası to the gorge; tributaries of the Kızılırmak allow a gentler ascent to Eğrikale.

### ***A.3. Durağan Ambarkaya*** H-R? RCT F

41.4081° N, 35.0966° E

Hamilton 1842 vol. 1:324-5; Hirschfeld 1885:9- pls. 1-2, 5 s.v. Hambarkaya; Kannenberg 1894:90 no. 9; Kannenberg 1895a:104-6; Gökoğlu 1952:63-4; von Gall 1966a:104-6; Kızıltan 1992:229 s.v. Beybükü; Dökü 2008a:120, 123, cat. no. 13, ill. 22, figs. 39, 60.

Ambarkaya is a rockcut tomb cut into a limestone outcrop surveying the confluence of the Gökırmak River with the Kızılırmak River (**fig. 60**). The waters of the Kızılırmak fill the gorge upstream of the confluence, and no further defensive measures appear to have been necessary on the Kızılırmak itself. Rockcut traces of a fort were previously visible on the outcrop. These rockcut steps or wall foundation cuttings have since been dynamited.

---

<sup>851</sup> Hdt. 1.76, 79; Olshausen and Biller 1984:161 s.v. Pteria; Braund and Sinclair 2000:1235.

<sup>852</sup> A southern branch from the Vezirköprü Plain passes by the rockcut tomb at Zindankaya and meets the Kızılırmak River at the rockcut tomb at Kargı Ambarkaya (**I.17**).

The tomb has a triple columned porch with shallow inset triangular gable above. The column shafts are unelaborated and straight. A square opening between the western intercolumniation leads to a barrel vaulted burial chamber with a rockcut bench along the western wall.

Unfortunately, the ceramics on the outcrop have not been surveyed. Von Gall dates the tomb to the Hellenistic period, whereas Dökü prefers the late Hellenistic and Roman periods due to its simplification. The built barrel vault is found in the burial chambers of tumuli from the middle of the third century B.C.E. through the end of the second century C.E.<sup>853</sup> The association of the rockcut tomb with a fort in a significant landscape of the Pontic Kingdom supports a Hellenistic date for the tomb.

#### ***A.4. Çayağzı M***

41.4107° N, 35.1150° E

Kannenberg 1894:191 n. 2; Kannenberg 1895a:104; De Jesus 1980:94, 202, 385 map 11 s.v. Ovalık; Özbal et al. 2000:48-9; Bilgi 2001a:318-9, 326 figs. 11-2; Bilgi 2001b:13-4, 35-6, 112 fig. 149; Özbal, Pehlivan and Earl 2001:31-34, Bilgi et al. 2002:285 s.v. Gökdoğan Köyü; Bilgi et al. 2004a:394-5.

The confluence of the Gökırmak with the Kızılırmak is not significant only because of the regulation of routes or the significance of springs and gorges in the Anatolian landscape. The left bank of the confluence is the location of arsenic sulfide mines. Hadi Özbal relates the information that during road construction 6 km north of Terelikkayası, bulldozers exposed an arsenic sulfide mining gallery with two skeletons in chains. Özbal himself surveyed four galleries, and suggests that Çayağzı is the location of the Sandarakourgeion described by Strabo.<sup>854</sup> “Mt. Sandarakourgeion is hollow from the

---

<sup>853</sup> İkiztepe III in the Kızılırmak Delta, Höyüktepe in the Daday Valley, and Beşevler in the Filyos Valley. Von Gall describes the barrel vault as a Roman alteration to a Hellenistic tomb; however, it more likely that the tomb is late Hellenistic or early Roman as Dökü proposes.

<sup>854</sup> Σανδάραχη (realgar) + ἔργον (work/mines).

mining, because the workers have tunneled through it with large galleries.<sup>855</sup> Both red realgar and yellow orpiment (decayed realgar) veins are present in the mine galleries.<sup>856</sup> Realgar is one of the exports for which Sinope is known.<sup>857</sup> Realgar is a pigment, poison, and medicine that figures prominently in the story of Mithridates VI.<sup>858</sup>

Other arsenic ore deposits have been identified as Sandarakourgeion, but realgar is not present at those mines. One suggestion is that Sandarakourgeion is located to the east of Eğrikale at a second arsenic ore deposit along the Peynir Stream on the northern flank of the Tavşan Mountain.<sup>859</sup> The Peynir Valley runs parallel to the Bakır Valley, where copper ore deposits and slag are located.<sup>860</sup> The arsenic sulfide mined at Çayağzı and the arsenopyrite mined in the Peynir Valley are both possible ores for the production of

---

<sup>855</sup> τὸ δὲ σανδαρακουργεῖον ὄρος κοῖλόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῆς μεταλλείας, ὑπερφυθόντων αὐτὸ τῶν ἐργαζομένων διώρυξι μεγάλαις (Strabo 12.3.40).

<sup>856</sup> De Jesus summarizes the process and toxicity of mining of arsenic ores in antiquity (1980:90-5).

<sup>857</sup> Strabo 12.2.10.

<sup>858</sup> On the relationship of Mithridates VI to realgar, see Mayor 2010:71, 96, 99, 121, 237-47. Mayor's history of Mithridates VI favors the dramatic over the pragmatic interpretation and reiterates some of Strabo's misconceptions on the poisonous vapors within the galleries (ibid.:78).

<sup>859</sup> The coordinates of Peynir Çayı are 41.0097° N, 35.4064° E. The two arsenic-rich ore deposits are visually and minerologically different: Çayağzı is realgar (AsS) and orpiment (As<sub>2</sub>S<sub>3</sub>), and Peynir Çayı is arsenopyrite (FeAsS). Both deposits are toxic but only the Çayağzı deposits are pigments. On Peynir Çayı, see: Özbâl et al. 2000:48; Bilgi 2001a:318-9, 325 fig. 10; Bilgi 2001b:13-4, 35-6, 111 fig. 148; Özbâl, Pehlivan and Earl 2001:31-2. To the southeast of Tavşan Mountain, on İnegöl Mountain are silver and lead ore deposits (De Jesus 1980:91, 196, 263 s.v. S-130, 387 map 13, 391 map 16 s.v. Gümüş; Seeliger et al. 1985:606-12 s.v. TG165, pls. 71-3; Özbâl et al. 2000:48). The silver and lead occurs with arsenic, and de Jesus identifies Gümüş with Sandarakourgion (1980:17, 94). Strabo describes Sandarakourgion as near Pimolisa, a fortress with lands on both banks of the Halys River (12.3.40). Pimolisa is located at the town of Osmancık on the west of İnegöl Mountain. Marek suggests that the name Sandarakourgion may persist in Sığırkuyruğu (41.1191° N, 34.9736° E), a peak on Kunduz Mountain to the north of İnegöl Mountain and to the west of Tavşan Mountain (1993:66 n. 448). Sığırkuyruğu is a genus of the figwort family with many endemic species in Turkey.

<sup>860</sup> The coordinates of Bakır Çayı are 40.9720° N, 35.4220° E. De Jesus 1976:58-60; de Jesus 1980:33, 91, 111, 249-51 s.v. S-95 and S-96, 381 map 8; Seeliger et al. 1985:605-7 s.v. TG164, pl. 70.2; Özbâl et al. 2000:48; Wagner and Öztunalı 2000:41-2; Bilgi 2001b:13, 35, 110-1 figs. 144-7. The Bakır Çayı slag dumps date predominately to the Hellenistic, Late Roman, and Byzantine periods, but are "perhaps as early as the Late Phrygian period [c. fifth century]" (De Jesus 1980:249). At Madenköy in the Bakır Çayı Valley, a thermoluminescence date of 40 ± 150 C.E. and radiocarbon date of 170 ± 50 C.E. were obtained. Hellenistic ceramics were collected at Çalman Yaylası and Mercanlar slag dumps. In contrast, Wagner and Öztunalı observe that the small size of the adits in the İnkaya open-cast pit appear to be prehistoric (2000:42).

arsenical bronzes, and the availability of arsenic ore deposits at the confluence of the Gökırmak with the Kızılırmak suggests that the copper mined in the Küre Range during the Iron Age was alloyed with another regionally available mineral.

#### **A.5. *Dodurga*** IA-H-R S RCT

41.5215° N, 34.9701° E

Gökoğlu 1952:144; French 1991b:7-8; Işın 1998:105 no. 32.

The Iron Age is currently not represented at the arsenic mines and along the fertile flood plain and terraces of the lower Gökırmak Valley. Dönmez revisited settlement mounds identified by Donceel-Voûte and Dengate in the 1970s, but no extensive survey has been conducted in the area. Iron Age settlements, however, have been surveyed in the lateral valleys. Dodurga is one such flat settlement with Early Bronze Age, Iron Age, Hellenistic, and Roman ceramics scattered on the banks of a stream near an outcrop with a Hellenistic incised relief bust and rockcut tomb. A Hellenistic route to the Sinop Promontory turns to the northwest at Dodurga (see **A.8**).

#### **A.6. *Boyalı İkiztepe I & II*** LIA-H-R SM

41.3743° N, 34.6788° E, approximate

Dönmez 2000:232, 243 figs. 10-1.

The double settlement mound of İkiztepe is located on the Karasu Stream, a tributary of the Asarcık Stream that flows into the Gökırmak near its confluence with the Kızılırmak. On the first mound, Early and Middle Bronze Age ceramics were encountered along with Late Iron Age ceramics. On the second mound, Early Bronze Age, Hellenistic, and Roman periods were represented.<sup>861</sup> Without additional information it is difficult to interpret with confidence the purpose of the Late Iron Age

---

<sup>861</sup> Mound I dimensions: 150 × 100 m; thickness of deposition: 10 m; mound II dimensions: 130 × 100 m; thickness of deposition: 10 m (Dönmez 2000:232). The discrepancy between Early Bronze Age and Early Iron Age may affect İkiztepe (see **K.1** and the “Archaeological surveys” section of Chapter 2).



occupation on İkiztepe I, although the location of a mound on a natural hill surveying the landscape is similar to the unfortified Iron Age agricultural settlements located on terraces in the Araç Valley.<sup>862</sup>

#### **A.7. *Boyabat Kalesi*** IA-H FS? TUN

41.4661° N, 34.7626° E

Fourcade 1811:53; Hamilton 1842 vol. 1:320-2; Ainsworth 1839:254-5; Leonhard 1915:77-8, 237 no. 12; Gökoğlu 1952:125; von Gall 1967b:513 no. 13, 519 fig. 19; French 1988:195; Eser 2006.

Boyabat Kalesi is a medieval and Ottoman castle that has erased or buried architectural traces from the Roman period and earlier. The castle rests on a high limestone outcrop at the end of a ridge with a vertical drop on the west down to gardens on the banks of the Kaz Stream. The gardens continue upstream in a flood plain surrounded by low rocky hills that is similar to the Asarcık Valley downstream from Boyalı İkiztepe (A.6).

During his survey of Roman roads, David French found Iron Age and Hellenistic sherds in the castle. The only rockcut feature that possibly dates to the Hellenistic period is a large tunnel. The width of the tunnel at 3.3 m differs from the other tunnels in the Gökırmak Valley—those dated to the Hellenistic period at Kalekapı (C.7), and at Kılıçkaya, with 1.3 m less in width.<sup>863</sup> The width of the Boyabat Kalesi tunnel does fall in the range between these tunnels and the largest of the Hellenistic tunnels at Amasya, at 5.5 m in width.<sup>864</sup> Rising 115 m from the surrounding valley terraces, Boyabat was a

---

<sup>862</sup> Donceel-Voûte surveyed a second settlement mound named Bayram Tepesi with Iron Age ceramics in the Asarcık Valley, but in 1998 Dönmez only encountered Early Bronze Age ceramics on the mound (41.3218° N, 34.8552° E, approximate; Gökoğlu 1952:41-2; Donceel-Voûte 1979:196; Dönmez 2000:232).

<sup>863</sup> The width of the three tunnels at Kalekapı is c. 2 m; the width of the tunnel at Kılıçkaya is also 2 m (Jacopi 1938:8, pl. 4 fig. 12; Gökoğlu 1952:124; von Gall 1967b:514 nos. 20, 23).

<sup>864</sup> Leonhard 1915:237 no. 18; von Gall 1967b:512 fig. 11, 514 no. 25.

prominent outcrop on a significant route through the Gökırmak Valley during the Late Iron Age and Hellenistic period.<sup>865</sup> If the outcrop follows the pattern of other Late Iron Age fortified settlements in the Gökırmak Valley, a settlement would have spread out at its foot under the contemporary town.

**A.8. *Kovuklukaya*** LIA F? RC

41.5819° N, 34.8508° E

Dönmez 2003b:3-4, 8, 14 pl. 1.1-2, 15 fig. 2; Dönmez 2004b:50, 58, 78 pl. 11; Dönmez 2004c; Erdal 2004; Dönmez 2005c; Erdal 2008.

In the salvage excavation of a Byzantine cemetery on a 25 m high outcrop adjacent to the contemporary highway between Boyabat and the Sinop Promontory, two ceramic sherds from the Late Iron Age were recovered. Dönmez dates the earliest, the spout of a jug with painted white panels, to c. 550, and the second, a sherd with painted horizontal bands, to the late phase of the Late Iron Age (c. 500-350). A 1.2 m deep rectangular niche is carved near the summit of the outcrop.<sup>866</sup> The two sherds and niche are probably the only trace of a small fort or naturally fortified rockcut sanctuary on the Late Iron Age route to the Sinop Promontory.<sup>867</sup> The route ascends the slope of the ridge and passes the outcrop on the west. Although only two sherds and no Iron Age architecture were

---

<sup>865</sup> The Roman road to Pompeiopolis does not follow the Gökırmak Valley northwest of Boyabat, but climbs Elekdağ (French 1988:195).

<sup>866</sup> The dimensions of the niche are 1.50 × 1.70 × 1.20 m (Dönmez 2003b:3 n. 25). The niche is unlikely to be associated with the Byzantine village, but it may belong to the Bronze Age settlement.

<sup>867</sup> Casting molds and crucibles indicate secondary smelting was done at Kovuklukaya in the first centuries of the second millennium, and the teeth of the Byzantine villagers indicate spinning as a significant activity among the women and forestry among the men (smelting: Dönmez 2004b:66 fig. 9, 73-6 pls. 6-9; 2004c:9, pl. 6-9, fig. 16-9; 2005c:263; spinning and forestry: Erdal 2004, 2008). Two sherds from an excavation do not indicate a significant settlement, and the discontinuous earlier and later occupations do not help.

excavated, the outcrop is on the route that passes by Tingiroğlu Tepesi (**K.1**) and runs parallel to the Hellenistic route by Dodurga (**A.5**) and the fortress above Çukurhan.<sup>868</sup>

#### **A.9. Salarköy** H-R FS RCT TUN

41.5328° N, 34.6850° E

Leonhard 1915:263-7; Jacopi 1938:8-9, pls. 4-5 figs. 13-8; Gökoğlu 1952:60-3; von Gall 1966a:57-65, 116-22, pls. 4, 5.1-3; Marek 1993: pl. 42.2; Belke 1996:269; Doonan et al. 1999:365-6, 371 fig. 5; Dönmez 2000:231-2, 241 fig. 6, 242 figs. 7-8; Marek 2003:30, 34 figs. 45-6; Dökü 2008a:114-5, 126-7, cat. no. 3, ill. 5, figs. 3, 13, 53, 54, 82, 117, 131.

At Salarköy, a Hellenistic and Roman settlement spreads across a terrace to the north and northwest of a ridge on the southern flank of the Gökırmak Valley, c. 40 km upstream from its confluence with the Kızılırmak.<sup>869</sup> The principal tomb is cut into the north facing cliff of the ridge. Cuttings for a gate and foundations of fortification walls, a stepped tunnel, and a simple second tomb are also present on the ridge. Von Gall's date for the principal tomb in the second half of the fourth century or *slightly later* is consistent with the Hellenistic period ceramics that the surveys encountered.<sup>870</sup>

The principal tomb follows Aegean column base and pediment sculpture more closely than other tombs. The triple columned porch is framed by triple rabbets (**figs. 53-4, 61**). The columns have stocky shafts with a very noticeable taper, torus bases resting on square plinths, and fillets separating the torus from the shaft. The sequence is reversed

---

<sup>868</sup> On a mountain peak east of Kovuklukaya is a fortress with rockcut steps and stepped tunnel (41.5934° N, 34.9422° E). Işın published the fortress, named Çukurhan after the village in the valley below, as dating to the Iron Age, Hellenistic, and Roman periods (1998:105 no. 31). French limits the fortress to the Hellenistic period (1991b:8). The fortress is on an alternate route that branches from the Gökırmak Valley 10 km east of Boyabat. This route follows a tributary of the Çarşak Stream and passes by the Hellenistic incised bust and rockcut tomb at Dodurga (41.5215° N, 34.9701° E; Gökoğlu 1952:144; French 1991b:7-8; Işın 1998:105 no. 32). On its northern descent to the Sinop Promontory, the route passes below the Hellenistic mountain sanctuary at Asar Tepe and by the tumulus at Kayanın Baş (Işın 1998:109 no. 44; Doonan and Bauer 2005:275-6, 282 figs. 7-9; Doonan 2009:72-5).

<sup>869</sup> Doonan measures the settlement as c. 5 ha (1999:231). The Early Bronze Age is also present (Dönmez 2000:231).

<sup>870</sup> Dökü's preference on stylistic grounds for a date a century earlier, in the second half of the fifth century, is unjustified. The plaster that covered Salarköy is preserved on the columns. The absence of plasticity that Dökü finds too early to the fourth century may be the result of the erosion of the plaster and painted details of the sculpture (Dökü 2008a:114-5).

for the capitals with fillet, torus, and abacus forming the base of kneeling winged bulls that project in front of the lower two rabbets. The ceiling of the porch is carved with beams with a subtle pitch spanning the depth of the porch. A central semicircular beam spanning the depth of the porch is framed by single narrow rectangular coffers on both sides. From the center the coffers then alternate with double semicircular beams. A square window and a central rectangular opening lead into a square burial chamber with abutting rockcut benches along the east wall and on the east side of the rear wall. The flat ceiling is carved with a circular line tangent to the walls and 8 radial lines. The square plan and tangent circular and radial lines of the chamber are innovations derived from the built tholos burial chambers of Thrace. These innovations begin in northern Turkey in the Hellenistic period in response to the Macedonian presence in the Hellenistic kingdoms. In Thrace various false vaulting techniques were applied to span tholoi. The technique referenced in the Salarköy ceiling is a multilateral pyramidal roof constructed of trapezoidal blocks.<sup>871</sup>

Rabbets define a pediment with a crouching Herakles fighting the Nemean lion. The composition is sculpted in high relief with the figures arranged to produce a profile perspective with the exception of the head of the lion, which is shown from above. A frontal standing eagle with extended wings is the central acroterion. The eagle is framed by standing lions in profile followed by frontal seated lions as corner acroteria.<sup>872</sup>

---

<sup>871</sup> Compare Golyamata Mogila near Malko Turnovo, a looted tumulus unfortunately only datable architecturally, possibly to the fifth to third century B.C.E., with Roman additions (Rousseva 2000:99-101).

<sup>872</sup> A lion with a comparable elongated body was surveyed near Gavurevleri (Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1999:223 s.v. C31/8, 237 fig. 15; Marek 2003:137 fig. 207).

The Terelikkayası tomb (**A.1**) shares with the Salarköy tomb the triple columned porch with winged capitals, the profile Herakles figure, and the lion's head carved as seen from above. Their Herakles compositions differ in relief height, and the sculptural field at Terelikkayası is more limited. At Salarköy the Herakles composition is carved in high relief and set within a pediment crowned with acroteria. Despite these differences, the Terelikkayası and Salarköy tombs share similarities with a number of contemporaneous tombs: the sphinxes in the pediment of the Evkayası tomb in Kastamonu (**C.18**), the couchant lions resting in front of the porch at Kargı Ambarkaya (**I.17**), and the bull capitals in the İskilip tomb 4 (**I.12**). With the exception of Kargı Ambarkaya, not one of these tombs can be associated with a Late Iron Age settlement. Salarköy is located on a ridge surveying the Gökırmak Valley, and regulates access along the valley, to the Sinop Promontory route, and possibly to the ridge route over Elekdağ to the west. Such a configuration is not dissimilar to Iron Age settlements, but Salarköy participates in the increase in settlement density in the Hellenistic period.

The Salarköy tomb is also similar to the fourth century Achaemenid Kalekapı tomb situated 60 km further upstream: the eagle with pair of opposed lions, Herakles and the lion composition, and similar columns with bull capitals. What differs are features that are drawn from Greek temple design at Salarköy, such as the pediment sculpture in high relief, the acroteria, an increased number of columns, and coffers in the portico ceiling. The tomb's particular allusion to the Kalekapı tomb suggests a Hellenistic leader's display of affiliation to the occupant of the Kalekapı tomb. Rather than belonging to the Achaemenid period, the Salarköy, Terelikkayası, Kargı Ambarkaya, İskilip, and Evkayası

tombs exemplify the emulation of an Achaemenid dynastic symbol by a later group, and dissemination of the tombs' heraldry.

### ***B. Copper mining sites & the Devrekani Plateau***

In the Gökırmak Valley and the Devrekani Plateau, copper mining is a significant factor in the settlement pattern together with agricultural practices and defensive requirements. The following section is an introduction to the Iron Age copper mining and smelting sites that are in the mountains to the north and south of the Gökırmak Valley, as well as to Küre, Cozoğlu, and Elekdağ; the latter two are sites where small surface deposits may have been mined in the Late Iron Age.

#### ***B.1. Cozoğlu/Çaybaşı M***

41.6904° N, 34.3398° E

De Jesus 1976:62; de Jesus 1980:111, 213 s.v. S-9, 381 map 8; Seeliger et al. 1985:605 s.v. TG163; Wagner and Öztunalı 2000:63.

Cozoğlu is an Ottoman copper mining settlement in the Çatalçam Valley, 10 km upstream from the Çatalçam's confluence with the Gökırmak River. There are tunnels on the valley slopes above the houses that penetrate into the copper deposits, and slag is visible throughout the area. This was a settlement that combined mining and smelting. Archaeological evidence for mining activities at Cozoğlu before the Ottoman period is absent; however, the deposits are on the contemporary threshold of economic viability and exploration. The Cozoğlu deposits assists in the characterization of the other deposits in the Taşköprü group as well as defining their eastern extent.

#### ***B.2. Garipoğlu Kayası IA SC***

41.6886° N, 34.2614° E, approximate

Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:277 s.v. B34/3; Özdoğan et al. 1998:68, 70, 98 fig. 8; Özdoğan et al. 2000:44, 51 ill. 5.

Garipoğlu Kayası is a flat settlement located on a shale outcrop on the left bank of the Alaçam Stream adjacent to a spring. The settlement is occupied in the Chalcolithic period, Early Bronze Age, and Iron Age.<sup>873</sup> The location is mountainous and separated from the Gökırmak River by the volcanic foothills of the Korukaya Peak of the Küre Range. Rising on the right bank of the Alaçam Stream is Kırachtepe, a hill that bears copper ore deposits.<sup>874</sup> Although slag dumps are not located adjacent to the settlement, the mountainous location and the proximity of the deposits demonstrate that the settlement was engaged in mining.

### ***B.3. Davud'un Yeri*** IA-H SC

41.6841° N, 34.2270° E, Türbetepe  
Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:277 s.v. B33/14, 282 fig. 4; Özdoğan et al. 1998:68-9.

Davud'un Yeri is a low settlement mound occupied in the Iron Age and Hellenistic period. The Middle and Late Bronze Age settlement mound of Türbetepe lies adjacent on a plateau above a tributary of the Alaçam Stream. The plateau lies just to the west of the Kırachtepe copper ore deposit.<sup>875</sup>

### ***B.4. Küçükçat*** IA SC

41.7037° N, 34.2505° E  
Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:277 s.v. B33/11; Özdoğan et al. 1998:69, 98 fig. 7.

Küçükçat is a very small flat settlement on a ridge upstream from Garipoğlu Kayası. Chalcolithic, Early Bronze Age, and Iron Age ceramics have been collected there.<sup>876</sup>

### ***B.5. Bakırboku/Küreburnu*** IA-SC

41.7113° N, 34.1115° E, Kepez  
Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:277 s.v. B33/12, 283; Özdoğan et al. 1998:68.

---

<sup>873</sup> The depth of deposition is thin (Özdoğan et al. 1998:70).

<sup>874</sup> Çağlar, Denizlioğlu and Ustalar 1995.

<sup>875</sup> Ibid.

<sup>876</sup> Site dimensions: 10 × 15 m; thickness of deposition: 1.5 m (Özdoğan et al. 1998:69).

Bakırboku is an appropriately descriptive name for a site with slag dumps from the smelting of copper. Although the preliminary publications of the Kastamonu Project only indicate that Bakırboku is an Iron Age site, its location in the Karadere Valley upstream of Kalekapı (C.&) suggests that the slag dumps are possibly Achaemenid.<sup>877</sup> Traces of two mining galleries are located 100 m to the east of the dumps. An additional copper ore deposit is located in the Devrekani Mountains north of Yüklütepe near Çünür in the small Kaygunca Plateau, but the vicinity of the Çünür deposit has not been archaeologically surveyed.

#### ***B.6. Kınık & vicinity*** MIA-LIA SC?

41.6390° N, 33.9302° E

Çınaroğlu, A. 1990/91; Bilgen 1999; Emre and Çınaroğlu 1993; Burney 2004:155-6; Çınaroğlu and Genç 2004:358, 364-5 ill. 6-10; Genç 2004; Çınaroğlu and Genç 2005:279-80, 289 ill. 10-11; Çınaroğlu and Çelik 2006:8, 15 ill. 4; Çınaroğlu and Çelik 2008:515-6, 524 fig. 11; Genç 2008:109-11, 114, 123 plan 1d, 129 fig. 6, 132-3 ill. 3-4.

North of the Devrekani Mountains, at the site of Kınık—famous as the provenance of Hittite metal vessels—excavations begun in 1994 have yielded a metallurgical site with a smelting furnace and slag dating to the Early and Middle Bronze Ages.<sup>878</sup> The copper ore deposits exploited by the metallurgists may have been in the immediate vicinity of the smelting site.<sup>879</sup> During the Early and Middle Iron Ages, a settlement was founded on top of the Early and Middle Bronze Age levels. Unfortunately, the Iron Age settlement has deposits damaged by plowing, and only artifacts and disturbed architectural traces are associated with the settlement. Regardless, the settlement is located on an outcrop that

---

<sup>877</sup> Access to the upper Karadere Valley is also available from the Devrekani Plateau and the slag dumps may be contemporary with Kınık.

<sup>878</sup> The Kınık hoard of Hittite vessels is probably a contemporary hoard assembled by looters digging in a sanctuary (Burney 2004:155-6). The provenance of the vessels is not the excavated settlement; it possibly is somewhere in the Devrekani Plateau (pace Emre and Çınaroğlu 1993:675).

<sup>879</sup> Copper ore deposits are c. 300 m to the north near Harmankaya (41.6414° N, 33.9287° E; Genç 2008:112 n. 111).



surveys the landscape, and the artifacts indicate a variety of activities from weaving to casting and other secondary metal processing. Smelting would have been performed near the copper ore deposits exploited in the Iron Age. The Middle Iron Age artifacts belong to an assemblage suitable for an elite residence: bronze fibulae, vessels in fine grey and painted wares, and iron arrow heads. In the Late Iron Age the settlement moves to an outcrop located c. 450 m to the northwest.<sup>880</sup> Although the Middle Iron Age phase at Kınık is so damaged, the settlement exemplifies the variety of activities performed at a settlement near the copper ore deposits.

### ***B.7. İmrentepe*** IA SM

41.6710° N, 33.7062° E, Üyük

Jacopi 1937:8-9, 13 s.v. Hüyük; Gökoğlu 1952:42-3; Burney 1956:180, 192; Belke 1996:280 s.v. Üyük.

İmrentepe is a settlement mound located where the routes from the Devrekani Plateau and the Gökırmak Valley north of Kastamonu merge to ascend an İnaltı limestone hill at the start of the mountainous ascent to Küre.<sup>881</sup> The mound is located on a natural hill adjacent to the route, and it regulated travel the route.<sup>882</sup> Although Jacopi made a sounding at the settlement mound in 1935, it is Burney who identifies an Iron Age occupational level on the mound. The İnaltı limestone dominates the landscape with beds parallel to the slope of the hill with a scar indicating the earlier route up the hill.<sup>883</sup> The gorge of a tributary of the Devrekani River cuts through the limestone 1 km to the east of the route.

---

<sup>880</sup> Harmankaya Mevkii Ören Yeri (41.6419° N, 33.9264° E; Genç 2008:114, 122 map 1b).

<sup>881</sup> İmrentepe is also occupied in the Late Chalcolithic period and the Early and Middle Bronze Ages (Burney 1956:181-3, 188-90).

<sup>882</sup> Ibid.:180.

<sup>883</sup> No alternate routes have left traces in the limestone.

### **B.8. Küre** IA? M

41.8058° N, 33.7112° E

Dengate 1978:245, pl. 65 fig. 2; de Jesus 1980:213 s.v. S-8, 381 map 8; Faroqhi 1984:171-88; Stos-Gale, Gale and Gilmore 1984:169-70 s.v. 17906; Seeliger et al. 1985:603-5 s.v. TG162, 648-9, pls. 68.2, 69.2, 70.1; Wagner et al. 1986:752 s.v. TG162; Hirao, Enomoto and Tachikawa 1995:93-97, 100 sample 34, 102 s.v. KE; Pitarakis 1998:157; Wagner and Öztunalı 2000:40-1, 63; Sayre et al. 2001:101.

Küre is a copper ore deposit in the mountain range named after itself. The twentieth century mines are located on the western slope of a north-south running ridge. Medieval and Ottoman open-cast pits, ore waste, and slag cover the eastern slope (**fig. 62**).<sup>884</sup> No archaeological evidence at Küre clarifies whether the ore was mined before the medieval period. Ottoman and contemporary mining of the Küre ore deposits and slag mounds from nearby smelting have obliterated most evidence of earlier mining. The only undisturbed evidence of mining is undated smaller mining sites scattered in the vicinity of Küre.<sup>885</sup>

Lead isotope analysis of copper artifacts from the Phrygian levels of Kaman-Kalehöyük—which also include the Achaemenid levels—has yielded several matches with the ore of Küre. Kaman-Kalehöyük's evidence supports the possibility of the exploitation of the Küre ore deposits beginning during the Achaemenid period or earlier in the first millennium.<sup>886</sup>

---

<sup>884</sup> A radiocarbon date of 1210-1280 cal. C.E. confirms the historical sources (Wagner and Öztunalı 2000:41).

<sup>885</sup> Seeliger et al. 1985:603, pl. 69.1.

<sup>886</sup> Twelve artifacts compatible with Küre copper ores are from Hittite through Ottoman levels at Kaman-Kalehöyük, five compatible copper artifacts are from Troy, and one second millenium compatible haft is from Mersin (Sayre et al. 2001:101; Seeliger et al. 1985:648-50 nos. HDM261, HDM267; Stos-Gale and Gilmore 1985:167-9 no. 17906). Lead isotope analysis of four Kaman-Kalehöyük artifacts support mining at Küre during the Iron Age (Kaman-Kalehöyük layer 2, c. 1200 to the fourth century [Hirao, Enomoto and Tachikawa 1995:95-6, 113 fig. 10]). Analysis of four additional artifacts tentatively support mining at Küre before the Iron Age (layer 3, c. 2000-1200 [Hirao, Enomoto and Tachikawa 1995:96-7, 114 fig. 11]). The five Küre compatible artifacts from Troy are from an unexcavated collection of Early Bronze Age artifacts of uncertain date (Pernicka et al. 1990:263-4; Begemann,

### ***B.9. Taşköprü & Elekdağ M***

41.5192° N, 34.4337° E, Elekdağ

Fourcade 1811:31, 45-7; Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:282 fig. 4, 283, 287.

In his 1811 article on the Roman city of Pompeiopolis, the French consul at Sinop, Pascal Fourcade, commented on the slag dumps near Taşköprü on the road from the northeast and at the site of Pompeiopolis, “aux approches et dans les ruines du fanbourg de *Tasch-Kouprou*, l’on rencontre en quantité des scories métalliques.”<sup>887</sup> Although the slag dumps may belong to the Cozoğlu mines, the possibility exists that mining occurred in the vicinity of Taşköprü. The Kastamonu Project surveyed mines recently abandoned on Elekdağ that were not industrialized. Iron Age sites in the Aşağı Valley and on the Köçekli Plateau may have been settlements similar to Kınık. The copper mining in the mountains surrounding the Gökırmak Valley, however, impacted the settlement locations and character of all settlements in the valley, *and* the ritual and burial practices of the inhabitants. Upstream of the confluences of the Çatalçam and Alaçam mining streams, the Gökırmak Valley broadens to the north and south. Not only does the river divide the valley into northern and southern terraces watered by the Küre and Ilgaz mountains, respectively, but the Aygır Tepesi ridge runs from southwest to northeast on the northern bank and separates the northern valley terraces from the flood plain of the river.

### ***C. Upper Gökırmak & Daday Valleys***

The Gökırmak Valley is the most fertile subregion of Paphlagonia, with terraced slopes and a wide flood plain upstream of its confluence with the Kızılırmak and between Taşköprü and Kastamonu. In the Iron Age, settlements tend to have an elevated and

---

Schmitt-Strecker and Pernicka 2003:173-4). Stos-Gale, Gale and Gilmore analyzed an additional possibly Küre compatible flat axe from the Early Bronze Age (Troy II [1984:24-5, 28 s.v. Group C; 38-9 no. 9874]).

<sup>887</sup> Fourcade 1811:31.

fortified center with a surrounding unfortified area. Survey has documented two smaller fortified residences located further from the agricultural terraces and without a surrounding settlement. A few smaller unfortified settlements with less fineware ceramics were visible in the surveys.<sup>888</sup> The fortified sites are all located where they survey the landscape and regulate access to a route or mining area. Each of these sites is associated with prominent funerary monuments: either a rockcut tomb or a cluster of tumuli. Consequently, the Iron Age landscape of the Gökırmak Valley was a well connected, protected, and regulated by hereditary elite.

### ***C.1. Çal*** IA F?

41.6276° N, 34.2277° E

Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:277 s.v. B33/10; Özdoğan et al. 1998:68.

Çal is a flat site on a ridge of İnaltı limestone on the eastern edge of the rolling valley terraces to the north of the Aygır Tepesi ridge.<sup>889</sup> Further downstream on the Gökırmak River the zone of volcanic rock extends closer to the river and forms a neck in the valley. Iron Age sherds and roof tiles were collected from illicit excavations. A 4.5 m long stretch of a wall built of large fieldstones is also visible on the outcrop, and the area is currently interpreted as an elevated and naturally fortified site surveying the landscape. The roof tiles and a similar location to Kovuklukaya (A.8) and Kalekapı (C.7), which suggests that the tiles may belong to a sanctuary. A perennial spring and a large cave are located lower in the limestone ridge.<sup>890</sup> Like other Iron Age valley settlements Çal is not in a remote location, but regulates a route to the mining area in the upper Alaçam Valley.

---

<sup>888</sup> Very little change occurs in the fabric of the common mica schist ceramics from the Iron Age through the Byzantine period. After a period when oxidized mica schist wares were preferred, reduced wares reappear in the Byzantine period. Surface treatments, however, differ between the Iron Age and Byzantine mica schist wares, but the wares are friable and surfaces are often not preserved.

<sup>889</sup> Site dimensions: 50 × 40 m (Özdoğan et al. 1998:68).

<sup>890</sup> Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1997:307.

Access to the upper valley in the Iron Age, therefore, was probably not through the lower valley with its steep and friable volcanic slopes. A more conclusive interpretation depends on the ceramic analysis, which may shed some light on the nature of food consumption and the purpose of the site.

### ***C.2. Tepekaya*** IA S/FS?

41.3938° N, 34.3431° E

Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:277 s.v. C34/4, 287-8, 293, 297, 304; Özdoğan et al. 1998:66, 74, 92 ill. 7.10-11, 95 fig. 1; Özdoğan et al. 2000:43-4.

Tepekaya is a settlement spread over the summit and terraced slopes of a rock, hill in the middle of the Köçekli Plateau. The site has a continuous occupational sequence from the Chalcolithic to the Roman period, and it is the largest site surveyed by the Kastamonu Project, although in any one period the settlement appears not to cover the entire site.<sup>891</sup> The Iron Age was collected only on the slope.<sup>892</sup> The Kastamonu Project collected slag at the nearby Koçaç Tepe settlement mound.<sup>893</sup> It is possible that Tepekaya and the numerous other Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age settlements in the Köçekli Plateau were engaged in mining. In the Iron Age, however, the Köçekli Plateau is not an area of high settlement density, and Tepekaya is probably a central settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. The Köçekli Plateau is located on the route to the Kızılırmak near Kargı, one of the routes that connects the Gökırmak Valley with southern Paphlagonia.

---

<sup>891</sup> Tepekaya is Paphlagonia's only extensive highland settlement similar to Kerkenes, with the possible exception of Kale Mevkii (F.2) in the Devrez Valley, although both are on a far smaller scale and with unclear extents in the Iron Age. On Kerkenes Dağı, see G.D. Summers and F. Summers 1998, G.D. Summers 2006b.

<sup>892</sup> A thick wall is visible on the summit where ceramics dating to the Chalcolithic through Late Bronze Age were collected (Özdoğan et al. 1998:74).

<sup>893</sup> Özdoğan et al. 1998:67.

### ***C.3. Emenni Tepesi & Isırganlık Sırtı*** IA-H-R S NEC

41.267673°N, 34.2210° E, approximate

Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:277 s.v. C33/9, C33/12; Özdoğan et al. 1998:67-8, 71-2.

Emenni Tepesi is a settlement located on a cliff and lower terrace above the right bank of the Kiraz Valley in the hills south of Taşköprü. The Kastamonu Project collected Iron Age, Hellenistic, and Roman ceramics; Iron Age ceramics were also collected at the Roman and Byzantine necropolis at Isırganlık Sırtı. The lower course of the Kiraz Stream flows parallel to the southern tributaries of the Gökırmak (Karaçomak, Karasu, Iğdır, and the southern Karadere), but the upper course curves around from the southeast and drains onto the southwestern slopes of Saraycık Dağı. The Köçekli Plateau is on the northeastern slopes of the mountain. Whereas it is possible that the upper course of the Kiraz Stream is on a route to the south, Emenni Tepesi is probably a precedent of the dispersed mountain settlements of the Hellenistic period.

### ***C.4. Karacaoğlu*** IA? S

41.5071° N, 34.0787° E, nearest village

Donceel-Voûte 1979:196.

At the western end of the Aygır Tepesi ridge is a settlement mound where Donceel-Voûte identified “occasional Iron Age sherds.” The settlement is located on a terrace to the southeast of the Iron Age fortified settlement of Yüklütepe, and it may be a smaller contemporaneous settlement.<sup>894</sup>

### ***C.5. Ağcıkışi*** IA?-H?-R FS?

41.5184° N, 34.1937° E, mosque

Fourcade 1811:55, von Gall 1966a:114, pl. 14.1-2; Barat et al. 2009:397-9.

---

<sup>894</sup> Early and Middle Bronze Age and late Medieval ceramics were also identified.

In his article on Pompeiopolis, Fourcade locates a battle between Mithridates VI and Nicomedes of Bithynia in the vicinity of Pompeiopolis. Fourcade identifies a rocky hill (γῆλοφος πετρῶδης) in Appian's narrative of the battle as a hill three quarters of a mile (c. 1.5 km) to the west of the ruins of Pompeiopolis.<sup>895</sup> The Ağcıkışi neighborhood of Taşköprü is built on a hill 1.5 km to west of the ridge where the urban center of Pompeiopolis is located.<sup>896</sup> On this hill Fourcade describes:

This position must be the rather high tumulus, which still carries the traces of a fortress built in the Late Roman period; but this hill must have been inhabited for a long time. I saw a lot of Greek and Roman pottery there, some marble fragments, and a very beautiful capital of Ionic order.<sup>897</sup>

Although what Fourcade interpreted as “Greek pottery” cannot be known, the possibility exists that Ağcıkışi is the location of an Iron Age and/or Hellenistic fort.

In the courtyard of the neighborhood's mosque is a monolithic column plinth, torus band, and high torus base (**fig. 63**). In the top center of the base is a shallow square cutting with a wide dowel hole, perhaps to hold the tenon of a wooden column shaft.<sup>898</sup> Von Gall interpreted the monolith as a tumulus marker, and the monolith is remarkably similar to the marker depicted in the Polyxena sarcophagus dated to c. 500. On a long

---

<sup>895</sup> App. *Mith.* 65.

<sup>896</sup> The spolia in Ağcıkışi was surveyed in 2008 (Barat et al. 2009:397-9).

<sup>897</sup> “Ce poste doit être un Tumulus assez élevé, qui porte encore les restes de une forteresse construite sous le Bas-Empire; mais ce tertre doit avoir été habité depuis long-temps. Je y ai vu beaucoup de poterie grecque et romaine, quelques fragmens de marbre et un très-beau chapiteau de ordre ionique” (Fourcade 1811:55).

<sup>898</sup> The plinth height: 0.25 m, width: 1.72 m; torus band height: 0.13 m; torus base height: 0.65 m, diameter: 1.43 m; square cutting width: 0.45 m; dowel hole diameter: 0.20 m (von Gall 1966a:114). A similar monolith was surveyed near at Kızıllar near Çerkeş (40.8503° N, 32.8508° E; Belke 1996:235 s.v. Kızıllar, fig. 82). In contrast to the Ağcıkışi monolith, the torus band of the Kızıllar monolith is smaller in diameter than the torus base. The dimensions of the Kızıllar monolith are not published. A smaller mushroom-shaped marker from the summit of a tumulus was surveyed north of Ağcıkışi in Karapürçek (von Gall 1966a:115). See also **E.2, I.26**.

side of the sarcophagus the sacrifice of Polyxena is depicted in front of a tumulus.<sup>899</sup> More convincingly, however, Alexander von Kienlin and Latife Summerer have recently argued that the monolith is a base from a columned porch of a monumental building.<sup>900</sup> A comparable monumental building was recently excavated within the palace complex at Kerkenes Dağı.<sup>901</sup> The height of the Ağcıkışi torus base is approximately 1.5 times the height of the rockcut bases at Kalekapı; 1.5 times the height of the Kalekapı column with plinth and kneeling bull capital results in a height of 5 m for the complete Ağcıkışi column. Although the evidence is tangential, Fourcade's description of Ağcıkışi and the column base suggests the possibility that the Gökırmak Valley around Taşköprü held a third fortified settlement with monumental architecture in the Iron Age in addition to Yüklütepe and Kalekapı.

### ***C.6. Yüklütepe*** IA-H FS

41.5327° N, 34.0213° E

Gökoğlu 1952:42 s.v. Urgancı Höyüğü; Donceel-Voûte 1979:196 s.v. Urgancı; Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996:275 s.v. B33/3, 277 fig. 2, 279, 284, 286, 290; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1997:309, 321 ill. 6.2, 6, 9-12, 328 fig. 7a; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1999:227.

Yüklütepe is a flat settlement that straddles a ridge along the northern boundary of the agricultural terraces of the Gökırmak Valley. The occupational deposits drape over conglomerate bedrock that is visible on the summit of the mound. The northern slope of the summit was possibly an artificial trench cut to transform the ridge to an outcrop.

<sup>899</sup> The sarcophagus was excavated in the Kizöldün tumulus at the site of Gumuşçay in the Troad (Sevinç 1996, Rose 2007:249-52).

<sup>900</sup> Summerer and von Kienlin (in press). In the Roman period columns with shortened shafts were inscribed and placed on the summit of tumuli in order to increase their visibility (Marek 1993:101, 204 no. 67, pl. 16.4; 2003:137). The identification of the Ağcıkışi monolith as a column base, therefore, does not imply that the monolith is evidence of a monumental building.

<sup>901</sup> The columns of the monumental building within the palace complex are behind walls that enclose the porch (G.D. Summers 2006b:174-5, 2007:255-9; G.D. Summers and F. Summers 2008:68). Compare also the columns of a megaron with open porch excavated in the lower city in G.D. Summers, F. Summers and Branting 2004:21-32.



Every period of the first millennium B.C.E. is represented in the ceramic assemblages recovered at the settlement. This includes a local fabric ware with schist inclusions similar to wares found in the assemblage at Yassıhöyük (Gordion). With a few Aegean imports beginning in the sixth century, Yüklütepe is the one settlement with imported sherds and tiles from a monumental building.

Although Yüklütepe is occupied in the Late Iron Age, the field that encompasses the summit of the settlement contains a surprising percentage of Middle Iron Age fine wares. Various possibilities could account for this distribution: the Late Iron Age occupation is limited to the lower slopes by standing architecture on the summit, the Late Iron Age occupation is no longer a location of elite residence, or the summit was leveled when the field was brought under cultivation. The difference in ceramics at Yüklütepe and Kalekapı is sufficient to argue that elite residence shifts from Yüklütepe to Kalekapı during the Late Iron Age.

The Yüklütepe settlement regulates the route from the Gökırmak Valley to the Devrekani Plateau in the vicinity of Kınık (**B.6**), and from Kınık westwards to İmrentepe (**B.7**) and the route to Küre (**B.8**).<sup>902</sup> Akalan (**J.1**) in the hills above Samsun is a similar settlement straddling a ridge with one precipitous slope and one gentle slope where a route passes. The ridge route southwards at Yüklütepe to the river is lined with the tumuli named Zelatin Tepeleri (**C.11**) that are probably contemporaneous with the published Middle Iron Age ceramics.<sup>903</sup> In contrast to the extent of the Middle Iron Age

---

<sup>902</sup> My least cost path analyses of the routes from Pompeiopolis and Kalekapı to Küre with a Shuttle Radar Topography Mission raster data followed the Yüklütepe pass over the Devrekani Mountains.

<sup>903</sup> In the gorge to the north of Yüklütepe and facing the route to the Devrekani Plain is an unfinished simple double columned or pillared tomb with a plain pedimental façade (von Gall 1966a:21, 106 s.v. Yukarı Urgancı).

occupation and the settlement continuity at Yüklütepe, the most significant evidence for the Paphlagonian response to Achaemenid administration is in the presence of a prominent Achaemenid monument type, the sculpted rock-cut tomb, and the associated fortified settlement 5 km to the east at Kalekapı.

### ***C.7. Kalekapı*** LIA-H-R FS RCT TUN RC

41.5654° N, 34.0908° E, rockcut tomb

Fourcade 1811:39-41; Leonhard 1915:82-3, 129, 132-4, 235-6, 246-57, pls. 5, 19, 23-5; Yaman 1935:33-8, pls.; Bittel 1945:90-2; Gökoğlu 1952:65-71, 124; Akurgal 1955a:64-5, 92, 105, pls. 40-1, 43b; Budde 1963:72-3; Bittel and Naumann 1965; von Gall 1966a:13-57, 116-22, pls. 2-3; Donceel-Voûte 1979:196 s.v. Donalar-Kapıkaya; Marek 1993:14-5, 69-70, pls. 40-1; Marek 2003:13, 30, 27 fig. 34, 31-2 figs. 40-2; Döku 2008a:110-3, cat. no. 1, ill. 4, figs. 1, 11, 68, 90, 101, 108-9, 116, 130; Barat et al. 2009:400-4; Summerer 2009.

Fourcade was the first to publish a description of the columnar rockcut tomb of Kalekapı.<sup>904</sup> Fourcade described the columns as Corinthian or composite and dated the tomb to the Roman period, but the capitals are kneeling bulls, and the tomb surely dates to the Achaemenid period. The tomb, Kalekapı “Gate-of-the-Fort,” shares its name with a fortified settlement that straddles the İnaltı limestone ridge on the northern edge of the valley (**figs. 29-31**). The limestone at Kalekapı is thickly bedded and emerges vertically adjacent to a fault line. The northern Karadere Stream cuts the ridge into southwestern and northeastern sections. The façade and columned porch of the tomb are carved into

<sup>904</sup> Fourcade locates Kalekapı rockcut tomb half an hour to the south of Taşköprü “au pied de la haute chaîne de l’Olgassys” (1811:39). The tomb is located to the northwest of Taşköprü. Fourcade seems to think that the Gökırmak River flows through the Olgassys Massif, “la chaîne de montagnes qui se montrait de toutes parts” (ibid.:31). The description with the so-called unicorn (unfinished bull) can only be of Kalekapı: “Au-dessus des colonnes, et dans un espace taillé en fronton, paroissent deux lions vus de face; sur lesquels plane un aigle aux ailes éployées. Aux deux côtés de la porte se dessinent fièrement un taureau cornupète, une licorne et deux griffons qui semblent défendre l’entrée du monument” (ibid.:40). Not far from the tomb Fourcade encountered columns: “Non loin du monument de Pompeïopolis, j’ai trouvé beaucoup de débris de poterie et de fûts de colonnes. Parmi ces restes précieux, j’ai lu sur un autel brisé la partie d’une inscription en l’honneur l’Esculape. Au reste, des ruines de village se trouvent à chaque pas” (ibid.:44). Recent construction of irrigation systems uncovered marble ashlar blocks below the northeastern outcrop of Kalekapı (Kunest 2009).

the southeastern face of the northeastern outcrop of the ridge near its precipitous southwestern edge.

The tomb consists of low reliefs surrounding a columned porch raised above the ground in the middle of a chiseled surface (**figs. 6, 23-4, 28, 64**). Below a gutter and band defining a gable is an eagle with outspread wings grasping a pair of opposed lions over a Herakles and the Nemean lion combat. The interlocked front legs and the braced rear legs of the lions indicate that, even with the pose of profile bodies and frontal heads, the lions are in combat as are the Herakles figure and the lion below them. Winged rampant lion-griffins each rest a paw on or near the upper corners of the frame of the porch. Below the lion-griffin on the east is a lion in profile above an unfinished bull, and below the lion-griffin on the west is a bull with its head lowered. Different aspects of the Kalekapı reliefs are interpreted at the end of the third chapter and in the fifth chapter.

The double columned porch of the tomb is set within a triple rabbet frame. The columns have stocky tapering shafts, torus bases resting on square plinths, and torus and abacus capitals bearing kneeling bulls. In the rear wall of the porch are rectangular openings to two connected burial chambers. The opening of the principal chamber is between the western wall of the porch and the first column. Along the eastern side wall of the rectangular chamber is a rockcut kline with turned legs on the short end facing the opening. A second rockcut bench spans the width of the chamber along the rear wall. The opening to the second chamber is between the columns and leads to a chamber with a rockcut bench along its eastern side wall.

Many proposals have been made to date the Kalekapı tomb to the fifth century on the basis of iconographic and stylistic analysis. My historiographical analysis of

interpretations of the Paphlagonian tombs reveals a tendency to interpret them as primitive, particularly the columns, but I suspect that the columns reflect an indigenous tradition and date somewhere in the first two-thirds of the fourth century, when columnar tombs tend to appear in western Anatolia.

The eastern outcrop forms a linear plateau running from the tomb in the southwest to the northeast where an artificial trench cuts the plateau from the ridge's northeastern continuation. The northern and western edges of the outcrop are precipitous. Where dam construction debris and supply roads disturb and bury the occupational deposits on the northern edge of the western outcrop, Late Iron Age ceramics are visible. Late Iron Age and Hellenistic sherds blanket its southern slopes. Visibility is low on the plateau and on a slope to the south of the eastern outcrop, where Hellenistic and Roman sherds predominate.

The limestone ridges are themselves also covered with rockcut features. The most frequent features are the cuttings for wall foundations. Along the southeastern edge of the eastern ridge from the artificial trench to the middle of the ridge runs the footing for a wall. The footing ends on a slope with parallel stepped cuttings for building a level surface. On the western ridge, stair-like cuttings mark the line of a thick wall that would have protected the southwestern access to the ridge. Four stepped tunnels currently accepted in the archaeological literature as artificially cut into the ridges. In chapter 5, I demonstrate that the tunnels are partially phreatic features of the limestone. The tunnel on the western ridge is located on the southeastern slope within the walled area. The first tunnel on the eastern ridge is from the summit and is aligned with the ridge. The second tunnel is on the flank of the ridge and turns 90 degrees to align itself with the ridge. The

fourth is a simple curving tunnel similar to Doğanlar Kayası where the tunnel has steps carved into an inactive phreatic tube on the north slope of the eastern outcrop.<sup>905</sup>

The Kalekapı tomb is raised and visible from a distance, but even so, if the copper mining in the Karadere upstream of the settlement is not considered, the location could appear to be hidden from routes traversing the Gökırmak Valley. When the copper mining is considered, the settlement itself becomes a gate to the mountains and regulates access to the copper mines. In the third chapter I argue that the significance of mining and phreatic caves participates in the Achaemenid period reimagination of Herakles and the Nemean lion combat. During the Hellenistic period the settlement retains its significance as demonstrated by the reinterpretations of the Kalekapı tomb reliefs.

#### ***C.8. Aygırkayası H RCT***

41.5455° N, 34.1724° E, approximate  
Gökoğlu 1952:72-3; von Gall 1966a:106, 117, pl. 14.1-2; Dökü 2008a:23-6, 113-4, cat. no. 2.

Along the southeastern flank of the Aygır Tepesi ridge that runs from the southwest to the northeast above the left bank of the Gökırmak is a cliff just below the summit. Into this cliff to the northwest of Ağcıkışı is the Aygırkayası tomb. Since the middle of the twentieth century, the column that Gökoğlu and von Gall photographed has collapsed. The column and deep rabbets that were preserved are similar to those at Salarköy, with the exception of the wings on the Salarköy kneeling bull capitals. No low reliefs are carved in the field outside the rabbets, and the tomb probably had a pedimental façade also similar to Salarköy. If Ağcıkışı was occupied in the Hellenistic period, the Aygırkayası tomb would have been the monumental rockcut tomb associated with the

---

<sup>905</sup> See the “Geological landscape: aquifers” section in Chapter 2.

settlement. Dökü dates Aygırkayası, in accordance with his date for Salarköy, to the second half of the fifth century. Following the same comparison, I date Aygırkayası to the Hellenistic period.

### **C.9. Bademci** H-R S RCT

41.5492° N, 34.0660° E, tomb

Jacopi 1937:13, pl. 11.36; Gökoğlu 1952:74-5; Donceel-Voûte 1979:196; Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996:275 s.v. B33/4 Kayaaltı; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1997:311; Marek 2003:35 fig. 47; Dökü 2008a:45, 87-9, 121, cat. no. 31, figs. 44, 110.

To the southwest of Kalekapı is a rockcut tomb with a square entrance in the middle of a façade with a gable. The tomb is c. 30 m from the surface of the ground, and the surrounding rock is not chiseled smooth. The façade consists of only an inset rectangular niche with a wider inset pediment with relief sculpture above.<sup>906</sup> The relief is of two opposed standing lions with profile bodies and frontal heads. The lions are a quotation of the Kalekapı lions below the eagle. The depth of the relief is similar to that at Salarköy (A.9), and the standing pose is similar to that at Kargı Ambarkaya (I.17). The Bademci tomb is probably late Hellenistic, and possibly even early Roman.<sup>907</sup> A Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine settlement is located on a terrace and its slopes at the foot of the tomb.

### **C.10. Çöpçöp Kayası** H-R RCT NEC

41.5312° N, 33.9920° E, nearest village

Gökoğlu 1952:75; Dökü 2008a:49-50, 87-90, 121, cat. no. 30, figs. 45, 110.

A second quotation of Kalekapı is in the façade of 1 of the 13 tombs in the Çöpçöp Kayası rockcut necropolis carved in an outcrop of the İnaltı limestone to the west of

<sup>906</sup> The wider gable indicates that a frame of pilasters was planned and that the tomb is unfinished. No published description of the burial chamber is available.

<sup>907</sup> A Roman milestone was found near Bademci (French 1981-1988 vol. 2.2:183 no. 504). Gökoğlu surveyed a similar rockcut tomb in the Karasu Valley near Ömerli (1952:81 s.v. Kalendere).

Yüklütepe. The tomb consists of a square opening in a pedimental façade that leads into a barrel vaulted burial chamber with a rounded rear wall. Both the line of the pediment and the relief below of standing lions are only incised into the surface and probably unfinished. The incised technique causes the misleading impression that the tomb is similar to the low reliefs of Kalekapı. The composition is in fact the same as Bademci, where the lions stand in profile and face forward.

Numerous additional tombs dated to the Hellenistic and Roman periods are described as Paphlagonian. Gökoğlu expanded the definition to encompass all the single chambered tombs similar in plan to the Bademci and Çöpçöp Kayası tombs but without pedimental façades.<sup>908</sup> Generally, the tombs described as Paphlagonian are single or double columned or have the pedimental façade. The other Hellenistic and Roman rockcut tombs north and south of the Aygır Tepesi ridge are Halakayası, Yukarı Urgancı, and Alasökü. Halakayası is a tomb near Kalekapı with a simple porch and alcove kline with turned legs on either side wall of the burial chamber.<sup>909</sup> In the eastern wall of the gorge opening on the northern flank of Yüklütepe is cut the Yukarı Urgancı tomb with double columned porch within an inset pedimental frame.<sup>910</sup> Direklikaya is one of a number of rockcut tombs around Alasökü, a village on a mountain plateau to the northeast of the Saraycık Dağı. The single column of the porch has the plinth, high torus

---

<sup>908</sup> Gökoğlu 1952:58-121.

<sup>909</sup> The coordinates of Halakayası are 41.5568° N, 34.0961° E (nearest village). Von Gall suggests a date in the fourth century on the basis of the turned legs of the kline (von Gall 1966a:95-6). Rockcut burial chambers with alcoves beneath tumuli tend to be late Hellenistic and Roman.

<sup>910</sup> Yukarı Urgancı is dated to the late Hellenistic or Roman period (41.5418° N, 34.0209° E; Yaman 1935:38-9; Gökoğlu 1952:71-2; von Gall 1966a:106-7; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1997:309 s.v. B33/3; Dökü 2008a:120, cat. no. 12, fig. 38).

base, stocky shaft and square abacus of the Paphlagonian tombs at Salarköy and İskilip.<sup>911</sup>

### ***C.11. Zelatin Tepeleri*** IA? TUM

41.5239° N, 34.0269° E

Gökoğlu 1952:49; Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996:275 s.v. B33/2.

The Zelatin Tepeleri are tumuli that offer the most compelling evidence for interpreting the larger tumuli near to and on the routes leading to Middle and Late Iron Age settlements as contemporaneous with the settlements. The tumuli line the ridge route northwards from the Gökırmak River to Yüklütepe.<sup>912</sup> Whereas the upper fortified settlement sits on the eastern shoulder of the ridge, the tumuli sit on the western shoulder.

### ***C.12. Kırktepeler*** H-R TUM

41.4861° N, 34.0619° E

Jacopi 1937:6, 10, pls. 5.14, 8.27-99.30-1; Jacopi 1938:5-8, pls. 2.3-5, 3.6-10, 4.11; Arık 1939:149; Gökoğlu 1952:49; Belke 1996:184 s.v. Çetmi.

In 1935 Jacopi excavated two of the ten tumuli he encountered at Kırktepeler, a site located on a terrace immediately above the flood plain of the Gökırmak, 10 km to the south of Yüklütepe. In contrast to Zelatin Tepeleri, the Kırktepeler tumuli offer the most compelling evidence for the Hellenistic dating of clusters of smaller tumuli. Jacopi dated the intact first tumulus to the sixth century, at least three centuries too early; the tumulus is in fact Hellenistic. The tumulus contained a simple stone carved sarcophagus covered

---

<sup>911</sup> Direklikaya is dated to the late Hellenistic or Roman period (41.3387° N, 34.4191° E, nearest village; Gökoğlu 1952:73-4; von Gall 1966a:108-9; Dökü 2008a:120, cat. no. 21, fig. 26). Direklikaya is in a mountainous landscape where settlement densities increase in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. The column of the tomb demonstrates that Paphlagonian tombs cannot be dated to the Achaemenid period only on the basis of column design.

<sup>912</sup> Two tumuli on Kuş Tepesi to the east of the route to the Gökırmak are, however, not datable (41.5010° N, 34.0548° E; Jacopi 1937:12, pl. 10.34; Gökoğlu 1952:49). From their prominent location they survey the route to Yüklütepe and the landscape near the Iron Age settlement of Karacaoğlu, as well as the Hellenistic and Roman settlement on Çetmi Höyük (Donceel-Voûte 1979:196; Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996:275 s.v. B33/1, 279; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1997:309).



with three stone slabs.<sup>913</sup> Within the sarcophagus was a young adult skeleton with gold leaf diadem, fragments of a purple shroud, and leather shoes. The burial goods were a ceramic jug painted with red slip, a brown slip painted cup, a bronze strigil, and a corroded ring.<sup>914</sup>

On Jacopi's return to Kırktepeler in 1936, he found that four more tumuli had been illicitly excavated by villagers. He assembled the artifacts into tomb groups.<sup>915</sup>

Tomb 1: A core-formed amphoriskos with clear blue glass handles and terminal knob was found in this tomb. The body is opaque black with white and dark brick red threads in a festoon pattern. The lid is black steatite with attached bronze spoon.<sup>916</sup> The body has the profile of a wine amphora and handles that rise to the rim, a shape dated to the second through the first centuries.<sup>917</sup> The tomb also contained a gold leaf diadem in the form of a myrtle crown, a pair of gold earrings with plaque incised with a head of Zeus and a goddess, and a glass vessel in several colors.<sup>918</sup>

Tomb 2: Along with five teeth of a child, this tomb contained a jug with single flat vertical handle, spherical body, flat base, and wide neck in a fine reddish fabric; lekythos

---

<sup>913</sup> The tumuli were up to 8 m in height and 24 m in diameter. The excavated tumuli were 3 m and 6 m high, and 22 m and 18 m in diameter. The sarcophagus measured 1.80 x 0.38 x 0.38 m (Jacopi 1937:10). The tumulus is beyond a doubt Hellenistic; compare the plain stone sarcophagi of the plundered Hellenistic necropolis at Mercimekli Sırtı (Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:277 s.v. C33/10, 294; Özdoğan et al. 1998:71-2).

<sup>914</sup> The second tumulus contained a burial chamber built of stone slabs that was looted in antiquity. Plowing uncovered a third, shallow burial in an adjacent field (Jacopi 1937:10).

<sup>915</sup> Three objects were recovered from the art market in İzmir (1938:5). The Kırktepeler finds are missing today. My inquiries at the Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi in Ankara and the Kastamonu Müzesi found no records for the finds.

<sup>916</sup> Amphoriskos height: 14.5 cm, diameter: 4.8; lid height: 1.2 cm, diameter: 1.6; spoon length: 13.2 cm, thickness: 5-18 mm (ibid.:5).

<sup>917</sup> Harden type 7Biiiib (1981:128-9, 133, fig. 9, pl. 20 [no. 357]); Grose amphoriskos II:2B (1989:107, 171, 408 [no. 172]).

<sup>918</sup> The glass vessel was not recovered from İzmir (ibid.:5).

with fusiform body in buff fabric; eight beads; gold earring; silver drachma of Alexander the Great; and a few other fragments.<sup>919</sup>

Tomb 3: Bronze aryballos with engraved petal ribbing around the shoulder, two bands below the shoulder, and petal ribbing from the bands to the foot; a coarse reddish grey jug with single flat vertical handle and flat base; and fragments of a bronze strigil with handle incised in floral design and a silver bracelet.<sup>920</sup>

Tomb 4: Bronze oinochoe with globular body, flat base, and double upswung handles; oxidized fusiform lekythos; bronze ladle; and bronze bracelet.<sup>921</sup>

Kırktepeler artifacts of doubtful provenance include iron tripod legs terminating in horse hooves and a sunken relief carved on a stone block with triangular gable.<sup>922</sup> The relief depicts male and female seated frontal figures sculpted in a sketchy manner. The male figure wears a mantle over a chiton with thick, vertical folds visible below his knees. The female figure wears a gauzy chiton under a himation draped over her head and hanging in angled folds below her chest.

The first of the burials in the tumuli of Kırktepeler dates to the end of the fourth century and they continue down to the first century.<sup>923</sup>

### ***C.13. İnceboğaz Kale Mevkii*** IA-R F

41.5189° N, 33.8192° E

---

<sup>919</sup> Jug height: 18 cm, mouth diameter: 10 cm (ibid.:6, pl. 2.4 left); lekythos height: 11 cm, body diameter: 4.2 cm (ibid.:6, pl. 2.4 middle)

<sup>920</sup> Aryballos height: 7.5 cm, diameter: 6 cm; jug height: 23 cm, mouth diameter: 6.1 cm (ibid.:6, pl. 2.4 right, 3.6).

<sup>921</sup> Oinochoe height: 16 cm, mouth diameter: 8.5 cm; lekythos height: 12 cm; ladle length: 15 cm; bracelet diameter: 12 cm (ibid.:6, pl. 2.4 middle, 3.7-9).

<sup>922</sup> Block height: 51 cm, width: 38 cm, depth: 38 cm (ibid.:6-7, pl. 4.11).

<sup>923</sup> Jacopi also excavated a Roman necropolis on a prehistoric mound with two adjacent tumuli near Tepedelik. His interpretation of the Tepedelik mound as a tumulus was never accepted (41.4563° N, 34.2424° E, nearest village; Jacopi 1938:37-40, pls. 34.145, 35.146-9, 36.150-[53], 37.154-5; Arık 1939:149-50; Bittel and Schneider 1943:205-6, 209; Burney 1956:189).

Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996:275 s.v. B32/1, 279; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1997:310, 328 fig. 7b.

Kale Mevkii is a fort that overlooks the Gökırmak Valley in the hills of the Devrekani Mountains separating the Gökırmak Valley and the Devrekani Plateau.<sup>924</sup> The fort is built on a steep sloped outcrop. Through the groundcover two rows of rocks from the defensive wall are visible. Iron Age and Roman period ceramics were collected within the walls and in a road construction cut. The fort is probably the residence of the Iron Age elite buried in the tumuli in the foothills above Kurusaray. The tumuli are visible to the east from the approach to Kale Mevkii, and the location of the fort suggests a route to the Devrekani Plateau passed along the contemporary road to Devrekani from Kavalca.

#### ***C.14. Kurusaray*** IA? TUM

41.4994° N, 33.8549° E

Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996:275 s.v. C32/11-6; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1997:310, 327 fig. 6b.

In the foothills of the Devrekani Mountains north of Kurusaray are a series of 6 tumuli spaced between 100 and 300 m apart and around 3 to 7 m in height. The tumuli are either Iron Age and associated with Kale Mevkii or Hellenistic and associated with the Ören Mevkii settlement.<sup>925</sup>

#### ***C.15. Üyüktepe*** IA SM

41.2755° N, 33.8522° E

Donceel-Voûte 1979:196 s.v. İyüktepe; Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996:275 s.v. C32/1, 279, 282, 283 fig. 9, 284, 286, 289; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1997:308, 319 ills. 4.8, 10-1, 320 ills. 5.2-6, 8, 325 fig. 4b; Özdoğan et al. 2000:42, 50 ill. 4, 52 fig. 1.

Üyüktepe is a settlement mound located on an upper plateau of the Gökırmak Valley southeast of Kastamonu. The mound is continuously occupied from Early Bronze Age

<sup>924</sup> In GoogleEarth the walled oval extends 120 m (southwest-northeast) by 80 m (northwest-southeast).

<sup>925</sup> Ören Mevkii is a settlement mound on a terrace to the north of the Gökırmak that extends from the Hellenistic through Roman periods (41.4808° N, 33.8328° E, approximate; Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996:275 s.v. C32/17, 279, 284).

through the Iron Age.<sup>926</sup> Bulldozing on the mound in 1997 revealed stone foundations belonging to the Iron Age. The settlement lies on the left bank of the İğdir upstream from the Alpagut tumuli. There are routes southward over the pass 350 m below the Küçükhacet peak of the Ilgaz Mountains, southeastward to the Devrez River at Tosya, and southwestward to the Araç River branch near Üyüktepe.

#### ***C.16. Alpagut tumuli* IA? TUM**

41.4152° N, 33.8917° E

Gökoğlu 1952:49; Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996:273, 275 s.v. C32/4-7, 277 fig. 1

The four tumuli lie on the ridge separating the İğdir and Karasu Valleys. The streams of these valleys are two of the four tributaries of the Gökırmak that flow northward off the slopes of the Ilgaz Mountains. Although located 15 km from Üyüktepe, the mound is located on the same ridge and the tumuli are not visually connected to the Gökırmak Valley. Consequently, it is not unreasonable to propose that the tumuli are Iron Age and mark the route from the Gökırmak River to the upper plateau where Üyüktepe is located.<sup>927</sup>

#### ***C.17. Gödel Kayabaşı* IA TUM**

41.2662° N, 33.7187° E, approximate

Kayabaşı: Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1996:275 s.v. C31/6, 284, 286, 290; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1997:309-10, 321 ill. 6.3-5, 7-8; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1999:227; Topçu Tepeleri: Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:277 s.v. C31/12-4; Özdoğan et al. 1998:77.

Kayabaşı is a large tumulus with grey ware similar to Yüklütepe, although the settlement of Yüklütepe is more extensive and has ceramics that date to later periods on

---

<sup>926</sup> Mound height: 10-15 m; medium size for Kastamonu (Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1997:308). Donceel-Voûte refers to “painted Iron Age” ceramics and not the grey wares ubiquitous on Iron Age settlements in the valley (1979:196). The Kastamonu Project did not collect painted wares in any significant number (Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1998:325-6).

<sup>927</sup> Burney identified another Iron Age settlement mound on the ridge between the Karasu and Karacomak Streams near the Kastamonu-Taşköprü road, but the Kastamonu Project did not survey this mound. The mound is also occupied in the Late Bronze Age (Burney 1956:190, 192, 203 s.v. Taşköprü Yolu Hüyük).

its lower slopes. The tumulus was cut with a grader that exposed rock fill, carbonized logs, and pebble layers. The Kayabaşı tumulus is the earliest datable tumulus in the Gökırmak Valley. Approximately 2 km to the south are three low tumuli near the summit of the Topçu Tepesi.<sup>928</sup>

***C.18. Evkayası (Kastamonu)*** H-R RCT NEC

41.3701° N, 33.7697° E

Boré 1840:282; Mordtmann 1859:205; Chanykoff 1866:421, pl. 6; Hirschfeld 1885:5-8, pls. 5, 7; Leonhard 1915:257-63, pl. 26; Yaman 1935:39-40, pls.; Jacopi 1937:4, pls. 1.5, 2.6; Akurgal 1955a:65, 92, 105, pls. 42-43a; Bittel and Naumann 1965:76-80, 81-2 figs. 2-4, pl. 13; Gökoğlu 1952:75-79; von Gall 1966a:65-73, 109, 116-22, pl. 6; Naumann 1983:51-2; Marek 2003:30, 36 fig. 48; Karasalihoğlu 2005; Dökü 2008a:117, cat. no. 6, ill. 6, figs. 18, 43, 56, 64.

The Karaçomak Valley where the city of Kastamonu spreads today likely had a settlement mound and tumuli from the Hellenistic period or earlier.<sup>929</sup> What are preserved today are several rockcut tombs and a niche. All rockcut features are carved on a sandstone outcrop gently ascending from the south to the north on the west bank of the Karaçomak Stream. The Evkayası tombs are carved at the southern end of the ridge, and a necropolis may have extended another 300 m to the north where the Kuruçay Stream has cut through the ridge.<sup>930</sup> The most monumental of the tombs at Evkayası is a tomb on the north with two pillars supporting a pediment (**fig. 65**). In the center of the pediment is a frontal standing female figure wearing a chiton and flanked by two sphinxes with

<sup>928</sup> Tumulus 1 diameter: 15-20 m, height: 1.5-2 m; tumulus 2 diameter: 20-25 m, height: 2-3 m; tumulus 3 diameter: 15-20 m, height: 2-3 m.

<sup>929</sup> During their imprisonment in Kastamonu, Woolley and his fellow officers refer to a mound on the now level ground adjacent to the Greek School as the “tumulus,” but I cannot confirm that it was not a natural hill (Woolley 1921:32, 41). The archaeologist Murat Karasalihoğlu observed a possible flattened tumulus or flat settlement with a few possibly Hellenistic sherds on a terrace above the right bank of the Karaçomak Stream (41.3824° N, 33.7820° E, pers. comm.). Akok mentions Bronze Age ceramics from the slopes of the castle that were held in the collections of the Kastamonu Eski Eserler Müzesi in 1943 (1945:402 n. 4).

<sup>930</sup> The westernmost houses of the neighborhood abutting the outcrop have rockcut rooms thought to have been originally tombs. If so, the necropolis extended from Evkayası to the Kuruçay.

upswept wings. Although sphinxes are frequently represented on tombs in Anatolia and the Aegean, the composition of Matar flanked by two sphinxes is only found in the gable of the rockcut ritual façade of Aslankaya in the Phrygian highlands.<sup>931</sup>

In 1900 during Leonhard's visit to Kastamonu, the Evkayası tombs had been converted into a house; more recently the tombs were the residence of a dervish. Consequently, many alterations have been done. The ceilings of the two burial chambers of the northern tomb, however, are preserved. The pitched ceiling of the central chamber is sculpted with four beams: two central beams with round profiles and two outer beams with flattened profiles. A single squared beam runs down the center of the pitched ceiling of the chamber that opens off the south side of the porch. Two rockcut benches are preserved along the side walls of the chamber, but its rear wall has been removed to open a corridor to the porch of the tomb to the south.

This tomb has a single pillar with a burial chamber opening in its southern side wall. The chamber has two rockcut benches in the middle of its side walls and the simple pitched ceiling with a central beam. The façade of this tomb is a shallow gable with king post. Several single chambered and arcosolium tombs are carved below the pillared tombs.

The ceilings of the central chamber of the northern tomb and the Esenler tumulus (C.26) in the Daday Valley and the Karakoyunlu rockcut tomb (E.1) in the Soğanlı (Filyos) Valley. The Karakoyunlu tomb, although more elaborate architecturally, and the Evkayası tombs belong stylistically to a second group of tombs that are separate from the group that derived from Kalekapı with tapering stocky columns. The floral acroteria and

---

<sup>931</sup> Berndt-Ersöz 2006:51-4, 115-6, 222-4 no. 16, 333 fig. 27, 398 fig. 122.

capitals of the Karakoyunlu tomb date the tomb to the Hellenistic period. The consensus is that the northern Evkayası tomb dates to the fourth century; if it does so, then it must date after c. 330.

**C.19. *Kastamonu Kalesi*** H?-R? FS RCT TUN RC

41.3745° N, 33.7699° E, tunnel

Von Gall 1967b:514 no. 19; Karasalihoğlu 2005; Dökü 2008a:117-8, cat. no. 7.

Similar to the Boyabat Kalesi, the Kastamonu Kalesi is a medieval castle with few traces of the Roman period and earlier. The castle rests on the continuation of the Evkayası's sandstone ridge. Although it is possible that Late Iron Age ceramics will demonstrate the occupation of the castle before the Hellenistic period, none has been published as yet. Several rockcut features that possibly date to the Hellenistic period are steps, a stepped tunnel, and a poorly preserved tomb.

**C.20. *Şehinşahkayası (Kastamonu)*** IA?-H?-R RCT RC

41.3835° N, 33.7781° E

Yaman 1935:40-1, pls.; Gökoğlu 1952:79-80, 134-5; Akurgal 1955a:92, 105; Bittel and Naumann 1965:78-9, 83 figs. 5-6, pl. 13; von Gall 1966a:65-6, pl. 5.4; Karasalihoğlu 2005; Laflı 2007:57, 65 fig. 12; Dökü 2008a:121, cat. no. 29, 1 (temple).

A third sandstone outcrop 1.25 km to the north of the castle outcrop, presents c. 15 m high vertical surface to the east and south. In the middle of the eastern face is a shallow niche with the sides and gable, a king post in the gable, and horned central acroteria defined by raised squared beams (**fig. 66**). Although it is difficult to date this simple niche, it is probably Late Iron Age or earlier. The moderate elevation of the outcrop is a suitable location for an Iron Age settlement, if one was actually located within the city of Kastamonu. The outcrop is the location of a fifteenth century mosque complex. On the southern face of the outcrop is a single roomed tomb similar to the Bademci tomb. The

tomb has a gabled façade and a lion in profile within a gable; it dates to the late Hellenistic or Roman period.

### **C.21. *Gavurevleri* IA-H-R SM/FS?**

41.4737° N, 33.5294° E

Jacopi 1937:9-10, pl. 7 fig. 24; Belke 1996:155 s.v. Aday; Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1998:317, 319 s.v. C31/16, 320 fig. 2, 322, 325-6, 329, 334-5; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1999:222-3, 227, 234 figs. 8-9, 235 figs. 11-2, 239 ill. 1.2-4, 240 ill. 2.3-4, 242 ill. 4.1, 6, 243 ill. 5.1-5, 244 ill. 6.1-7; Özdoğan et al. 2000:42-3, 49 ill. 1, 50 ill. 4, 53 fig. 2.

Gavurevleri is a settlement mound lying on a rock outcrop at the edge of a terrace above the confluence of a tributary with the Daday River (the westernmost reaches of the Gökırmak).<sup>932</sup> The settlement has an occupational history that spans the Early Bronze Age through the Roman period. During the Middle and Late Iron Age, the settlement approaches in significance the Yüklütepe settlement with abundant burnished fine grey wares. In contrast to Yüklütepe, however, Gavurevleri demonstrates a continuity of settlement from the Hittite period.<sup>933</sup> Stone foundations of an Iron Age building visible in an illicit excavation overlay burnt foundations of the Late Bronze Age.

### **C.22. *Afirözü* LIA MISC**

41.4795° N, 33.6031° E

Donceel-Voûte 1983:101-3; von Gall 1989:143, 149-52, pl. 2; Durugönül 1994a:12-13; Calmeyer 1996:225 fig. 3, 226; Paspalas 2000:153 no. 7; Briant 2002:699 fig. 55; Baughan 2004:341, 561 no. C2 (dowel hole cuts through block), 713 fig. 218, Polat 2005:59-61.

In 1977 Donceel-Voûte explored the provenance of the Achaemenid relief block brought to the museum in Kastamonu from the village of Afirözü. The relief, discussed in the fifth chapter, depicts a funerary banquet with figures in Achaemenid dress (**fig. 46**). The provenance is the foot of a rocky hill suitably named Taştepesi. Additional ashlar

---

<sup>932</sup> At 250 m in diameter and 15 m in height, the mound is large for the Kastamonu Province (Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1999:222).

<sup>933</sup> Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1998:325



blocks from monument of which the relief formed part were visible at the foot of the Taştepesi in 1977. Although Donceel-Voûte did not find traces of a rockcut tomb, the closest tumulus, Yığma Tepesi, is not close enough to the find spot to be part of the same burial. It is possible that the tomb associated with the block is similar to Lydian rockcut tombs where a stele marks the location of a rockcut dromos leading down to a burial chamber. If so, the rockcut dromos at Afirözü is buried under colluvial and alluvial fill. Afirözü is located at the narrow neck between the Gökırmak Valley north of Kastamonu and the Daday Valley. At the neck, the flood plain spans the valley floor.

**C.23. *Yığma Tepesi* IA? TUM**

41.4824° N, 33.5968° E  
Gökoğlu 1952:48; Donceel-Voûte 1983:102.

Yığma Tepesi is the tumulus associated by Donceel-Voûte with the relief block of the Afirözü relief. It is probably an additional burial monument located in the neck between the Gökırmak and Daday Valleys. It is a distinct tumulus that probably dates to the Iron Age.

**C.24. *Horoz Tepesi* IA? TUM**

41.4676° N, 33.5387° E  
Gökoğlu 1952:48; Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1998:317, 319 s.v. C31/17; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1999:223, 236 fig. 13.

Horoz Tepesi is a 6 m high tumulus built on the end of a low ridge that extends into the fields around the meandering course of the tributary whose confluence with the Daday River Gavurevleri stands above. In the mountains upstream from Gavurevleri and Horoz Tepesi is Tepecik, a settlement on the route to the west through the Daday Valley.

**C.25. *Honsalar Tepesi* IA TUM**

41.5014° N, 33.4699° E

Gökoğlu 1952:48; Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1998:317, 319 s.v. B30/1; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1999:220.

Honsalar Tepesi is a tumulus located on a low ridge between stream beds in the northern Daday Valley.<sup>934</sup> Scattered Iron Age ceramics from illicit excavations date the tumulus with confidence; however, no small Iron Age settlements have been surveyed and no Iron Age routes leading into the Küre Range from the northern Daday Valley are known.

#### **C.26. *Esenler* H? TUM**

41.5085° N, 33.4672° E, Siyahlar)

Gökoğlu 1952:48, 55-6 sv. Tono; Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1998:317, 319 s.v. B30/2, 320 fig. 1, 322; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1999:221, 236 fig. 14.

The Esenler tumulus is located near the Iron Age Honsalar Tepesi tumulus in the northern Daday Valley. Gökoğlu describes a rectangular room built with cut stone blocks with a flat ceiling formed from a single block and carved with four beams: two with round profiles and two with squared profiles.<sup>935</sup> The ceiling of the burial chamber matches that of the central burial chambers of the northern Evkayası tomb in Kastamonu and the Karakoyunlu tomb in the Soğanlı Valley. Architecturally, the tomb can either be Achaemenid or Hellenistic, although the Hellenistic façade of the Karakoyunlu tomb dates the central burial chamber to the Hellenistic period.<sup>936</sup>

#### **C.27. *Höyüktepe* R TUM**

41.4141° N, 33.5956° E

Akok 1948:848, pls. 179-80 sv. Kaypı; Gökoğlu 1952:48, 52-5 sv. Kaypı; Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1998:319 s.v. C31/21, 322; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1999:224.

---

<sup>934</sup> Tumulus diameter: 30 m, height: 3.5 m (Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1999:220).

<sup>935</sup> The burial chamber is 1.80 × 2.34 m; the entrance on the east is 0.98 m wide (Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1998:322). These dimensions are identical to those published by Gökoğlu (1.80 × 2.35 m), who refers to this tumulus as Tono Tepesi (Gökoğlu 1952:55).

<sup>936</sup> The side chambers at Karakoyunlu are probably later additions (E.1).

Höyüktepe is a tumulus with a built barrel-vaulted burial chamber with ashlar masonry that held an imperial Roman sarcophagus with garlands and bucrania. The Höyüktepe tumulus is significant for the dating of tumuli, because the barrel vault was built after the sarcophagus was in place. The comments of Özdoğan, Marro, and Tibet that the tumulus may be Iron Age is a cautionary tale. Barrel-vaulted burial chambers can be Roman or Hellenistic as demonstrated by the tumulus at İkiztepe (**J.8**) in the Kızılırmak Delta.

**C.28. Tepecik** IA SM

41.3534° N, 33.5131° E, approximate

Gökoğlu 1952:42; Burney 1956:181, 190 no. 29, 200-3; Donceel-Voûte 1979:196; Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1998:319 s.v. C31/23, 322-3, Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1999:225; Özdoğan et al. 2000:42, 51 ill. 5.

The settlement of Tepecik is located upstream of Gavurevleri (**C.21**) in a plateau in the mountains between the Araç and Daday Valleys. A tributary of the Daday River flows northward through the plateau before its eventual confluence with the Daday at Gavurevleri. The catchment of the Araç River begins to the south. The settlement mound tentatively has a continuous occupation from the Chalcolithic to the Iron Age.<sup>937</sup> Donceel-Voûte comments on the “unexpected amount of fine Iron Age grey ware.”<sup>938</sup> A similar occupational sequence is found at Gavurevleri downstream. Tepecik is an enduring mountain settlement on a route from the Gökırmak Valley to the Araç Valley and further west.<sup>939</sup> The route is an western alternative to the routes that run through the Karaçomak Valley and along the ridge between the Karasu and İğdir Valleys.

---

<sup>937</sup> Mound diameter: 100 m, height: 8-9 m.

<sup>938</sup> Donceel-Voûte 1979:196.

<sup>939</sup> The Kastamonu Project surveyed a possibly Classical, i.e., Achaemenid, settlement at Dönertepe west of Daday (41.4506° N, 33.3623° E, approximate; Marro, Özdoğan and Tibet 1998:319, 321 fig. 3, 322; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1999:221-2 s.v. C30/5). If Dönertepe dates to the Achaemenid period, it

#### ***D. Araç Valley***

The Araç Valley is a landscape of plateaus, deeply incised valleys, and valley floors filled with coarse sediment. The five Iron Age settlements are on terraces overlooking the valley floor. Nothing distinctive in the published ceramics would indicate a Late Iron Age date as opposed to earlier in the Iron Age. The settlement density of the valley increases dramatically in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and the evidence suggests that the increase in settlements during the Iron Age, particularly the Middle to Late Iron Age transition, can best be described as gradual. The five settlements are located in naturally defensive locations along the routes that pass through the valley, and probably engaged in agricultural and forestry activities.<sup>940</sup>

##### ***D.1. Araç Kayabaşı*** IA-H SM

41.2548° N, 33.3889° E

Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:278 s.v. D30/6, 287-8, 289 fig. 11, 290, 292-4, 296-7, 302-4, 306; Özdoğan et al. 1998:78, 81-2, 90 ill. 5.2, 4-7, 10, 91 ill. 6.2, 6-7, 9, 11, 93 ill. 8.8-9, 94 ill. 9.1-11, 101 fig. 13; Özdoğan, Marro and Tibet 1999:227; Özdoğan et al. 2000:42-3.

Kayabaşı is a low settlement mound on a terrace elevated c. 20 m above the bed of the Karamçak Stream.<sup>941</sup> The settlement is located 2.5 km upstream of the confluence of the Karamçak with the Araç River. Although the settlement lies on the principal Iron Age route from the upper plateau of the Gökırmak Valley south of Kastamonu to the Araç Valley, the location is continuously occupied from the Neolithic to the Hellenistic period and clearly has more diachronic advantages.

---

would support the presence of a route westward from the Daday Valley to the Eflani Plateau similar to the Roman road.

<sup>940</sup> Crow dates a fort to before the Roman period. It lies on the summit of Eğriceova Dağı in the mountains to the southwest of the Daday Valley and north of the Araç Valley (1996:34). In the published descriptions of the fort, the unbonded rubble masonry appears more characteristic of the Late Roman and Byzantine periods (41.3384° N, 33.2311° E, approximate; Yaman 1935:47-8, pls.; Belke 1996:193 s.v. Eğriceova Kalesi).

<sup>941</sup> Mound area: 4 ha, height: 2.5 m (Özdoğan et al. 1998:81).

### **D.2. Kayaarkası & Şabanoluğu<sup>942</sup> IA-H S**

41.2709° N, 33.3755° E, & 41.2776° N, 33.3744° E, both approximate  
Kayaarkası: Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:277 s.v. C30/1, 294; Özdoğan et al. 1998:79;  
Şabanoluğu: Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:277 s.v. C30/2, 288, 293, 297, 304; Özdoğan et al.  
1998:80, 93 ill. 8.1-4.

Kayaarkası and Şabanoluğu are two settlements lying in close proximity on terraces above a tributary of the Araç River. Kayaarkası is a flat settlement occupied in the Iron Age and Hellenistic period,<sup>943</sup> and Şabanoluğu is a flat settlement with a thin scatter of ceramics dating to the Iron Age.<sup>944</sup>

### **D.3. Mecikli & Çakılası IA-H-R S**

41.2271° N, 33.5877° E, approximate, & 41.2306° N, 33.5496° E  
Mecikli: Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:278 s.v. D31/7, 288, 293, 297, 304; Özdoğan et al.  
1998:84; Çakılası: Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:278 s.v. D31/8, 288, 293-4, 297, 304;  
Özdoğan et al. 1998:84, 89 ill. 4.4.

Mecikli and Çakılası are flat settlements on terraces overlooking the right bank of the Araç River upstream of the confluence of the Ilgaz with the Araç. The area of the confluence has the most extensive tracks of alluvial and colluvial soils in the Araç Valley. The Mecikli settlement was occupied in the Iron Age, Hellenistic, and later periods, whereas the Çakılası settlement was continuously occupied from the Chalcolithic to the Hellenistic period.

### **D.4. Kayalar IA-H S**

41.2274° N, 33.3525° E, nearest village  
Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:278 s.v. D30/5; Özdoğan et al. 1998:81

---

<sup>942</sup> Gökoğlu published a tumulus to the north of the adjacent village. He dated the barrel vault of the built burial chamber to the Roman period, but it could also be Hellenistic (1952:56).

<sup>943</sup> Settlement dimensions: 50 × 50 m (Özdoğan et al. 1998:79).

<sup>944</sup> The field with the scatter of ceramics is 100 × 30 m.

Kayalar is a flat settlement on the steep edge of a terrace on the left bank of the Araç River. The settlement is occupied in the second millennium, Iron Age, and Hellenistic period.

### ***E. Filyos Valley***

Downstream from the ample upper valley around its headwaters, the Filyos (Gerede) River follows a linear, roughly eastward course to the foothills of the Ilgaz Mountains where it turns to the northwest. After the bend in the course of the Filyos (Soğanlı) “a bizarre forested and rocky solitude surrounds its narrow, impassable valley,” where in a side ravine are a Hellenistic rockcut tomb and fort near Karakoyunlu.<sup>945</sup> Further downstream, the Filyos (Soğanlı) passes through a narrow valley and opens into the broader valley of its tributary, the Araç, with access upstream and over intervening hills to Kastamonu and the Gökırmak Valley.<sup>946</sup> The Filyos then enters an impassable gorge before opening again after its confluence with the Devrek into the coastal plain at the western extent of Paphlagonia.

Along the course of the Filyos River upstream of this gorge there are only two broad valleys with any density of settlement: the Safranbolu and Eskipazar Valleys. The Filyos Valley in other stretches is similar to the Araç Valley with deeply incised valleys, valley floors filled with coarse sediment, and settlements on terraces and plateaus. Although no Iron Age settlements are known in these stretches, more intensive survey

---

<sup>945</sup> Marek 1993:9 trans.

<sup>946</sup> Ainsworth 1842, Kuzucuoğlu et al. 1997:279.

may reveal a settlement pattern similar to the Araç Valley.<sup>947</sup> More is known about the Hellenistic settlement pattern, however, because of the visibility of the rockcut tombs.

***E.1. Karakoyunlu*** H-R F RCT NEC

41.1372° N, 32.8933° E, tomb

Gökoğlu 1952:110-3; von Gall 1966a:73-82, 116-22, pls. 7.1, 8.1; Marek 1993:pl. 12.1; Marek 2003:30, 33 fig. 44; Dökü 2008a:118, cat. no. 8, ill. 8, figs. 9-10, 19, 51, 57, 62-3; Matthews and Glatz 2009a:157, 160-1, 255 s.v. PS142.

The approach from the Soğanlı (Filyos) to the Karakoyunlu site is through the Gerdek Boğazı ravine oriented south-southeast and leading to a hollow with limestone plateaus to the east and west. Connecting the ground of the hollow to the 8 to 10 m high eastern plateau are rockcut steps. A pedimental tomb facing east-southeast is cut into the 10 to 15 m high face of the western plateau.<sup>948</sup>

Project Paphlagonia surveyed the hollow and collected complete Byzantine pithoi and sherds.<sup>949</sup> Surprisingly, Matthews and Glatz continue to follow von Gall's dating of the tomb to the Achaemenid period. Consequently, an argument for a Hellenistic date follows a description of the tomb.

The Karakoyunlu tomb has a triple columned porch with pilasters on the side walls (**fig. 67**). The columns are straight shafts resting on torus bases and stepped plinths and crowned with lateral facing palmettes. The leaves of the palmettes turn into volutes visible as cascading cylinders from the front. The columns bear a high epistyle and a pediment with a king post that is aligned with the central column and imitates the

---

<sup>947</sup> The route from the Safranbolu Valley to the coast ascends west of the Eflani Plateau before descending to the Bartın Valley. The Eflani Plateau has been surveyed by Leonhard (1915), Gökoğlu (1952), Burney (1956), Marek (1993), and Belke (1995). Access to the Pınarbaşı Valley is from a valley on the northeastern edge of the plateau, and a visit to the settlement mounds surveyed but not precisely dated or described by Gökoğlu and Burney (**E.3-4**) might encounter an Iron Age settlement mound similar to Gavurevleri (**C.21**).

<sup>948</sup> The site is 0.02 ha (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:253 s.v. PS142).

<sup>949</sup> The sherds are only mentioned in the online site catalog ([www.ucl.ac.uk/paphlagonia](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/paphlagonia)); see also Leonhard 1915:233, 269-77, pls. 16, 27; von Gall 1966a:74; Belke 1996:226.

columns below. Red and blue paint is preserved on the interior face of the extant capital: blue abacus above the volutes, alternating red and blue volutes, and red upper torus with blue lower fillet of plinth.<sup>950</sup> A faceted framed opening and three windows in the rear wall of the porch leads into a central burial chamber altered in the Roman period with the carving of an arcosolium. The pitched ceiling has two central beams with round profiles and two outer beams with squared profiles. An opening in the southern side wall of the porch leads into a simple square chamber. An opening on the other side of the porch leads into another square chamber with a ceiling sculpted to depict a false lantern dome. The false dome is a building technique derived from tholos chambers within tumuli that appears after the beginning of the Hellenistic period in northern Turkey.<sup>951</sup>

Von Gall's argument emphasizes that the style of the tomb is equally inspired by Phrygian rockcut façades and Achaemenid columnar buildings. The three columns within pilasters of the tomb's portico support unadorned epistyle and frieze bands similar to the tie-beams and bands carved below on Phrygian monumental façades.<sup>952</sup> The king post is a feature of Phrygian gables, and king posts carved as miniature columns are also

---

<sup>950</sup> Other features, such as unadorned epistyle and frieze, possibly were painted, as well as the other tombs. Von Gall compares the palmette with spirals on the capitals to fourth century anta capitals from western Anatolia, and the volutes to Archaic anta capitals (1966a:75, 77-79). Palmettes decorate the front faces of the capitals of the interior columns of the Yılan taş tomb dated to the first half of the fifth century (von Gall 1999:157; Haspels 1971:129-33, 136-38, figs. 150, 152, 544).

<sup>951</sup> Compare the tumulus from west of Plovdiv (Rousseva 2000:113-8). The ceiling of the side chamber only dates the addition of the side chamber. Fedak notes that the built lantern vault is common in Thrace and Galatia in the tholoi of tumuli from the late fourth century onward, and the Karakoyunlu rockcut vault is "rare for the region in question" (1990:170-72). Kıvanç brings together the Iron Age and Hellenistic examples of the false lantern vault known in tumuli in central and Aegean Turkey (2007b). In view of the later Galatian principalities to the west and south, the chamber with the lantern vault seems to be a Hellenistic addition responding to the later popularity of tumuli with built tholoi and lantern vaults. See also Archibald 1998:283-90.

<sup>952</sup> Cf. Arezastis monument (Haspels 1971:79-80, figs. 83-84). The dimensions of the portico are 4.8 m high and 8.8 m wide (see von Gall 1966a:73-82 for description of tomb). There are three columns also in the otherwise far more classicizing Lykian temple tomb at Myra with lion and bull (Borchhardt 1975:129-35 no. 69, pls. 69-73).



found in Phrygian tombs.<sup>953</sup> Although the entablature appears truncated in comparison with Greek temple façades, the tomb follows the design and tall proportions of a Phrygian façade. Similar to the king post's imitation of the columns, the center and lateral acroteria and capitals of the columns and antae share the same palmette with spirals pattern.

Of all the possible Achaemenid Paphlagonian tombs, the torus bases with fillets on low stepped plinths coupled with the slender shafts of the Karakoyunlu columns are closest to Achaemenid examples.<sup>954</sup> The niches with triple rabbet frames in the rear wall of the portico compare well with the portico walls of the Kilise tomb at Hasırcıköprü, and the pitched ceiling with a double ridge beam is similar to the northern Evkayası tomb; von Gall both tombs suggests are near contemporaries of the Karakoyunlu tomb, dated in the second half of the fourth century.<sup>955</sup>

The absence of comparisons for the lateral facing capitals, however, has always presented an interpretive conundrum. Keith DeVries suggested that the capitals were a Paphlagonian adaptation of Corinthian capitals and inquired whether the abacus drooped. The published measured drawings do not show drooping; however, they are not sufficiently detailed for one to be sure.<sup>956</sup> The repetition of the floral pattern of palmette and spiral on the lateral acroteria demonstrates that the capitals are also floral, and consequently an adaptation of Corinthian, as DeVries first suggested. This would place

---

<sup>953</sup> Cf. Yapıldak kale tomb with Aeolic column (Haspels 1971:115-6, fig. 119).

<sup>954</sup> The shallow double concave arcs of the anta bases seem to reflect a double cyma reversa moulding that compares to a possibly later Kaunian anta base (Roos 1972a:71-2, 96, pl. 60.3). More thorough comparison of the anta bases may clarify the tomb's date, but due to the unconventional approach to architectural features it seems doubtful; von Gall compares the bases to a much less vertical example from Priene (von Gall 1966a:82 n. 479).

<sup>955</sup> Haspels 1971:158-59. Urartian tombs have a similar tradition of niches with triple rabbets.

<sup>956</sup> Confirming the capitals would involve a permit and ladder, and recent vandalism seems to have damaged the lateral sides of the capitals.

the Karakoyunlu tomb in the Hellenistic period. Several other single and double columned rockcut tombs are scattered among the Hellenistic and Roman necropoleis of the Soğanlı River.<sup>957</sup>

### ***E.2. Safranbolu*** IA? TUM

41.2528° N, 32.6928° E, Gümüştepe  
Leonhard 1915:141, 225.

The Iron Age is poorly represented in the middle Filyos Valley, around the confluence of the Araç with the Soğanlı River. No Iron Age settlements have been surveyed, and the visibility of the period derives only from the tumuli that possibly date to the Iron Age. Three prominent tumuli stand on several tongues of the plateau above Safranbolu, which nestles in the valleys below on the north bank of the Araç River. The largest standing tumulus is Gümüştepe (**fig. 68**).<sup>958</sup>

### ***E.3. Semercitepe*** IA SM/FS?

41.3912° N, 32.9167° E  
Gökoğlu 1952:43-4; Burney 1956:190, 192, 202, 203.

Semercitepe is a settlement mound on a hill surveying the Eflani Plateau from its southwestern edge. Burney identifies a Middle and Late Bronze as well as Iron Age

---

<sup>957</sup> All of the following examples date to the late Hellenistic or Roman period. Çatalin is a rockcut tomb with a double columned porch (41.1538° N, 32.8363° E, nearest village; Gökoğlu 1952:90-1; von Gall 1966a:102-3, 120, pl. 13.3; Dökü 2008a:120, cat. no. 25, ill. 20, fig. 29). Emmen Kayası is a second rockcut tomb with a double columned porch (41.1612° N, 32.7504° E, nearest village; Dökü 2008a:120, cat. no. 26, fig. 30). Aşağı Güney is a rockcut tomb with pedimental façade and porch with unfinished double pillars (41.1619° N, 32.9680° E, nearest village; von Gall 1966a:103-4, pl. 13.4; Dökü 2008a:121, cat. no. 32, figs. 46, 48).

<sup>958</sup> Leonhard encountered a marker from the summit of a tumulus 3 km north of Yağlıca, a village 20 km northeast of Safranbolu in the southwestern corner of the Eflani Plateau (41.3817° N, 32.8502° E, Yağlıca; Leonhard 1915:268 fig. 91). The marker is mushroom-shaped but has a longer shaft than the other published markers from Paphlagonia. Several other markers have been published from western Paphlagonia (Ulus, Eflani, Çerkeş, Orta, Pınarbaşı, Azdavay, Kasaba), but the markers probably date to the Hellenistic or Roman period (von Gall 1966a:114-5, pl. 16.3-4; Belke 1996:203 s.v. Gökçeören, 225 s.v. Karahasan, 235 s.v. Kızıllar, 243 s.v. Kurtoğlu, fig. 82; Marek 2003:28 figs. 36-7). Compare the markers from Mısırlağaç and Vezirköprü (**I.26**) and Ağcıkışı (**C.5**). Gökoğlu lists the numerous tumuli in western Paphlagonia (1952:47-8), which are probably Hellenistic or Roman in date.

occupation on the mound. The Yalacık-Eflani Stream curves around the foot of the hill on east, south, and west. Semercitepe is on both possible routes from the Eflani Plateau to the southwest: the route to the Araç Valley that follows the north-south running ridge 4 km to the west of Semercitepe, and the route to the Filyos Valley at Safranbolu that heads south further to the west.

#### ***E.4. Ören Höyük & Çengelli*** IA-R SM

41.4683° N, 33.0207° E, & 41.5226° N, 33.0609° E  
Gökoğlu 1952:43 s.v. Ören Tepesi, Doğan Kayası; Burney 1956:192; Belke 1996:183.

Ören Höyük and Çengelli are settlement mounds in the northeastern corner of the Eflani Plateau on the route to Pınarbaşı. Burney identified Iron Age ceramics on both mounds.<sup>959</sup> Ören Höyük is a mound with a flat summit located next to a stream and spring on the valley floor. Çengelli is a higher mound located on the floor of the valley that leads to Pınarbaşı.<sup>960</sup>

#### ***E.5. Deresemail Asar Tepe*** LIA-H-R FS? TUN

40.9739° N, 32.6139° E  
Mendel 1901:24 no. 161; Leonhard 1915:146, 236; Gökoğlu 1952:127-8; Dörner 1963:138-9; von Gall 1967b:514 no. 22; Kaygusuz 1984a, c-d; Laflı 2007:47, 53, Laflı 2009:404; Matthews and Glatz 2009a:174-7, 254 s.v. PS096.

In 302 B.C.E. Mithridates III of Kios fled to Paphlagonia, where he took advantage of Macedonian disinterest in northern Anatolia and began to carve out a kingdom.<sup>961</sup> Strabo describes Mithridates' base in Paphlagonia as "Kimi[s]tene, where Kimi[s]ta was, a

---

<sup>959</sup> Ören Höyük: The Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages are also represented on the site, but the Middle and Late Bronze Age occupations are only identified on a map, whereas an Early Bronze Age sherd is published (Burney 1956:181, 190, 201). The mound dimensions: 120 × 50 m, height: 10 m (Gökoğlu 1952:43). Çengelli: The Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Age occupations are identified on maps (Burney 1956:181, 190). The mound is also occupied in the Roman and Byzantine periods (Belke 1996:183). The mound dimensions: 130 × 50 m, height: 20 m (Gökoğlu 1952:43).

<sup>960</sup> The Kızılarkayası rockcut niche located between Çengelli and Pınarbaşı is the façade of a Roman burial urn niche (41.5858° N, 33.0933° E, Çamkışla; Yaman 1935:35, pl.; Marek 1993:67, 183 no. 102, pl. 38.1; 2003:141 fig. 215).

<sup>961</sup> McGing 1986a:13-6, 1986b:248-53; Erciyas 2006b:13-4.

strong fort lying at the foot of the mountainous land of Olgassys, that Mithridates, who is called the founder, was using as a base when he set himself up as master of Pontos.”<sup>962</sup> After several proposals for the location of Kimi[s]tene, a consensus has emerged that the Kimiatene and Kimiata of Strabo’s text is to be emended to Kimistene and Kimista, a settlement located epigraphically in the Eskipazar Valley at Deresemail Asar Tepe.<sup>963</sup>

Although the Eskipazar Valley fell within the borders of the extensive survey of Project Paphlagonia directed by Roger Matthews, Middle and Late Iron Age settlements were not documented during the survey, only tumuli. The survey component of the Paphlagonia Project directed by Ergün Laflı documented Iron Age grey ceramic wares illicitly excavated in pits under the foundations of the Roman temple on the acropolis of Kimista. A stepped cistern on the acropolis near the temple and a tunnel in an outcrop in the valley are built and rockcut features that probably date to the Hellenistic period.<sup>964</sup>

#### ***F. Devrez Valley***

The route south of Eskipazar follows the valley cut by the Çerkeş River upstream of its confluence with the Filyos (Gerede) through the ridge along the southern boundary of the primary strand of the North Anatolian Fault Zone. Project Paphlagonia did not document any Middle and Late Iron Age settlements in the Çerkeş Valley, and only two

<sup>962</sup> ἦν δέ τις καὶ Κιμιατηνὴ, ἐν ἣ τὰ Κίμι[σ]τα, φρούριον ἐρυμνόν, ὑποκείμενον τῇ τοῦ Ὀλγάσσου ὀρεινῇ· ὡς χρησάμενος ὁρμητηρίῳ Μιθριδάτης, ὁ Κτίστης προσαγορευθεὶς, κατέστη τοῦ Πόντου κύριος (Strabo 12.3.41).

<sup>963</sup> Marek 1993:122-4; Bosworth and Wheatley 1998:164; Matthews and Glatz 2009a:174. Other scholars offer alternative interpretations: Leonhard (1915:348) and Ruge and Bittel (1949:2502, 2543) suggest a location near the town of Ilgaz; Kaygusuz locates the epigraphically known Kimista at Deresemail Asar Tepe and places Strabo’s Kimiata at Kurmalar (F.8; 1983b, 1984d); Foss follows Kaygusuz in the Barrington atlas (2000:1220); Belke refers to the location of Kimiata as unknown (1996:231-32); Strobel arguing against Marek places it on historical grounds near Tosya (1994:52-53, 60).

<sup>964</sup> Tunnel width: 4 m, height: 4 m, filled after 13 steps (von Gall 1967b:514 no. 22). The Hellenistic and Roman site is 50.00 ha (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:253 s.v. PS096).

tumuli.<sup>965</sup> Where the Middle and Late Iron Age is represented in the Devrez, Tatlıçay, and Acıçay Valleys, a single primary settlement dominates each arable valley with few archaeologically visible secondary settlements, particularly in the volcanic plateaus and mountainous terrain surrounding the valleys.

### ***F.1. Orta Salur Höyük*** M&LIA SM

40.6534° N, 33.0609° E

Matthews 2004b; Matthews and Glatz 2009a:151-4, 164-5, 252 s.v. PS050.

In the broad arable upper Devrez Valley around Orta, the primary settlement is the low mound of Salur Höyük,<sup>966</sup> which was occupied during the following periods: Chalcolithic; Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages; and Early, Middle, and Late Iron Age. The mound is located on the valley floor of a tributary of the Devrez River near a series of springs.<sup>967</sup> Both the presence of springs and a preference for settlements situated in places of memory foster the continuity in settlement location through the Late Iron Age at Salur Höyük. By the Late Iron Age, however, many settlement mounds had become prominent hills, and the mound location was not dissimilar from the rock outcrop and ridge locations of contemporaneous Iron Age settlements.

### ***F.2. Dumanlı Kale Mevkii*** M&LIA F

40.6983° N, 33.2284° E

Matthews and Glatz 2009a:151, 164-5, 253 s.v. PS057.

Between the alluvial plain around Orta and valley terraces along the southern flank of the Ilgaz Mountains, the Devrez River flows through a volcanic plateau. Kale Mevkii is

---

<sup>965</sup> One Early Iron Age settlement was documented (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:152, 166-7 s.v. PS122 İnceboğaz). A third tumulus is questioned in the online site catalog (ibid.:157 s.v. PS073 Bozoğlu, cf. [www.ucl.ac.uk/paphlagonia](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/paphlagonia)).

<sup>966</sup> The site is 0.96 ha (100 × 120 m; Matthews and Glatz 2009a:253 s.v. PS050). The alluvial filling of the Orta Plain may have buried other settlements.

<sup>967</sup> Springs are located 200 m to the east and 350 m to the southeast of the mound ([www.ucl.ac.uk/paphlagonia](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/paphlagonia)).

a Late Bronze Age andesite promontory fortified with a saw tooth wall across its neck.<sup>968</sup> The settlement overlooks a lateral valley of the Devrez Valley and is surrounded by pockets of contemporary agricultural land on the plateau. The Middle and Late Iron Age occupation is represented by just a few sherds. Both the lateral valley, where Kale Mevkii is located, and the Devrez Valley, where the river flows through the plateau, are deeply incised with a narrow floor and steep slopes. To bypass this terrain, the route from the Orta Plain traversed the plateau to the east of the Devrez River and passed to the east of Kale Mevkii. In the Iron Age, Kale Mevkii was probably a fort that occupied a standing Late Bronze Age fort on this route.<sup>969</sup> The route crossed the Devrez River and merged with the principal east-west route from Çerkeş to Tosya to the west of Kızılca Tepesi.

### ***F.3. Kızılca Tepesi*** M&LIA FS? TUM RC

40.8389° N, 33.3915° E

Matthews, Pollard and Ramage 1998:203; Matthews and Glatz 2009a:151, 153-5, 157, 164-5, 252 s.v. PS052 and PS052a; T. Yıldırım and Sipahi 2009:97-8, 104 fig. 3.

The Devrez River passes through a gorge to the east of where the route from Orta crosses the river. The fortified settlement mound of Kızılca Tepesi is located on a pink andesite bluff surveying the gorge and regulating east-west travelers.<sup>970</sup> The bluff is an

---

<sup>968</sup> The Early and Middle Bronze Age is also represented at the site. The Late Bronze Age site is 3.30 ha (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:253 s.v. PS057).

<sup>969</sup> Yıldırım and Sipahi identify a fort located to the west on a promontory in the Devrez Valley as Iron Age on the basis of the dry stone masonry style (2009:97 s.v. Orta Dere Mevkii [Gavurkale]). Although the fort is “Byzantine?” in the Project Paphlagonia final publication, the plan, particularly of the gates, and the ceramics are Byzantine and leave no doubt that the fort is not Iron Age (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:197-9, 252 s.v. PS043). The shoulder on the opposite bank of the river is a settlement dating to the Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Age, with very few first millennium B.C.E. and Byzantine sherds (40.7010° N, 33.1868° E, approximate; T. Yıldırım and Sipahi 2009:97 s.v. Orta Dere Mevkii [Müslüman Kalesi]).

<sup>970</sup> The Late Bronze Age is also represented at the site. The site is 0.08 ha (ibid.:252 s.v. PS052); the tumulus is 0.02 ha (ibid.:252 s.v. PS052a). Yıldırım and Sipahi identify the “Klasik Dönem”

ancient and modern quarry, as well as a settlement mound with a possible fortified summit where the quarry is located.<sup>971</sup> Middle and Late Iron Age grey wares similar to the Gordion assemblage are represented at the settlement. Fine wares and a prominent tumulus to the north of the settlement indicate that Kızılca Tepesi is a possible fortified elite residence with surrounding settlement.

#### ***F.4. Alakır Mevkii*** 1A TUM

40.8795° N, 33.2016° E

Matthews, Pollard and Ramage 1998:203; Matthews and Glatz 2009a:155, 157, 253 s.v. PS061.

A tumulus burial chamber built of dressed blocks of pink andesite from the Kızılca Tepesi quarry was documented 17 km to the west. The tumulus is located on a terrace on a sandstone saddle between the Çerkeş and Devrez catchments.<sup>972</sup> A low platform paved with andesite slabs lies at the northeast foot of the tumulus. The stones of the burial chamber are wide and relatively thin, one of which may belong to the door frame. Project Paphlagonia dates the tumulus to either the Hellenistic period, or less likely, to the Iron Age.<sup>973</sup> The dimensions of the stones *appear* to be 60 × 20 × 100 cm.<sup>974</sup> These proportions would be suitable for orthostats, and they are most likely Middle or Late Iron Age in date.<sup>975</sup> Additionally, the quarry at Kızılca Tepesi is possibly contemporaneous with the occupation of the mound, although the stones would not have been quarried in

---

(Hellenistic period and possibly Late Iron Age), Early Bronze Age, Roman, and Byzantine periods on the settlement mound and slopes (2009:97-8).

<sup>971</sup> Project Paphlagonia describes the site only as a settlement mound; however, the quarrying is so extensive as to remove traces of fortifications.

<sup>972</sup> The tumulus is 0.03 ha (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:253 s.v. PS061). The sandstone saddle is the border between the westward draining Filyos catchment and the eastward draining Kızılırmak catchment (ibid.:55).

<sup>973</sup> “Hellenistic” (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:157 s.v. PS061), “Hellenistic, Iron Age?” (ibid.:253 s.v. PS061). The Hellenistic date is derived from the presence of a platform (ibid.:177-8).

<sup>974</sup> Dimensions from published photograph with scale (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:155 fig. 5.6).

<sup>975</sup> Matthews describes the burial chamber as “stone-lined” (ibid.:155 fig. 5.6). The tomb chamber most comparable is Esenler in the Daday Valley.

the Hellenistic period.<sup>976</sup> The tomb is possibly Achaemenid. Some of the tumuli must be Achaemenid, as rockcut tombs similar to the tombs in the Gökırmak and Kızılırmak Valleys are absent, although the landscape of the Devrez Valley is suitable for such construction.<sup>977</sup>

#### ***F.5. Salman Höyük East & West*** EIA-MIA-LIA FS

40.9140° N, 33.6503° E, & 40.9145° N, 33.6471° E  
Leonhard 1915:69, 344; Jacopi 1937:4, pl. 1 fig. 3; Gökoğlu 1952:39; Burney 1956:192;  
Matthews and Glatz 2009a:151-6, 162-3, 251 s.v. PS015 and PS016.

On a terrace overlooking the Devrez River at the foot of the Ilgaz Mountains lies Salman Höyük East, a high settlement mound with steep slopes and a flat summit.<sup>978</sup> Fortification walls generally produce this shape of mound.<sup>979</sup> Architectural terracottas—including one plaque with molded relief painted with black slip—demonstrate the presence of a monumental building within the fortification walls on the summit. Early, Middle, and Late Iron Age ceramics are represented on the mound. Achaemenid period carinated bowls confirm occupation during the last phase.<sup>980</sup> The contemporary Çankırı-Kastamonu highway separates the mound from a Late Bronze Age fortified ridge that was possibly occupied in the Iron Age.<sup>981</sup>

Erosion on east and west by streams flowing off the Ilgaz Mountains have molded the terrace occupied by the mound and fortified ridge into a low ridge where the routes to the

---

<sup>976</sup> My impression of the disturbance to the settlement mound by quarrying is of ceramics buried after deposition and recently exposed.

<sup>977</sup> Matthews, Pollard and Ramage 1998:202-3.

<sup>978</sup> The east site is 0.61 ha (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:251 s.v. PS015); the west site is 1.40 ha (ibid.:251 s.v. PS016).

<sup>979</sup> Hacimusalar in the Elmalı Polje is a larger but similarly shaped mound where a step trench has revealed the defensive walls.

<sup>980</sup> The mound is also occupied in the Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages, the Hellenistic, and Roman periods (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:251 s.v. PS015).

<sup>981</sup> Salman Höyük West is listed in the table of Iron Age sites (ibid.:151 table 5.2 s.v. PS016), but the site catalog lists “Iron Age?” (ibid.:251 s.v. PS016).



north begin their ascent. The route north, however, would have only been seasonal. The principal route that Salman Höyük East regulated was the Çerkeş-Tosya route, and consequently, the settlement reverses the Yüklütepe pattern of tumuli on the ascent up the ridge to the settlement, a lower unfortified settlement, and fortified summit. At Salman Höyük the fortified mound is at the low end of the ridge near the principal route; the adjacent unfortified settlement is higher on the ridge, and the tumuli survey the ridge from an even higher elevation.

***F.6. Ilgaz02S01*** M&LIA S

40.9182° N, 33.6490° E

Matthews and Glatz 2009a:151-3, 170-1, 259 s.v. Ilgaz 02S01.

Near Salman Höyük East on the north is the flat settlement of Ilgaz 02S01 documented during the intensive survey.<sup>982</sup> Although Project Paphlagonia identifies the settlement as a village, it is near enough to be considered the unfortified settlement associated with the fortified Salman Höyük East. The settlement lies on a slope to the north of the mound and is occupied in the Middle and Late Iron Ages.

***F.7. Basil Avcı & Ilgaz*** IA? TUM

40.9203° N, 33.6376° E, & 40.9237° N, 33.6357° E)

Matthews and Glatz 2009a:157, 161, 252 s.v. PS020 and PS021.

The valley running along the western flank of the Salman Höyük ridge separates the ridge from a higher terrace where the contemporary town of Ilgaz is located. On the slopes below the town are two prominent tumuli that are probably Middle or Late Iron Age in date. These tumuli complete the group of landscape features associated with the Middle and Late Iron Age around Ilgaz: fortified center, unfortified settlement,

---

<sup>982</sup> Late Roman and Byzantine periods are also represented on the site. The site is 3.00 ha (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:259 s.v. Ilgaz 02S01).

monumental tombs, arable land, and routes. Project Paphlagonia documented an additional 51 tumuli. Whereas it is clear that the tumulus was the common burial type during the Achaemenid period, the absence of ceramics and visible architecture makes it difficult to pinpoint their dates.

**F.8. *Kurmalar*** EIA-MIA?-LIA?-H-R S

40.9902° N, 33.7196° E

Kaygusuz 1983b; Kaygusuz 1984b; Mitchell 1993:23?; Marek 1993:123; Marek 2003:107-8 figs. 153-5; Matthews and Glatz 2009a:150-2, 162-3, 174-7, 200-1, 216-7, 251 s.v. PS003.

Kurmalar is a possible Late Iron Age settlement on a ridge in a tributary valley of the Gökçay Stream that flows to the east of Salman Höyük East (F.5).<sup>983</sup> The route northwards from Salman Höyük East follows the right bank of the Gökçay, before ascending to the saddle between the peaks of the Ilgaz Mountains.

**F.9. *Tosya stele*** LIA MISC

41.0165° N, 34.0386° E, Tosya

Durugönül 1994a; Dökü 2008a:110, fig. 126.

Downstream of Salman Höyük, the Devrez Valley narrows before the valley floor widens into the marshes around Tosya.<sup>984</sup> Only Burney, Gökoğlu, Belke have surveyed

---

<sup>983</sup> The site is 19.63 ha (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:251 s.v. PS003). The site catalog and Chapter 5 on the Iron Age list Kurmalar only as Early Iron Age (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:150-2, 162-3, 251). Kurmalar is also occupied in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (ibid.:174-7, 200-1, 216-7, 251 s.v. PS003). In the sixth chapter on the Hellenistic through Byzantine periods Kurmalar is described as a site that “does indeed have pottery ranging in date from the seventh century BC to the third century AD” (ibid.:174). This statement refers to Kaygusuz’s dating of the ceramics of the settlement and does not inspire confidence in a Middle or Late Iron Age occupation (cf. Kaygusuz 1983b:61, Kaygusuz 1984b:57, pl. 3 fig. 5).

<sup>984</sup> The Tosya marshes are drained and under rice cultivation today. In his discussion of the geomorphology of the marshes of the Kızılırmak River in Çankırı Province, Marsh comments that sediment deposition has made the flood plain more marshy and less agriculturally productive than before significant sediment deposition.

in the area. One fortified outcrop adjacent to a river crossing,<sup>985</sup> two settlement mounds, and eight tumuli are documented, but few dates are known.<sup>986</sup> Project Paphlagonia surveyed a tumulus near the Çankırı-Kastamonu provincial line.<sup>987</sup> Of the settlements and tumuli, only the tumuli are possibly Late Iron Age. The area around Tosya, however, yielded a stele that probably was erected on a platform at the foot of a tumulus. Although at Sardis grave stelai marked rupestral chamber tombs, at Daskyleion and elsewhere in Achaemenid Anatolia they were placed at the foot of tumuli on platforms.<sup>988</sup>

The 2.26 m high limestone stele is divided into five registers framed by raised bands and filled with low reliefs (**fig. 69**). The upper register depicts a stylized tree.<sup>989</sup> In the register below there are two combatants; on the right a man stands in profile facing left with a round shield on his left arm and a lance in his raised right hand. The lance pierces the neck of a kneeling man on the left, who holds a small shield in his left hand. The third register depicts a rider on a horse. A man standing in profile and wearing a long-sleeved tunic, trousers, and a tiara spans the fourth and fifth registers. He holds a staff in his right hand and a blossom in his raised left hand. The lowest register is of a child in profile running left and looking over its shoulder to a goose behind.<sup>990</sup> Durugönül

<sup>985</sup> Gavurkayası is a fortified outcrop with rockcut tunnel and tomb within a faceted frame. Both date to the late Hellenistic period at the earliest (40.9646° N, 34.0641° E; Gökoğlu 1952:104-5, 127, 179; von Gall 1967b:513 no. 16; Belke 1996:200; Dökü 2008a:49, 123-4, cat. no. 34, fig. 33 s.v. Cüſcüş Kışlası).

<sup>986</sup> Gökoğlu 1952:34, 39-40, 104-5; Belke 1996:274 s.v. Taſkaynar (Roman), 191-2 s.v. Düşinîya/Tosya, 200 s.v. Gavurkayası.

<sup>987</sup> Çeltikbaşı is a 0.13 ha tumulus (40.9112° N, 33.7984° E; Matthews and Glatz 2009a:157, 251 s.v. PS011). Near Çeltikbaşı Burney surveyed a settlement that is identified on the Middle and Late Bronze Age map, and the Iron Age map (1956:190, 192 s.v. “Km. 208 Tepe”).

<sup>988</sup> McLauchlin 1985:114 (there are rupestral chamber tombs of probable Roman date to the west [Matthews, Pollard and Ramage 1998:203]), Durugönül 1994a:12-13. See also Mellink 1991, Nollé 1992:119-23, Polat 2005a, Roosevelt 2006, Matthews and Glatz 2009a:177-8.

<sup>989</sup> Rather than reading the vegetal pattern as a provincial anthemion or palmette, Durugönül suggests the pattern is a tree of life that relates to the different stages of life depicted in the registers below (1994a:9-10).

<sup>990</sup> Description drawn from Durugönül 1994a:1-3.

observes that this scene with the child is drawn from Greek reliefs of the fifth century and later, but other scenes reflect the Achaemenid iconography of Persepolis and the Anatolian satrapies as understood by a provincial artisan.<sup>991</sup> The specific iconography of combatants, cavalier, and standing man with staff and blossom are appropriate for the grave stele of a member of the Achaemenid elite.

### ***G. Tatlıçay & Acıçay Valleys***

Returning westward to the area of Kızılca Tepesi, the route between the Devrez and Tatlıçay Valleys traverses the volcanic plateau before descending into the Tatlıçay Valley. The eastern edge of the plateau is a narrow valley along a fault line running north-south.<sup>992</sup> The Tatlıçay Stream itself winds through the plateau to the west before entering a broad arable valley at Korgun. The Tatlıçay and Acıçay catchments are mountainous and the valleys dispersed. The volcanic plateau ends at Korgun, however, and a second evaporate plateau of marls and gypsum spreads to the east and south of Çankırı.

#### ***G.1. Kanlı Göl Mevkii*** M&LIA F

40.7255° N, 33.4837° E

Matthews and Glatz 2009a:116, 118, 122-4, 151-4, 170-1, 257 s.v. PS218.

Kanlı Göl Mevkii is a fortified promontory at the southern start of the route from the Tatlıçay to the Devrez Valley at Kızılca. In the final publication of Project Paphlagonia

---

<sup>991</sup> Durugönül 1994a:3-10.

<sup>992</sup> On the eastern slope of the valley are limestones and sandstones. In a limestone outcrop is an unfinished single columned rockcut tomb within a faceted frame with gable that faces a tumulus on the western shoulder of the valley. The rockcut tomb is probably Hellenistic or Roman, and no adjacent settlement dates the tumulus (tomb: Matthews and Glatz 2009a:161, 256 s.v. PS201; tumulus: *ibid.*:157, 256 s.v. PS200). The Dikenli tomb was grouped by antiquarian travelers with Paphlagonian rockcut tombs (Chanykoff 1866:424; Hirshfeld 1885:25; Kannenberg 1895a:107; Leonhard 1915:245-6, pl. 22; von Gall 1966a:107, pl. 15.3 s.v. Korgun and Kisecik; Marek 2003:38 fig. 53; Dökü 2008a:120-1, cat. no. 11, fig. 37). The coordinates of the Dikenli tomb are 41.5934° N, 33.1346° E, and the Dikenli tumulus 40.7903° N, 33.5381° E.

the fortress is interpreted in the context of Hittite administrative strategies; however, “association of the walls with any one period is risky.”<sup>993</sup> The fortress is also occupied in the Middle and Late Iron Ages, and the fortifications would have been repaired then. The promontory is surrounded by gorges on the northwestern and western flanks, and a double wall encloses the southern access from a ridge to the south.<sup>994</sup> The upper wall is supported by semicircular towers and abutted by rooms built along the interior face of the wall.<sup>995</sup>

### ***G.2. Deliklikaya*** M&LIA-R S RCT

40.6785° N, 33.5755° E

Matthews and Glatz 2009a:151, 157, 161, 170-1, 257 s.v. PS211 and PS211a.

Deliklikaya is a simple rockcut tomb with a recessed opening, surrounded by a scatter of ceramics from a Roman and Byzantine agricultural settlement.<sup>996</sup> The settlement is located on a ridge in the middle of the arable alluvium on the floor of the Tatlıçay Valley. Middle and Late Iron Age ceramics were also collected, which suggests that the settlement was occupied during those two phases.

### ***G.3. Çankırı Kalesi (Gangra)*** H-R F TUN

40.6078° N, 33.6171° E

Ainsworth 1842:108; Gökoğlu 1952:108, 128, 179-80; von Gall 1967b:513 no. 14; Belke 1996:196-9; Matthews and Glatz 2009a:180-2, 191-3, 256 s.v. PS168.

Çankırı Kalesi occupies a mountain spur surveying the confluence of the Tatlıçay and Acıçay Streams. A rockcut tunnel, Roman tombs, and ceramics are the earliest traces on

---

<sup>993</sup> Matthews and Glatz 2009a:118.

<sup>994</sup> The site is 1.50 ha (ibid.:257 s.v. PS218).

<sup>995</sup> No mention is made of mortar, so presumably the “Byzantine?” occupation is only based on ceramics (ibid.:257 s.v. PS218, cf. 193 fig. 6.35, 196 fig. 6.46).

<sup>996</sup> The site is 0.25 ha (ibid.:257 s.v. PS211a).

the spur.<sup>997</sup> The claim of the city in the Roman period to great antiquity likely drew upon the control of the Hellenistic kings, whose capital was at Gangra, over the Ilgaz Mountain and the sanctuaries located on its flanks.<sup>998</sup> Strabo mentions that it was a small town and fort—similar to Salarköy (A.9) and many other Hellenistic sites.<sup>999</sup>

#### **G.4. Çivi Höyük** M&LIA SM TUM

40.6287° N, 33.7317° E

Matthews and Glatz 2009a:48, 151-4, 166-7, 255 s.v. PS154.

Çivi Höyük is a Middle and Late Iron Age settlement mound in the upper valley of the Acıçay Stream.<sup>1000</sup> The stream is actually not true to its name; it becomes “bitter” only after it flows through the gypsum plateau south of Çankırı. The marl plateau in the upper valley produces arable agricultural land. The settlement lies on the left bank near the river bed, and two tumuli that probably are contemporaneous with the settlement, are on the slopes to the south.<sup>1001</sup>

#### **G.5. Höyük Tepesi** M&LIA SM

40.5503° N, 33.4950° E

Burney 1956:192 s.v. Dümeli; Matthews and Glatz 2009a:62, 151-4, 168-9, 256 s.v. PS178.

---

<sup>997</sup> The fortress is 4.00 ha (ibid.:256 s.v. PS168). Belke observes that the bedrock outcrop of the citadel erodes easily and other features probably are not preserved (1996:198). Schede reports Macridy-Bey (Theodor Macridy) found a cemetery near Çankırı of probably Phrygian date with finds similar to those at Gordion (1930:482-3).

<sup>998</sup> From the third century Paphlagonian kings held Gangra and the Halys valley to its southeast until the Pontic and Bithynian kings expanded in the area in the late second century (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:174); the area to the north was within the Pontic kingdom. Deiotaros was merely the last of the Paphlagonian dependent kings installed by Pompeios in 63 in eastern Paphlagonia. On Gangra's claim to the Ilgaz Mountains, see Robert 1980:201-19, Mitchell 1993 vol. 2:22-3.

<sup>999</sup> Strabo 12.3.41.

<sup>1000</sup> The Middle Bronze Age is also represented at the site. The site is 1.18 ha (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:255 s.v. PS154).

<sup>1001</sup> The Dedeköy tumulus is 0.02 ha (40.5926° N, 33.7341° E; ibid.:157, 257 s.v. PS234); the Çivi04S03 tumulus is 0.02 ha (40.6025° N, 33.7287° E; ibid.:158, 258 s.v. Çivi04S03). Project Paphlagonia's published site coordinates do not correspond to their number of significant figures. Either tumulus may be 40.6137° N, 33.7356° E, which are the coordinates of a probable tumulus visible in GoogleEarth.

Höyük Tepesi is a Middle and Late Iron Age settlement mound in the Eldivan Plain in the mountains 10 km to the southwest of Çankırı.<sup>1002</sup> The plain is an oval alluvial basin, and the settlement is adjacent to the contemporary channel of the outlet stream. Similar to Çivi Höyük, Iron Age grey wares are represented at Höyük Tepesi.

**G.6. Eldivan05S03 & Eldivan05S01** M&LIA S/F? TUM

40.5652° N, 33.4576° E, & 40.5631° N, 33.4466° E

Matthews and Glatz 2009a:151-4, 158, 259 s.v.Eldivan05S03 and Eldivan05S01.

Eldivan05S03 is a flat settlement located on a rocky outcrop on the shoulder of a valley draining into the northwest of the Eldivan Plain.<sup>1003</sup> The summit of the outcrop has narrow proportions (40 × 10 m), and faces on the opposite shoulder of the valley a tumulus that is probably contemporary (Eldivan05S01). The two sites together indicate that the outcrop was the residence of an elite with small landholdings in the plain downstream. The Achaemenid route from the northern branch of the royal road at Ankara probably passed through the Terme and Eldivan Plains, as the Roman road did, and the pass over the mountains upstream of Eldivan05S03 is a possible alternate route to the principal southern pass over the Eldivan Mountains.

**G.7. Konak Höyüğü** LIA?-H? SM

40.3895° N, 33.6364° E

Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 2005:354-5, 359 map 3, 360 figs. 1-2.

Konak Höyüğü is a settlement mound surveying the Terme Stream from a rock outcrop on the right bank. Only a relatively small quantity of possibly Late Iron Age ceramics was present on the mound, but during the Late Iron Age the settlement

---

<sup>1002</sup> The Middle and Late Bronze Ages are also represented at the site. The site is 0.79 ha (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:256 s.v. PS178).

<sup>1003</sup> The Byzantine period is also represented at the site. The site is 0.16 ha (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:259 s.v.Eldivan05S03); the tumulus is 0.02 ha (ibid.:259 s.v.Eldivan05S01).

continues on the slope under the contemporary village.<sup>1004</sup> The Terme Valley is on the contemporary road from Ankara to Çankırı that runs to the west and north of the Kızılırmak Valley. The probable Achaemenid route passed upstream in the Terme Plain before ascending the Eldivan Mountains to the northwest. Without further information about the ceramics it is difficult to interpret Konak Höyüğü. The copper mining site of Hisarcikkaya in the Eldivan Mountains is located 13.5 km to the northwest above the left bank of the Terme Stream.

#### ***H. Eldivan & Köroğlu copper mining***

Numerous areas with copper ore deposits can be found in the Eldivan and Köroğlu Mountain Ranges that arc south of the Devrez Valley and around the Tatlıçay and Acıçay Valleys. Quite dissimilar from the Gökırmak Valley, however, the settlement pattern does not respond to the locations of deposits. The smaller settlements documented in the range, Eldivan05S03 and Konak Höyüğü, are not located in an area of known mining. The five larger settlements are located on Bronze Age mounds in the middle of valleys (Orta Salur Höyük [F.1], Salman Höyük East [F.5], Çivi Höyük [G.4], and Höyük Tepesi [G.5]). Kızılca Tepesi (G.5) is a site that combines characteristics of the two fortresses (Dumanlı Kale Mevkii [F.2] and Kanlı Göl Mevkii [G.1]) with the settlement mounds. The probability is far higher that Middle and Late Iron Age native copper extraction and copper ore mining occurred in the deposits accessible from the Kızılırmak Valley. The possibility exists that mining occurred at small surface deposits in all areas since Project Paphlagonia did not survey in deposit areas I summarize the evidence for each area.

---

<sup>1004</sup> One red-banded buff ware sherd is possibly visible in the photograph (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 2005:360 fig. 2 lower left). This ware begins just before the Late Iron Age and continues in the Hellenistic period (Henrickson 1994:113).



### ***H.1. Eldivan Mountains M***

40.4151° N, 33.4798° E, Hisarcikkayı<sup>1005</sup>

De Jesus 1976:52-6, de Jesus 1980:238-40 s.v. S-86 and S-87, 381 map 8, 409 fig. 10; Pitarakis 1998:157-8.

De Jesus surveyed six locations of slag in the Eldivan Mountains: Gemilik Mevkii, Demir Boku, Sarı Pınar, Çakmak Tepe, Cuma Camii Tepesi, and Hisarcikkayı. The radiocarbon dates of two slag deposits demonstrated that smelting occurred at two locations in the Roman and/or Hellenistic periods.<sup>1006</sup> A smelting furnace at Hisarcikkayı probably dates the smelting there to the Byzantine period or earlier. Although the radiocarbon dates do not disprove Late Iron Age mining and smelting in the Eldivan Mountains, the absence of slag near Late Iron Age settlements argues against it. The only surveyed settlements around the Eldivan Mountains are the Höyük Tepesi settlement mound in the Eldivan Plain, Eldivan05S03, and Konak Höyüğü.

### ***H.2. Yapraklı M***

40.8262° N, 33.7967° E, Kavak Yaylası Ridge

De Jesus 1976:56-7; de Jesus 1980:240-6 s.v. S-88, 381 map 8; Seeliger et al. 1985:601 s.v. TG160; Wagner and Öztunalı 2000:63.

De Jesus surveyed eighteen slag dumps at elevations above 1500m in the Köroğlu Range north of Yapraklı.<sup>1007</sup> He also found two locations of ore processing at Armutlu Yelet and Ahmet Burhan Tarlası II, and one possible location of charcoal production at Kireçlik Mevkii. De Jesus concludes that mining and smelting around Yapraklı took place over a long period, possibly several centuries. Later analysis confirmed De Jesus'

---

<sup>1005</sup> The coordinates of Çakmak Tepe are 40.5025° N, 33.4542° E.

<sup>1006</sup> The date for Gemilik Mevkii is 427 C.E. ± 150; the date for Demir Boku is 4 CE ± 129 (de Jesus 1976:54, 1980:239). Native copper was found at Domuz Deresi in the Eldivan Mountains, and a possible mine location is Dar Yer Mevkii (de Jesus 1976:53).

<sup>1007</sup> De Jesus 1980:240-6 s.v. S-88

suspicions about iron prills, and identified slag at several dumps around Yapraklı as from iron smelting of probable Ottoman date.<sup>1008</sup>

### ***H.3. Yakadere M***

40.7229° N, 33.7144° E

De Jesus 1980:246 s.v. S-89 Urvay, 381 map 8; Seeliger et al. 1985:601, 602 s.v. TG161; Wagner et al. 1986:749-52 s.v. TG161; Hirao, Enomoto and Tachikawa 1995:93, 97, 100 sample 29, 102 s.v. KC; Pitarakis 1998:158; Wagner and Öztunalı 2000:63.

Yakadere is an ore deposit in the Köroğlu Mountains c. 15 km to the northeast of Çankırı. The slag dumps in the area appear to belong to Ottoman iron smelting; however, native copper was also mined in the same area. Native copper mining does not produce smelting slag or other datable evidence near the deposit.

### ***H.4. Derekütüğün M***

40.6229° N, 34.1957° E, approximate

De Jesus 1976:57-8; de Jesus 1980:247 s.v. S-92, 381 map 8; Hirao, Enomoto and Tachikawa 1995:93, 97, 100 sample 30 Bayat, 102 s.v. KC; Wagner and Öztunalı 2000:50, 66 s.v. TG270.

Derekütüğün is the village near the Astar Valley on the southeastern slopes of the Köroğlu Range in the Kızılırmak Valley. The Astar Valley is a contemporary copper mine where both copper ore and native copper are present. The nodules of native copper are fist-sized and occur within a very erodible conglomerate. Rains wash the nodules out and they can be easily collected. At the confluence of the Astar and Koca Streams on the plateau downstream of the mine area are copper slag dumps. Although de Jesus indicates that these dumps are possibly Byzantine, five Middle and Late Iron Age settlements cluster on the plateau downstream of the Astar Valley.<sup>1009</sup>

---

<sup>1008</sup> Seeliger et al. 1985:601.

<sup>1009</sup> Lead isotope analysis of Kaman-Kalehöyük artifacts also has revealed that the Astar Valley is a possible source of copper used in a few Middle and Late Bronze Age or earlier artifacts (Hirao, Enomoto and Tachikawa 1995:97).

### ***H.5. Fındıkoğlu Deresi*** M

40.6960° N, 34.1220° E, Tepekuşu village  
De Jesus 1976:57-8; de Jesus 1980:247 s.v. S-91, 381 map 8.

Fındıkoğlu Deresi is an area of copper slag dumps in the mountains between Bayat and Yapraklı. Similar to Derekütüğün and Hamdi Efendi Çiftliği, which are the other mining sites on southeastern slopes of the Köroğlu Range, the survey evidence for the mining of copper ore deposits at Fındıkoğlu Deresi is suggested to Byzantine.

### ***H.6. Hamdi Efendi Çiftliği*** M

40.6940° N, 34.4281° E, approximate  
De Jesus 1976:57-8; de Jesus 1980:248 s.v. S-93, 381 map 8

Hamdi Efendi Çiftliği is an area of copper slag dumps of probable Byzantine date near İskilip.

### ***H.7. Örencik*** M

41.1400° N, 34.5737° E, Örencik village  
De Jesus 1976:62; de Jesus 1980:246 s.v. S-90, 381 map 8.

Örencik is located to the west of Kargı in a lateral valley of the Kızılırmak. The area does not have identified copper ore deposits, but copper slag dumps and a smelting furnace were documented.

## ***I. Kızılırmak Valley***

The landscapes of the Kızılırmak Valley are so varied that the settlement pattern in each area can be compared with difficulty to the areas upstream or downstream. More than the contemporary variety, however, what is of most relevance is the difference between the contemporary landscape, the landscape of a hundred years ago, and the Late Iron Age landscape. The contemporary landscape of emerald green rice patties and irrigated fields is the product of industrial interventions in the landscape. Traveling in

1838, Ainsworth describes the landscape southeast of Çankırı as “an open country, having few or no pretensions to beauty, being almost totally void of wood, and the soil generally saline, parched, and dry.”<sup>1010</sup> This is the landscape degraded by deforestation, erosion, and sediment deposition in the valley floor.<sup>1011</sup> The Late Iron Age landscape dates before these degradations. The areas of cultivation would have been similar to what one sees today, with fields in the flood plain, on the river terraces, and in the lateral valleys, but with less salinity in the soil and no rice patties.

Second in relevance is the transition from the linear settlements of the Gökırmak Valley and the dispersed settlements in the Tatlıçay and Acıçay Valleys to the expansive Kızılırmak Valley south and east of Çankırı. Flowing from the south, the Kızılırmak River first bends to the northeast and enters the gypsum and marl plateaus of the Çankırı Basin. This is a landscape also of large Bronze Age settlement mounds for Late Iron Age settlements to rest upon, and access eastward to the highlands within the bend of the river.<sup>1012</sup> The river is a hindrance to traverse with crossings at Çorum Salur Höyük, Osmancık, and Kargı Ambarkaya, but is not a border nor is the valley a borderland. Rather, the valley is densely settled and agriculturally based. Additionally, without Middle and Late Iron Age mining settlements comparable to the Taşköprü ore deposit settlements, and lead isotope analyses comparable to the Küre ore deposit, the exploitation of the copper ores in the Kızılırmak Valley is not a demonstrable factor in the settlement pattern during the Late Iron Age. The locations of the settlements of Çapar

---

<sup>1010</sup> Ainsworth 1842:112.

<sup>1011</sup> Marsh in Matthews and Glatz 2009a:62-4. Compare the chronology of sedimentation in the Sakarya Valley around Gordion (Marsh 2005:165-9).

<sup>1012</sup> If all the settlement mounds on the valley floor controlled crossings, the settlement pattern is more comparable to the linear Gökırmak Valley.

Höyük (I.5), Tepekütüğün Kültepe Höyük (I.6), Barak Kültepe (I.7), Padişah Tepesi and Külhöyük (I.10), and Yukarı Maltepe Höyük (I.11), however, are in close proximity to the copper ore deposits.

The landscape of the Kızılırmak Valley from İskilip (I.12) to northwest of Osmancık (I.16) is volcanic with a valley floor and incised lateral valleys. Progressively hemmed in by higher mountains north of İskilip, the valley floor and terraces along the river are extensive only around Osmancık, Kargı, and in the Vezirköprü Plain. Narrow valleys and gorges intervene between these arable areas, and to bypass the impassable gorges, routes frequently traverse low mountain passes at a distance from the river.

### ***I.1. Kıyihalilince Höyük*** LIA?-H? SM

40.3200° N, 33.7936° E  
Omura 1993:366; Sipahi 2003:278, 284 fig. 10.

Kıyihalilince Höyük is the first of a series of settlement mounds located on low ridges on the valley floor. The Bronze Age occupational phases of these settlements have transformed the low ridges to hills. Similar to Kıyihalilince Höyük, these mounds are frequently not specifically dated to the Late Iron Age in the preliminary reports; however, to omit them from the inventory would leave an empty landscape and a false impression of the settlement pattern. Kıyihalilince Höyük is a possible Late Iron Age settlement mound on the right bank of the Kızılırmak, upstream of the confluence of the Terme with the Kızılırmak.<sup>1013</sup>

### ***I.2. Alca Höyük*** M&LIA-H SM

40.3515° N, 33.8373° E, nearest village  
Sipahi 2003:278, 284 fig. 11.

---

<sup>1013</sup> The Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages, and the Hellenistic and possibly Late Iron Age “Klasik dönem” are represented on the site. Mound dimensions: 100 × 250 m, height: 15-20 m (Sipahi 2003:278).

Approximately 5 km downstream from Kıyılilince Höyük is Alica Höyük, a Middle and Late Iron Age settlement mound on the left bank of the Kızılırmak.<sup>1014</sup>

### ***1.3. Saraycık Höyük*** LIA-H SM

40.2928° N, 33.9356° E)

Matthews and Glatz 2009a:151, 156, 166-7, 256 s.v. PS172.

Saraycık Höyük is a settlement mound on a natural hill on the marl plateau 5 km south of the Kızılırmak River.<sup>1015</sup> The hill is first occupied in the Late Iron Age and the settlement continues through the Hellenistic period. The settlement surveys the surrounding plateau, and is comparable in size and in its naturally defensible location to Eldivan05S03 (**G.6**). Saraycık Höyük is, however, not associated with any tumuli or rockcut tombs, and, consequently, provides no evidence for a hereditary elite residing at the settlement. Survey of the mound yielded a Achaemenid period carinated bowl, which is a vessel associated with elite commensal practices. Saraycık Höyük is probably the residence of an elite who managed the surrounding landscape as an estate. It is possible that Eldivan05S03 is also the residence of a local leader, and both settlements support the interpretation of fortified residences as evidence of the Achaemenid practice of administering.

### ***1.4. Cacıklar Kültepe*** M&LIA SM

40.4070° N, 34.1775° E, approximate

Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 2000:33, 40 fig. 13.

---

<sup>1014</sup> The Early Bronze Age and “first millennium” are represented on the site. Mound dimensions: 250 × 150 m, height: 10-15 m (Sipahi 2003:278).

<sup>1015</sup> The site is 0.20 ha (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:256 s.v. PS172).

Kültepe is a Middle and Late Iron Age settlement mound on a hill overlooking the right bank of the Delice River 8 km upstream of its confluence with the Kızılırmak.<sup>1016</sup> The hill also stands at the narrowing of the Delice Valley at the northern end of a alluvium filled valley floor. It is possible that the settlement regulated a route in the Delice Valley as it entered the plateaus south of the Kızılırmak River.

### ***1.5. Çapar Höyük*** M&LIA-R SM

40.5865° N, 34.0112° E  
Sipahi 2003:278, 284 fig. 12 s.v. Ünür Höyük; Matthews and Glatz 2009a:151-4, 156, 166-7, 255 s.v. PS156.

Çapar Höyük is a Middle and Late Iron Age settlement mound located between two lateral valleys near the boundary of the marl plateau with the Koroğlu Range.<sup>1017</sup> Slag identified as possibly iron and a lump of worked iron were collected on the mound. Çapar Höyük holds much in common with the large settlements located on Bronze Age mounds in the Tatlıçay and Acıçay Valleys; however, it is also in a cluster of other Middle and Late Iron Age settlements near the copper ore deposits of the Astar Valley.<sup>1018</sup>

### ***1.6. Tepekütüğün Kültepe Höyük & Çeştepe*** M&LIA-H SM TUM

40.5837° N, 34.1458° E, Çeştepe  
Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 2001:103, 110 fig. 9.

---

<sup>1016</sup> The Early and Middle Bronze Ages are also represented on the site. Mound dimensions: 75 × 90 m (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 2000:33). The relevant period is listed as Iron Age, but in the conclusion Sipahi and Yıldırım state that they have not encountered any Early Iron Age ceramics between 1996 and 1998 (ibid.:34).

<sup>1017</sup> The Early and Late Bronze Ages, and the Roman and Byzantine periods were also represented at the site. The site is 0.79 ha (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:255 s.v. PS156). Sipahi lists the occupational periods as third and second millennia, Roman, and “Klasik” periods (2003:278). This overlap in Matthews and Glatz’s Middle and Late Iron Age and Sipahi’s *Klasik* period confirms that *Klasik* is not only Hellenistic.

<sup>1018</sup> In addition to Çapar Höyük, Tepekütüğün Kültepe Höyük, and Barak Kültepe, Yıldırım and Sipahi mention in passing that they visited a Late Iron Age settlement located on a ridge to the southwest near the village of Danabaşı (40.5220° N, 34.0447° E; T. Yıldırım and Sipahi 2007:344). The Danabaşı settlement is identified as “Klasik dönem.”

Kültepe Höyük is a settlement mound located on the marl plateau 3.5 km southwest of the Astar Valley.<sup>1019</sup> Although the mound is large, the surveyors indicate that there is only a relatively small quantity of Middle and Late Iron Age ceramic sherds on the mound. Çeştepe is a tumulus located near the mound.

### ***1.7. Barak Kültepe*** M&LIA-H SM

40.5764° N, 34.2129° E

Gökoğlu 1952:40, T. Yıldırım and Sipahi 1999:435, 442 figs. 7-8.

Kültepe is a small, high mound on the right bank of an intermittent stream c. 6 km downstream from the Astar Valley. A Middle and Late Iron Age occupation is present on the mound.<sup>1020</sup>

### ***1.8. Beşdut*** H-R RCT

40.6213° N, 34.0651° E, Beşdut village<sup>1021</sup>

Kannenbergs 1894:90 nos. 3-4; Kannenberg 1895a:107; Leonhard 1915:120, 276, fig. 100; Gökoğlu 1952:107-8; von Gall 1966a:101-2, 116-9, pl. 13.1-2; Marek 2003:37 fig. 51; Dökü 2008a:23, 28, 123, cat. no. 24, ill. 21, figs. 5, 28.

In the Beşdut Valley 6.5 km to the west of the Astar Valley is a double columned tomb cut into a sandstone outcrop. The Beşdut tomb is the first of the several Paphlagonian rockcut tombs in the Kızılırmak Valley from south of Çankırı to the Asar Gorge that von Gall dated to the Achaemenid or Hellenistic period.<sup>1022</sup> The Beşdut tomb is a double columned porch with possibly unfinished kneeling bull capitals. The porch leads into a burial chamber with pitched ceiling and single bench along the rear wall.

---

<sup>1019</sup> The Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages were also represented at the site. Site dimensions: 150 × 300 m (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 2001:103). The relevant period is listed as first millennium, but Yıldırım and Sipahi state that they did not encounter any Early Iron Age ceramics until 2002 (2004:310).

<sup>1020</sup> The Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages were also represented at the site. Mound diameter is 75 m; height: 10-15 m (T. Yıldırım and Sipahi 1999:435). The relevant period is listed as first millennium.

<sup>1021</sup> Von Gall locates the tomb north of the village of Beşdüt (von Gall 1966a:101).

<sup>1022</sup> At Kargın and Hamzalı south of Çankırı are simple single columned tombs (Kannenbergs 1894:90 nos. 1-2; Kannenberg 1895a:107; Leonhard 1915:120, 276, 277 fig. 100 nos. 10-11; von Gall 1966a:107). Omura surveyed a settlement mound with some first millennium ceramics c. 1.3 km to the northwest of the Kargın tomb (40.3006° N, 33.5381° E, approximate; Omura 1993:366 s.v. Yukarı Harmanlar).



Von Gall dated the capitals to the second century, and connected the tomb with the Hellenistic Paphlagonian kings at Çankırı.<sup>1023</sup> Yıldırım and Sipahi surveyed a nearby Roman settlement and necropolis that supports Dökü's late Hellenistic or early Roman date.<sup>1024</sup>

### ***1.9. Atoluğun Tepe & vicinity*** M&LIA-H SM-S

40.5281° N, 34.3824° E

Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 1998:24-5, 34-5 figs. 9-10, 12.

Atoluğun Tepe is a settlement mound occupied in the Middle and Late Iron Age on a low ridge on the right bank of the Kızılırmak 1.5 km from the current river channel.<sup>1025</sup> The mound was occupied contemporaneously with several smaller settlements in the vicinity. Tümbek Tepe is a flat settlement 2 km distant from Atoluğun Tepe with a Middle and Late Iron Age occupation on a low hill above the valley floor of the Kızılırmak River.<sup>1026</sup> Sıtma Tepe Mevkii is a nearby settlement occupied in the Middle and Late Iron Age.<sup>1027</sup> Similar to Kıyihalilince Höyük upstream and Çorum Salur Höyük

---

<sup>1023</sup> Von Gall interpreted the capitals as double bull protome capitals, but the capital's triangular interior face, block shape, and the absence of precedent for bull protomes in the region suggests an unfinished kneeling bull (von Gall 1966a:101-2). Because of the distribution of these tombs in the Kızılırmak Valley with access to Amasya, my impression is that the tombs relate not the Çankırı kingdom, but rather the Pontic Kingdom.

<sup>1024</sup> Yıldırım and Sipahi documented a Roman necropolis at Ören Mevkii near Askerboğan Tepe (40.5674° N, 34.0851° E, Askerboğan Tepe; 2007:343), and a Roman settlement at Kaşpınar Mevkii (40.5968° N, 34.0444° E, published coordinates; 2007:344). Von Gall locates the tomb north of the village of Beşdut.

<sup>1025</sup> Sipahi and Yıldırım list third, second, and first millennia, and Hellenistic period on the site. Mound dimensions: 230 × 130 m, height: 20 m (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 1998:25). The first millennium less the Early Iron Age and Hellenistic period is the Middle and Late Iron Age; Sipahi and Yıldırım state that they have not encountered any Early Iron Age ceramics between 1996 and 1998 (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 2000:34).

<sup>1026</sup> Sipahi and Yıldırım list third, second, and first millennia, and Hellenistic period on the site. Settlement dimensions: 50 × 100 m, hill height: 15 m (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 1998:25). The coordinates of Tümbek Tepe are 40.5441° N, 34.3969° E, approximate. The relevant period is listed as first millennium, but Sipahi and Yıldırım state that they have not encountered any Early Iron Age ceramics between 1996 and 1998 (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 2000:34).

<sup>1027</sup> Sipahi and Yıldırım list third millennium, Iron Age, and Medieval period on the site (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 1998:25). The coordinates of Sıtma Tepe Mevkii are 40.5277° N, 34.3852° E, approximate.

downstream, Atoluğun Tepe is a valley floor settlement that contrasts with the marl plateau settlements of Saraycık Höyük, Çapar Höyük, and Padişah Tepesi.

***1.10. Padişah Tepesi & vicinity*** M&LIA-H SM

40.6301° N, 34.3971° E

Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 1998:27, 39-40 figs. 20-1

Padişah Tepesi is a settlement mound with a Middle and Late Iron Age occupation phase.<sup>1028</sup> The prominent mound is draped over a hill on a marl terrace above a lateral valley on the left bank of the Kızılırmak River. Külhöyük is a nearby low third millennium mound with a relatively small amount of Late Iron Age and Hellenistic ceramics.<sup>1029</sup>

***1.11. Yukarı & Aşağı Maltepe Höyükler*** M&LIA-H? SM

40.6743° N, 34.5763° E, & 40.6529° N, 34.5723° E

T. Yıldırım and Sipahi 1999:434, 440-1 figs. 3-6.

Aşağı Maltepe Höyük is a Middle and Late Iron Age settlement mound on a terrace on the left bank of the Kızılırmak River.<sup>1030</sup> Yukarı Maltepe Höyük is a mound also

---

Sipahi and Yıldırım later state that they have not encountered any Early Iron Age ceramics between 1996 and 1998 (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 2000:34).

<sup>1028</sup> The third millennium is also represented on the site. Mound dimensions: 300 × 200 m (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 1998:27). The relevant period is listed as first millennium, but Sipahi and Yıldırım state that they have not encountered any Early Iron Age ceramics between 1996 and 1998 (2000:34).

<sup>1029</sup> The ceramics are identified as “Klasik.” In the article where Külhöyük is published “Klasik” is used loosely (“Klasik devirler” is used once to refer to Roman period [Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 1998:22-3]). It is therefore not possible to be certain that Sipahi and Yıldırım are referring to the Külhöyük ceramics as Late Iron Age and Hellenistic. Mound dimensions: 100 × 150 m, height: 2-3 m (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 1998:27). Külhöyük is located 2 km south of Padişah Tepesi.

<sup>1030</sup> The Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages are represented at the site. Mound length: 80 m, height: 5-10 m (T. Yıldırım and Sipahi 1999:434). The relevant period is listed as first millennium, but Sipahi and Yıldırım state that they have not encountered any Early Iron Age ceramics between 1996 and 1998 (2000:34). Additionally, because Yıldırım and Sipahi identify a settlement as occupied in the Hellenistic period, I modified their “first millenium” to “Iron Age” to be consistent with other subregions, if diagnostic ceramics are present.

occupied in the Middle and Late Iron Age on a pass over the ridge that divides the lateral İskilip Valley from the Kızılırmak Valley.<sup>1031</sup>

### ***I.12. İskilip*** H-R F RCT TUN

40.7347° N, 34.4741° E

Ainsworth 1839:264-5; Ainsworth 1842:104-5; Hirschfeld 1885:17-24, pls. 3-4, 6-7; Kannenberg 1894:90 no. 14; Kannenberg 1895a:106-7; J.G.C. Anderson 1903:4; Gökoğlu 1952:113-6, 128, 180; von Gall 1966a:91-6, 116-22, pls. 10, 11.1-2; von Gall 1967b:514 no. 18; Olshausen and Biller 1984:123 s.v. Dadybra; Belke 1996:221-2; Dökü 2008a:116, 118, 120-2, cat. nos. 5, 9-10, 28, ill. 10-2, figs. 4, 16, 20, 36, 49, 52, 58, 88.

Rather than locating the Achaemenid landscape in the settlement mounds of the marl plateau, earlier researchers emphasized the rockcut tombs of İskilip located upstream in the fertile valley between Padişah Tepesi and Yukarı Maltepe Höyük. Northeast of İskilip the Kızılırmak River enters an incised volcanic valley, and possible routes to Osmancık and Tosya passed through the İskilip Valley to bypass the Kızılırmak. Additionally, the copper slag dumps of Hamdi Efendi Çiftliği are located between İskilip and Padişah Tepesi.<sup>1032</sup> The İskilip rockcut tombs are cut into a limestone outcrop surrounded by a landscape of eroded volcanic tuff. On the outcrop are a rockcut tunnel and a medieval fortress occupied by a neighborhood of the contemporary city.

At the bottom of the southern flank of the outcrop are four tombs. The first tomb has high torus bases resting on plinths and tapering columns crowned with a beveled abacus (**fig.70**). The columns are set between two pilasters, and bear a shallow inset pediment with a king post. A central square opening leads into a slightly vaulted burial chamber with a bench along the rear wall. Von Gall's fifth century date for the tomb is much too early; Dökü points to the vault and pilasters in proposing a Hellenistic date. The columns

---

<sup>1031</sup> The Early Bronze Age and first millennium are represented at the site. Mound height: 10 m (T. Yıldırım and Sipahi 1999:434).

<sup>1032</sup> The slag dumps are c. 6 km from İskilip and 7.5 km from Padişah Tepesi.

bear the greatest similarity to the Hellenistic Salarköy tomb, although without the kneeling bull capitals.

The fourth tomb has a shallow double columned porch set within a triple faceted frame (**fig. 71**).<sup>1033</sup> A vaulted burial chamber is accessed through a square opening between the columns. An arcosolium grave is cut in the rear wall of the chamber with a low bench carved along the southwest wall. A simple grave is cut in the northeastern wall of the porch. The columns share their wide half torus bases and stocky, tapering shafts with Terelikkayası. The capitals are kneeling bulls executed with less modeling than either Kalekapı or Salarköy. Within a shallow inset pediment are two eroti flying towards each other. The eroti and arcosolium grave probably are contemporaneous Roman alterations to the tomb. The style of the columns is most similar to the Hellenistic Terelikkayası.

The second tomb is a simple single-columned tomb to the east of the first tomb, and the third tomb is below the first. The third tomb is also single-columned but with a gabled ceiling and king posts in the burial chamber.<sup>1034</sup> The four columnar tombs at İskilip date to the Hellenistic period or later. In the Roman period, the four are converted into part of the necropolis of the town of Dadybra. Consequently, evidence of an Achaemenid period settlement in the İskilip Valley is absent.

### ***I.13. Çorum Salur Höyük*** L&MIA SM

40.6157° N, 34.5816° E

---

<sup>1033</sup> The numbering of the tombs follows Hirschfeld (1885).

<sup>1034</sup> The sculpted architectural features of the burial chamber with pitched ceiling, beams, and kingpost are similar to a rockcut tomb in the volcanic plateau to the southeast of Dumanlı Kale Mevkii at Örenşehir. The settlement at Örenşehir is described as a Roman village (Matthews and Glatz 2009a:252 s.v. PS040, PS040a). The online site catalog also lists a third century coin ([www.ucl.ac.uk/paphlagonia](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/paphlagonia)). See also Belke 1996:256 s.v. Örenşehir, figs. 92-3. The coordinates of Örenşehir are 40.6550° N, 33.2734° E.

Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 1998:23, 32 fig. 5.

Salur Höyük is a Middle and Late Iron Age settlement mound on the right bank of the Kızılırmak 1 km from the current river channel.<sup>1035</sup> The mound rests on a low ridge on the floor of a lateral valley, and would have been more prominent in the Iron Age before the alluvial burial of the ridge.<sup>1036</sup> The route west from the Çorum Plain reaches the Kızılırmak at Salur Höyük, and the settlement regulated the access of travelers to a probable crossing of the river.

#### ***I.14. Ferhatlı Höyük*** M&LIA? SM

40.5905° N, 34.5790° E

Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 2008:286, fig. 10.

Ferhatlı Höyük is a settlement mound on the southern end of the ridge where Salur Höyük is located. The settlement is occupied from the Early Bronze Age through the medieval period, but the Iron Age is not specifically referred to in the preliminary publication.<sup>1037</sup> Coupled with Salur Höyük, the more elevated location of Ferhatlı Höyük allowed the settlement to assist in the regulation of the route west from the Çorum Plain.

#### ***I.15. Mescitli Hamamtepe*** M&LIA SM

40.7831° N, 34.9307° E

Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 1998:22, 30 fig. 2.

Downstream of Salur Höyük, the Kızılırmak enters a narrow valley framed by eroded volcanic slopes. Hamamtepe is a Middle and Late Iron Age settlement mound located on

---

<sup>1035</sup> The Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages are also represented on the site. Mound dimensions: 100 × 75 m, height: 15 m (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 1998:22). The relevant period is listed as Iron Age, but Sipahi and Yıldırım state that they have not encountered any Early Iron Age ceramics between 1996 and 1998 (2000:34).

<sup>1036</sup> Akkan 1970:fig. 15 facing page 86, fig. 16 facing page 98.

<sup>1037</sup> Mound height from ridge slope: 60 m (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 2008:286).

the edge of the valley floor on an eastern lateral valley of the Kızılırmak.<sup>1038</sup> North of this valley, the Hamamözü, the Kızılırmak Valley gradually broadens as it approaches Osmancık.<sup>1039</sup>

#### ***I.16. Osmancık*** H-R FS RCT TUN

40.9729° N, 34.8027° E, first plug

Ainsworth 1842: 97-8; Kannenberg 1894:90 nos. 7-8; Prittwitz und Gaffron 1894:125; Flottwell 1895:12-3; Kannenberg 1895a:105; Anderson 1903:100-4; Osten 1929:120-3; von Gall 1966a:107; Marek 1993:41, pl. 45.1.

Osmancık is a town built on the right bank of the Kızılırmak around three andesite volcanic plugs left after the river eroded the surrounding rock.<sup>1040</sup> On the east slope of the central plug is a single columned rockcut tomb below traces of a medieval fortress on the summit. In the second plug to the east are a second tomb with a single columned porch and a burial chamber with a bench along the rear wall. On the third plug is a curving tunnel that probably led to the river.<sup>1041</sup> Osmancık is identified with Pimolisa, the location of a destroyed fortress of the Pontic Kingdom according to Strabo.<sup>1042</sup> Osmancık is on the principal route from the Kızılırmak to the İnegöl Mountain silver mines, and Amasya through Merzifon. Unfortunately, no Late Iron Age ceramics were

---

<sup>1038</sup> The third and second millennia are also represented on the site. Mound dimensions: 95 × 75 m, height: 15 m (Sipahi and T. Yıldırım 1998:22). The relevant period is listed as Iron Age, but Sipahi and Yıldırım state that they have not encountered any Early Iron Age ceramics in the 1996, 1997, and 1998 seasons (2000:34).

<sup>1039</sup> Mountains ring the Hamamözü Valley, and the northern mountain is İnegöl Mountain where there are silver mines. At the eastern end of the valley is the Late Iron Age hilltop settlement Gelinkaya Kalesi that regulated access over the pass to the silver mining area. The coordinates of Gelinkaya Kalesi are 40.7594° N, 35.0740° E, approximate. Dönmez mentions that the hilltop is also occupied in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (2000:234). On İnegöl Mountain, see De Jesus 1980:91, 196, 263 s.v. S-130, 387 map 13, 391 map 16 s.v. Gümüş; Seeliger et al. 1985:606-12 s.v. TG165, pls. 71-3; Özbal et al. 2000:48.

<sup>1040</sup> Akkan 1970:fig. 14 facing page 72, 84-6.

<sup>1041</sup> The coordinates of the upper mouth of the tunnel are 40.9707° N, 34.8134° E.

<sup>1042</sup> Πιμωλίσων, φρουρίου βασιλικού κατεσκαμμένου, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ χώρα ἡ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλεῖται Πιμωλισηγή (Strabo 12.3.40).

found around the three plugs or on any other settlement mound around Osmancık or downstream around the confluence of the Devrez River.

***I.17. Kargı Ambarkaya*** H-R S RCT NEC & ***Erenler Tepesi*** M&LIA-H S/F?

41.1313° N, 34.7686° E, & 41.1325° N, 34.7735° E, approximate  
Hirschfeld 1885:9-16, pls. 1-2, 5 s.v. Hambarkaya; Kannenberg 1894:90 no. 15;  
Kannenberg 1895a:105 s.v. Seitin; Gökoğlu 1952:100-3; von Gall 1966a:88-90, 116-22,  
pl. 11.3; Dökü 2008a:109, 115-6, cat. no. 4, ill. 9, figs. 15, 55, 113; T. Yıldırım and  
Sipahi 2009:99, 105 figs. 5-6 s.v. Aşıkbükü Mevkii and Aşıkbükü Köyü/Erenler Tepesi  
(and Dolay Tarla Mevkii).

Ambarkaya is a tomb cut into an outcrop at a sharp bend in the course of the Kızılırmak (**fig. 72**). At the bend, the river leaves the broad alluvial and river terrace fields along the primary strand of the North Anatolian Fault Zone and cuts through the mountains.<sup>1043</sup> The eastern slopes of the Ilgaz Range and the western slopes of Kunduz Mountain close in on the river and permit only a band of fields in the narrow valley floor downstream.

The tomb has a shallow triple columned porch set within a triple faceted frame. The columns have wide torus bases, tapering shafts, and a double abacus capital. In front of and slightly below the porch rest three crouching lions sculpted in the round: a central lion facing southeast and two lion protome sculptures at the sides and facing center. In a shallow inset pediment are two standing lions in profile with probably frontal heads. The tomb was not well documented before an irrigation canal was dynamited under the porch, sometime since the 1960s. The burial chamber has a pitched ceiling and a bench running

---

<sup>1043</sup> The comparison of Hirschfeld's photograph and contemporary photographs (e.g. photographs available on GoogleEarth) is illustrative of the difference between the contemporary landscape, the landscape of a hundred years ago, and the Achaemenid landscape. The contemporary landscape of emerald green rice patties is the product of industrial interventions in the landscape. In the landscape of 1882, the tomb rests above a valley floor of coarse sediment (Hirschfeld 1885:pl. 1). Although not visible in the photograph, this is the landscape degraded by erosion and sediment deposition in the valley floor (cf. Marsh in Matthews and Glatz 2009a:62-4). The Late Iron Age landscape would have had fields in the flood plain, on the river terraces, and lateral valleys, but without rice patties.

along the rear wall. The shallowness of the porch is similar to İskilip tomb 4, and the column proportions and design are reminiscent of those in İskilip tomb 1 (**I.12**). The multiple columns are similar to the Kapıkaya and Asarkale tombs (**J.14**) that draw on the Hellenistic royal tombs at Amasya. The placement of the lions both here and at Terelikkayası (**A.1**) is comparable. The pose of the pedimental lions is not unlike what one finds at Çöpçöp Kayası (**C.10**). The preponderance of the comparisons indicates a Hellenistic date for the tomb, much later than von Gall's date in the first half of the fifth century, and closer to Dökü's date in the fourth century.

Yıldırım and Sipahi documented a Roman settlement around the outcrop, and at the nearby Dolay Tarla Mevkii, a Roman and Byzantine settlement, a rockcut necropolis, and a cemetery. Rather than the left bank of the river, however, it is the Erenler Tepesi settlement on the right bank of the river that is of importance to the Achaemenid landscape. Erenler Tepesi is located on the western end of a ridge extending from the Elmalı Peak of Kunduz Mountain. The settlement is occupied in the Middle and Late Iron Ages, and the Hellenistic period.<sup>1044</sup>

The coupling of the Ambarkaya outcrop and the Erenler Tepesi indicates that a probable crossing of the river was located here. Downstream, the Kızılırmak flows through a narrow valley before passing through the Kepez Gorge south of the confluence of the Gökırmak with the Kızılırmak. The area downstream around the confluence was discussed at the beginning of the inventory; therefore, the inventory traverses a pass over

---

<sup>1044</sup> Yıldırım and Sipahi describe the periods represented on the site as first millennium and "Klasik dönemler." It is possible that the site is occupied in the Roman period because "dönemler" is plural (T. Yıldırım and Sipahi 2009:99).



Kunduz Mountain, a possible secondary east-west route that Erenler Tepesi regulated.<sup>1045</sup>

Following the primary strand of the North Anatolian Fault Line, this route ascended to a pass at an elevation of 1360 m before descending to the Vezirköprü Plain.

### ***1.18. Zindankaya*** MIA-LIA-H FS RCT

41.1053° N, 35.3361° E

Marek 2003:38 fig. 52; Dönmez 2007c; Dökü 2008a:119, 123, cat. no. 18, ill. 17, fig. 23  
s.v. Esenköy; Tuna 2008:77-8.

Zindankaya is a rock outcrop in the Vezirköprü Plain near a tributary of the Kızılırmak River that drains the northern slopes of Tavşan Mountains. The copper mining valleys of Tavşan Mountains are located on the northeastern slopes (see **A.4**). The numerous cuttings for wall foundations or steps are carved into the outcrop.<sup>1046</sup> A columnar rockcut tomb named Evkaya lies 300 m northwest of the outcrop. A settlement mound named Ziraat Tepesi lies 300 m north of the outcrop, and both are connected by a scatter of sherds in the fields that lie between.<sup>1047</sup> Fragmentary terracotta revetment plaques and painted Middle and Late Iron Age ceramics were collected along with Hellenistic ceramics. A sherd of the late phase of the Late Iron Age was also collected.<sup>1048</sup>

The tomb is carved in the south face of an outcrop. Similar to Terelikkayası (**A.1**), the surface is not smoothed and no gable is carved. Additionally, Zindankaya does not have relief sculpture but it does have eight square holes above the eastern column and scattered square holes to the west of the porch. The porch is triple columned with a

---

<sup>1045</sup> A second possible route is downstream on the Kızılırmak to the Kepez Gorge and crossing through Saraydüzü to the Gökırmak Valley at Boyabat.

<sup>1046</sup> Outcrop dimensions: 20 × 60 × 50 m (Dönmez 2007c:146).

<sup>1047</sup> Mound dimensions: 80 × 60 m, height: 20 m; site dimensions: 1 × 1 km (ibid:146).

<sup>1048</sup> Ibid.:146, 158 fig. 9. With Zindankaya the inventory enters again the area covered in Dönmez's survey, and the late phase of the Late Iron Age is the Achaemenid period.

larger central column. The columns have a square abacus capital and a round torus base most similar to the Ambarkaya tomb (**I.17**) located on the west bank of the Kızılırmak directly west of Zindankaya. The porch leads into two burial chambers: the entryway to the first is located behind the western column, and the broken entryway to the second is located between the eastern intercolumniation.

Zindankaya is a dispersed settlement of the Middle and Late Iron Ages and the Hellenistic period. Although 15 km distant as the crow flies from the copper and arsenic mining valleys on the northeastern slopes of the Tavşan Mountains, Zindankaya is likely one of two principal settlements that controlled the northern access from the Vezirköprü Plain to the mining valleys.

***I.19. Büyükkale*** MIA?-LIA-H F TUN

41.0590° N, 35.3634° E

Olshausen and Biller 1984:162 s.v. Sagyion; Özşait 2003a:127.

Büyükkale is a fortress located on a rocky conical peak with an elevation of 1420 m in the Tavşan Mountains to the south of Zindankaya. On the basis of Strabo's thorough description, this site is identified as the Pontic fortress of Sagyion destroyed by Pompey.<sup>1049</sup> The fortress bears traces of Hellenistic ashlar fortification walls and a stepped rockcut tunnel, and surprisingly, in 2001 Mehmet Özşait identified Iron Age ceramics on the peak.

***I.20. Oymağaç Höyük*** EIA-MIA-LIA SM

41.2078° N, 35.4294° E

Alkım 1973:64 s.v. Höyük Tepe; Alkım 1974:51; Dengate 1978:248-9, pl. 65 fig. 5; Kızıltan 1992:228; Dönmez 2001a:880-1, fig. 12-3; Dönmez 2002b:258-60; Czichon, Flender and Klinger 2006; Czichon 2008a; Czichon 2008b; Tuna 2008:68-9; Czichon n.d.

---

<sup>1049</sup> Strabo 12.3.38.

The second principal settlement in the Vezirköprü Plain is Oymaağaç Höyük, the settlement mound of the Hittite city of Erik.<sup>1050</sup> The survey and excavations of the Oymaağaç-Nerik Forschungsprojekt demonstrate that the mound was also occupied in the Early, Middle, and Late Iron Ages.<sup>1051</sup> The survey collected Iron Age ceramics only on the summit and upper slopes of the mound where geophysical prospection in 2006 revealed a monumental Hittite building. The distribution of Iron Age ceramics indicates that the settlement contracted, possibly to a fortified residence, after the end of the Late Bronze Age. Iron Age levels were excavated in 2007, although only pits were uncovered.

The Vezirköprü Plain extends from the Tavşan Mountains to the stretch of the Kızılırmak River between the confluence of the Gökırmak River and the Şahinkaya Gorge. Before the construction of the Altinkaya Dam on the Kızılırmak, the road to Alaçam on the Black Sea from the plain passed by Oymaağaç. Although no Late Iron Age settlements have been surveyed along the route, the terminus is Sivritepe at Alaçam (J.12).

***1.21. Karşıtarla Ost*** EIA?-MIA-LLIA1 S

41.2155° N, 35.4221° E

Czichon, Flender and Klinger 2006:172 s.v. OymS 06.

---

<sup>1050</sup> The occupational layers (7-10 m thick) drape over a limestone hill. Mound dimensions: 200 × 180 m, height of occupational layers and hill: 20 m (Dönmez 2001a:881, Czichon 2008:193).

<sup>1051</sup> The Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages, Hellenistic (only tiles), and Late Roman periods are also represented on the mound. Czichon defines the Middle Iron Age as eighth and seventh centuries; therefore, his span for Late Iron Age is probably c. 650 to 350.

In the fields between Oymağaç Höyük and the Altınkaya Reservoir lies a flat Iron Age settlement at Karşıtarla Mevkii.<sup>1052</sup> The settlement is similar to Ilgaz 02S01, the flat settlement near the Salman Höyük East, although Karşıtarla Ost is 1 km distant from Oymağaç Höyük and Ilgaz 02S01 is only 300 m distant. The similarities of the Vezirköprü Plain to the Gökırmak and Devrez Valleys are more extensive. If the surveys represent the settlement pattern in the Vezirköprü Plain correctly, the pattern is similar to the Gökırmak Valley with few settlements located to regulate travel on routes over mountains to adjacent valleys.<sup>1053</sup>

### ***1.22. Bacas Tepe & Çam Tepe*** M&LIA-H SM

41.0126° N, 35.5977° E, approximate, & 41.0351° N, 35.6107° E  
Alkim 1974:51; Kızıltan 1992:229-30, fig. 25.

In sharp contrast, the settlement pattern in the rolling hills of the Havza Plain to the east of Vezirköprü consists of numerous Early Bronze Age settlement mounds on terraces that are also occupied in the Iron Age and Hellenistic period. Bacas and Çam Tepeleri are some of these settlement mounds located c. 7 km east of the copper mining valley of the Tavşan Mountains.<sup>1054</sup> The transition to this settlement pattern occurs where the route from Merzifon and Amasya to Samsun passes. The causes of the settlement pattern appear less as a long-term trend than as an Early Bronze Age phenomenon, and a much later Iron Age and Hellenistic phenomenon. The settlements are located both on the lowlands and terraces ringing the valley. The published descriptions of these settlements

---

<sup>1052</sup> Settlement dimensions: 200 × 120 m (Czichon, Flender and Klinger 2006:172). The Oymağaç-Nerik Forschungsprojekt survey dated settlement is dated to the first half of the first millennium. If this dating is precise, the settlement may have been abandoned before the Achaemenid period.

<sup>1053</sup> The tumuli of the Vezirköprü Plain, however, do not lie in close proximity to the settlements and do not offer additional support to the routes.

<sup>1054</sup> Alkim lists the Early Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Late Roman period. He also mentions a first millennium and Roman settlement nearby (1974:51).

are very limited, and the chronological phases very broad; however, the Iron Age density compares with other areas within the bend of the Kızılırmak to the south.<sup>1055</sup>

***I.23. Şeyhsafi Tepesi*** M&LIA-R SM

40.9961° N, 35.6249° E

Kökten, Özgüç and Özgüç 1945:395-6; Dengate 1978:249-50; Kızıltan 1992:230.

Şeyhsafi Tepesi is a settlement mound located on the southern slope of the ridge that divides the Havza Plain and the catchments of the Kızılırmak and Yeşilirmak. Dengate collected one painted Iron Age sherd, and Kızıltan confirmed Iron Age occupation on the mound.<sup>1056</sup> The settlement regulates travel on the east-west route through the Havza Plain.

***I.24. Çeş Tepe*** M&LIA-R SM

41.0136° N, 35.6816° E

Alkım 1974:51; Kızıltan 1992:230, fig. 26.

Çeş Tepe is a settlement mound located in the middle of the Havza Plain on the shoulder of a valley on the northern side of the ridge. Kızıltan notes Iron Age ceramics.<sup>1057</sup>

***I.25. Kayalı Tepe & vicinity*** M&LIA SM

41.0496° N, 35.6982° E

Alkım 1974:50-1; Kızıltan 1992:230, figs. 28-9.

---

<sup>1055</sup> Matthews and Glatz 2009a:246. A significant problem with the publication of the Havza Plain is the small number of identified Hellenistic settlements, and the possibility that Hellenistic painted ceramics are mistakenly identified as Iron Age. Alkım and Kızıltan identify an Iron Age settlement on the basis of painted and not plain ceramics. Due to the similarity of Alkım's preliminary reports published in *Anatolian Studies*, *Belleten*, and *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, references are given only to the *Anatolian Studies* reports. The *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* reports have figures. Kızıltan gives complete references to Alkım's reports (1992).

<sup>1056</sup> Mound diameter: 50 m, height: 10 m (Dengate 1978:250 n. 14). The Early and Middle Bronze Ages, and Roman and Late Roman periods are also represented on the site (Kızıltan 1992:230).

<sup>1057</sup> The Early and Middle Bronze Ages, and Roman and Late Roman periods are also represented on the site (Kızıltan 1992:230).

Kayalı Tepe is one of a cluster of four settlement mounds to the north of Çeş Tepe near a hot spring. Alkım noted painted Iron Age ceramics at three of the settlements, and the Early Bronze Age and Late Roman period are also represented at all four settlements.<sup>1058</sup> The other three settlements are: Garco Tepe (41.0450° N, 35.7022° E), Ören Tepe (41.0435° N, 35.7075° E), and Patlanguç Tepe (41.0717° N, 35.7008° E).

***1.26. Cintepe I & Kaletepe*** M&LIA-R SM TUM

40.9947° N, 35.7932° E, & 40.9947° N, 35.7991° E  
Alkım 1973:64; Kızıltan 1992:230, fig. 30.

Cintepe I is an Iron Age settlement mound on the right shoulder of the Tersakan Stream that flows west and south to its eventual confluence with the Yeşilırmak at Amasya. The settlement's location on the east-west route through the Havza Plain is similar to Şeyhsafı Tepesi. Kaletepe is a possible Iron Age tumulus that lies to the east of Cintepe I.<sup>1059</sup> Evidence for the Iron Age tumuli or other burial practices in the Havza Plain is absent. Dengate published two mushroom-shaped markers from the summits of tumuli that he encountered 8 km west of Kaletepe in Mısmılağaç.<sup>1060</sup> Although a similar mushroom-shaped marker is depicted on the Achaemenid Polyxena sarcophagus, one of the Mısmılağaç markers was sculpted from the same stone as a naiskos-shaped block with a relief of a wheel and horse that probably dates to the Hellenistic period.<sup>1061</sup>

---

<sup>1058</sup> The Early Bronze Age and Late Roman period are also represented on the site (Kızıltan 1992:230).

<sup>1059</sup> The settlement is also occupied in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, Roman, and Late Roman periods, and the tumulus may be Roman.

<sup>1060</sup> The coordinates of Mısmılağaç are 40.9963° N, 35.7013° E.

<sup>1061</sup> On the Polyxena sarcophagus, see Sevinç 1996, Rose 2007:249-52. Mısmılağaç naiskos-shaped block length: 0.45 × 0.29 m; mushroom diameter: 0.57-0.60 m, height: 0.36 m; dimensions of cutting on top of mushroom: 12.5 × 7 cm, depth: 1.5 cm (Dengate 1978:250-1, pl. 66 figs. 6, 10-1). The second mushroom-shaped marker has only a shaft, torus molding and mushroom crown (ibid.:250-1, pl. 66 fig. 8). Dengate notes that the markers may be associated with a nearby small settlement mound (diameter: 15 m, height: 3 m) with plain Iron Age ceramics and diagnostic Bronze Age, Hellenistic, and Roman ceramics (ibid.:250 n. 18). A similar naiskos-shaped block with a relief of a wheel and horse on its long side and a frontal seated figure on its short side is in the Kastamonu Müzesi (Marek 2003:138 fig. 208).

Dengate documented another mushroom-shaped marker built into a wall in Vezirköprü.<sup>1062</sup>

***I.27. Hakim Tepe I*** M&LIA-H?-R? FS TUM & ***Taşkaracaören*** M&LIA?-H?-R? SM RCT

41.0375° N, 35.7947° E, & 41.0358° N, 35.8379° E

Alkım 1973:64; Kızıltan 1992:230; Dönmez 2000:233, 244 fig. 13; Dönmez 2001a:880 fig. 11; Dönmez 2002b:257-8.

Hakim Tepe I and Taşkaracaören are settlement mounds in the Kuzçay Valley in the northeastern foothills of the Havza Plain. Traces of a fortification wall were surveyed on Hakim Tepe I and a Hellenistic or Roman tumulus lies on top. Kızıltan dates both settlements to the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, Iron Ages, Roman, and Late Roman periods. In Dönmez's survey of Taşkaracaören in 1998, however, only Early Bronze Age, Hellenistic, and Ottoman period ceramics were collected.<sup>1063</sup> In addition to numerous tumuli in the vicinity, two late Hellenistic or Early Roman rockcut tombs are located upstream of the village of Güvercinlik between Hakim Tepe I and Taşkaracaören.<sup>1064</sup> The route over the Canik Mountains to Samsun from the Havza Plain follows the Kavak Stream that begins with a pass at an elevation of 880 m located 3.5 km to the southeast of Taşkaracaören.

***I.28. Havza*** H MISC

40.9733° N, 35.6679° E

Olshausen 1990.

---

<sup>1062</sup> Dengate 1978:251-2, pl. 66 fig. 9.

<sup>1063</sup> Taşkaracaören dimensions: 150 × 100 m, height: 15 m (Dönmez 2000:233).

<sup>1064</sup> On tumuli, see Kızıltan 1992:231. The Güvercinlik tombs have porches with two pillars and vaulted ceilings, and simple burial chambers (41.0511° N, 35.8226° E; Kızıltan 1992:231; Dökü 2008a:120, cat. nos. 22, 27, ill. 18-9, figs. 27, 40).

In 1981 a Hellenistic funerary stele was found in Havza, possibly in the 25 Mayıs neighborhood. This stele is a tapering marble pedimental stele with acroteria.<sup>1065</sup> In the middle of the field below the pediment is a sunken relief of a seated male figure turning his torso to the viewer.<sup>1066</sup> His right hand rests on the head of a child leaning against his legs. His left arm rests on the armchair depicted in profile. A mourning servant leans his right shoulder against the frame of the relief. Inscribed below the relief is ΒΑΓΗΣ ΘΥΟΣ “Bages, the son of Thys.” Strabo mentions Bagas as a Paphlagonian name common in the Kızılırmak Valley;<sup>1067</sup> Thys is the name of the Paphlagonian king mentioned by Athenaeus and several historians.<sup>1068</sup> This stele supports the fostering of Paphlagonian identities in the Pontic Kingdom, particularly along the route southward from Samsun and in the Kızılırmak Valley.

### ***I.29. Çamyatağı*** M&LIA-H SM, H-R TUM

41.1046° N, 35.7834° E, tumulus 3

Akok 1948 s.v. *Lerdüğe*, Alkım 1973:64; Kızıltan 1992:230-1 s.v. Dökme Tepe I-II; Bilgi et al. 2002:285; Bilgi et al. 2004a:394, fig. 20.

In a mountainous valley north of Havza, on a narrow terrace on the steep left bank of the Değirmenardı Stream are located a settlement mound and five tumuli. In December of 1946 Hâmit Koşay and Mahmut Akok documented the burial chamber of one tumulus and the artifacts found within it after illicit excavators tunneled into the tumulus. The burial chamber is barrel vaulted and built in ashlar masonry. An outer room is also barrel vaulted, but the half near the dromos was rebuilt with rubble and mortar masonry. The masonry phases correspond to two phases in the artifacts. Seven Hellenistic fusiform and

<sup>1065</sup> Stele height: 120 cm, width at base: 44 cm, width below pediment: 36.5 cm (Olshausen 1990:19).

<sup>1066</sup> Relief height: 30 cm, width: 34.5 cm (ibid.:19).

<sup>1067</sup> Strabo 12.3.25.

<sup>1068</sup> Ath. 4.25.9 [144f], 10.8.21 [415d]; Aelian *VH* 1.27; Nep. *Datames* 2-3 (Thuys) are the same as the Otys mentioned by Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.1). Thys is discussed in the fourth chapter.



two Roman piriform unguentaria were recovered.<sup>1069</sup> The ceramics support Akok's sequence of a first century B.C.E. vaulted burial chamber and first internment, and a second century C.E. rebuilding and second internment. The tumulus is notable for the wall paintings of lion and deer hunting surrounded with the ivy tendrils and geometric patterns of local Hellenistic painted ceramics.

In 1972 Bahadır Alkım discovered the settlement mound under the westernmost tumulus, Dökme Tepe 1. The Iron Age and Hellenistic period are represented at the settlement.<sup>1070</sup> Çamyatağı is just to the east of the alternate route identified by Alkım from the Havza Plain to the Kızılırmak Delta.<sup>1071</sup>

### ***I.30. Belalan Tepecik*** M&LIA SM

41.1956° N, 35.7796° E, approximate

Alkım 1974:51; Kızıltan 1992:229-30; Dönmez 2000:233; Dönmez 2001a:880, fig. 10; Dönmez 2002b:256-7.

Belalan Tepecik is a settlement mound with an occupational sequence of Early Bronze and Iron Ages similar to the mounds in the Havza Plain, but Belalan Tepecik is located halfway between the plain and the mouth of the Asar Gorge on the Kızılırmak.<sup>1072</sup> The location of Belalan supports the route between the plain and the Kızılırmak Delta.

### ***I.31. Kaledoruğu*** MIA-LLIA-H-R FS

41.0807° N, 36.0416° E

---

<sup>1069</sup> The fusiform unguentaria are similar in profile to Rotroff's second to first century examples not in grey fabric (e.g. no. 514 [Rotroff 2006:159-60, 298, fig. 67, pl. 56]), but similar in height to the larger examples (e.g. no. 524 [ibid.:299, fig. 68, pl. 57]).

<sup>1070</sup> The Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages, Hellenistic, and Roman periods are also represented on the site. Alkım lists the relevant periods as "first millennium" and "Classical" (Alkım 1973:64).

<sup>1071</sup> Alkım's alternate Bronze Age route to the Black Sea is from Havza to Kapıkaya through Ilıca, Demiryurt, and Çakılalan (Alkım 1973:65, 1974:53). This route follows a ridge to the west of Çamyatağı, but a route in the Hacılar Valley that passes Çamyatağı is also possible.

<sup>1072</sup> Dönmez lists the Late Chalcolithic, Early and Middle Bronze Age as also represented on the mound (2001a:880); additionally, Kızıltan lists the Late Roman period (1992:230). Mound dimensions: 100 × 80, height: 8 m (Dönmez 2001a:880).

Osten 1929:28-9; Kökten, Özgüç and Özgüç 1945:389, pls. 67(5), 73(11); Kızıltan 1992:233; Dönmez 1999:517; Bilgi et al. 2002:284, 286; Bilgi et al. 2004a:394, 396; Tuna 2008:66-8.

Kaledoruğu is a fortified settlement mound on a rocky hill in the gentle valley around Kavak in the Canik Mountains. Kılıç Kökten, Nimet Özgüç, and Tahsin Özgüç excavated the settlement in 1940 and 1941, but it was not until Şevket Dönmez's survey in 1997 that Late Iron Age ceramics were identified at the settlement.<sup>1073</sup> It is now possible, first, to tentatively associate a defensive wall built of fieldstones with the Late Iron Age settlement.<sup>1074</sup> Second, it is possible to associate Kaledoruğu with the fortified settlement at Akalan in the Black Sea foothills of the Canik Mountains.<sup>1075</sup> The Kavak Valley is connected with Samsun by the Mert River, but the route bypasses the convoluted and incised valley, and follows two alternate routes: north with a bend to the northwest to pass by Tepesidelik, and northwest along the Ottoman road to pass by Kaleyeri Tepesi.

### ***1.32. Hacıibaba Tepesi*** M&LIA SM

41.0676° N, 36.0589° E  
Alkım 1974:52; Kızıltan 1992:233.

Hacıibaba Tepesi is an Iron Age settlement mound on the left shoulder of the Mert River c. 3 km to the southeast of Kaledoruğu.<sup>1076</sup> The settlement shares its location with Aytepe on the right shoulder of the Kavak Stream to the west of Kaledoruğu. Both are probably agricultural settlements located on valley shoulders.<sup>1077</sup>

---

<sup>1073</sup> Longer Late Iron Age (c. 650-350).

<sup>1074</sup> The Early and Middle Bronze Ages, the Middle Iron Age, Hellenistic, Roman, and Medieval periods are also represented on the site (Kızıltan 1992:233).

<sup>1075</sup> Kaledoruğu is not sufficiently published to compare the fortified settlements architecturally.

<sup>1076</sup> The Early and Middle Bronze Ages, Hellenistic, Roman, and Medieval periods are also represented on the site (Kızıltan 1992).

<sup>1077</sup> Aytepe is a settlement mound located where the Kavak Valley broadens along the route from the Havza Plain in the southwest. Although it is possible that Aytepe is occupied in the Iron Age, the publications

### ***1.33. Tepesidelik & Kaleyeri Tepesi*** M&LIA-H SM TUM

41.1499° N, 36.0654° E, & 41.1422° N, 36.1083° E  
Alkım 1974:52; Kızıltan 1992:233, fig. 33.

Tepesidelik and Kaleyeri Tepesi are two settlement mounds along the alternate routes between the Kavak Valley and Samsun. Tepesidelik is an Iron Age settlement with a Hellenistic or later tumulus built on top. Kaleyeri Tepesi is settlement mound with an Iron Age occupational phase.<sup>1078</sup> The two settlements are located on opposite slopes of a ridge, but the routes to each settlement follow a valley to the west of the valley through which the contemporary highway runs.

### ***J. Hills of Samsun & Kızılırmak Delta***

The foothills of the Canik Mountains around Samsun differ only slightly from the Küre Mountain coast west of the Sinop Promontory with streams running off the mountains and into the sea. Around Samsun the valleys are slightly gentler and have alluvial floors. A strip of alluvial deposition also runs along the coast, although when the strip was deposited is not known. This strip facilitates travel along the coast to the Kızılırmak Delta, which has expanded immensely since antiquity. Although coring has not independently dated this expansion, the absence of archaeological settlements in the lowest delta plain dated to the Holocene suggests that this delta prograded after

---

are inconsistent and it is left out of the inventory. A summary of the publications on Aytepe (41.0584° N, 35.9778° E) are as follows: Alkım 1974:52 (third, second, and first millennia); Kızıltan 1992:233 (Early and Middle Bronze Ages, Iron Age, Hellenistic, Roman, and Medieval periods); and Dönmez 2000:233, 2001a:879-80, fig. 9, 2002b:256 (Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age). Dönmez explicitly redates Işın's research but only implicitly Alkım's (2003:3 n. 15 [Işın], 2 n.10 [cf. 2000:233, Alkım]).

<sup>1078</sup> The Early and Middle Bronze Ages, and Hellenistic period are also represented on the site (Alkım 1974:52). Kızıltan does not published revised dates for Kaleyeri Tepesi (1992:233).

antiquity.<sup>1079</sup> All settlements are located on two earlier, higher delta plains c. 20-30 m and c. 60-70 m in elevation.<sup>1080</sup> The c. 20-30 m high plain would have protruded much less into the curve of the coastline between Samsun and Sinop.

### ***J.1. Akalan*** LLIA-R FS

41.2832° N, 36.1402° E

Macridy-Bey 1907; Osten 1929:31-2, 35 fig. 52, 36 fig. 53; Alkım 1973:65; Dengate 1978:247; Özsait 1990b:124; French 1991a:238; Kızıltan 1992:226, figs. 17-21; Dönmez 1999:517; Bilgi et al. 2002:282-4, 290 ill. 1, 294-6 figs. 5-8; Bilgi et al. 2003:43-4, 46 plan 2, 49-50 figs. 7-12; Bilgi et al. 2004a:393, 396, ill. 5, figs. 12-8; Bilgi et al. 2004b:89, 92, 96 figs. 6-7; Dönmez 2004a; Özsait 2004:273; Bilgi, Dönmez and Uluggerli 2005; Tuna 2008:71-5. On the ceramics and architectural terracottas, see: Åkerström 1966:127-33; Cummer 1976:35; Winter 1993:243, 246, 253, and 264; Atasoy 2003:1346-7; Summerer 2005b; G.D. Summers 2006a.

Akalan is a Late Iron Age fortress and surrounding settlement located on the shoulder of a plateau where the route from the Kavak Valley enters the coastal hills 18 km to the southwest of Samsun.<sup>1081</sup> Theodor Macridy cleaned the stone glacis of the defensive walls and excavated architectural terracottas from a monumental building within the fortress. The glacis on the south follows the sharp shoulder with steep slopes dropping to the stream below; on the north the slope is gentler.<sup>1082</sup> The masonry of the glacis is roughly shaped cyclopean stones with small stones wedged in the larger cracks. This masonry is similar to the glacis of the defensive wall and palatial complex of the city on Kerkenes Dağı. Geoffrey Summers argues that the city was founded at the end of the

---

<sup>1079</sup> Akkan 1970:8-37, Demir, Yeşilnacar and Westaway 2004:304. The only settlement on the lowest delta plain is Hellenistic and Roman Yörükler settlement mound (41.5241° N, 36.0727° E, approximate; Kızıltan 1992:220, Dönmez 1999:516).

<sup>1080</sup> Demir, Yeşilnacar and Westaway date these delta plains to the Pleistocene (ibid.:304).

<sup>1081</sup> Longer Late Iron Age (c. 650-350). Fortress dimensions: 300 × 50-70 m (Dönmez 2004a:69).

<sup>1082</sup> The dimensions of the fortress are 300 m east-west and 50-70 m north-south (Dönmez 2004a). The highway to Amasya follows the valley below Akalan today; Osten followed a road to the southeast that passed by the İkiztepler tumuli (Osten 1929:29).

seventh century and destroyed in the 540s.<sup>1083</sup> Latife Summerer dates the earliest Iron Age pottery excavated by Macridy to the last quarter of the seventh century.<sup>1084</sup>

A rise in the middle of the fortress is a settlement mound of the Early and Middle Bronze Ages.<sup>1085</sup> In this rise, Macridy excavated the foundations of a monumental building with the architectural terracottas (acroteria, roof tiles, and plaques). The architectural terracottas are dated approximately to the third quarter of the sixth century.<sup>1086</sup> In the fields to the north and northeast of the fortress, the presence of a scatter of ceramics suggests an outer settlement.

### ***J.2. Kara Samsun (Amisos/Peiraieus)*** LIA-H-R US/FS? TUM

41.3134° N, 36.3328° E

Cumont and Cumont 1906: 111-4, map 10; Courtils and Rémy 1986; Kızıltan 1992:226-7, ill. 51-4; Akkaya 1993; Akkaya 1998; Ertuğrul and Atasoy 1998; Bilgi et al. 2002:285, 291-2 ill. 3-5, 296 fig. 9; Atasoy 2003; Dönmez 2003b:3, 8, 14 pl. 1.5; Avram, Hind and Tsatskheladze 2004:954-5 no. 712; Bilgi et al. 2004a:395, ill. 2-4, fig. 22; Erciyas 2006:67-115.

The ridge of Kara Samsun is the location of Amisos, an anchorage of the maritime traders who worked the route by Akalan and Kaledoruğu to the Havza Plain.<sup>1087</sup> The city minted Achaemenid sigloi from the late fifth century to c. 330 under the Athenian name Peiraieus, with a frontal owl standing on a shield on the reverse.<sup>1088</sup> Macridy excavated

---

<sup>1083</sup> G.D. Summers 1997, 2000, 2006b:166-7, 173-4; G.D. Summers and F. Summers 2008:64-7; G.D. Summers et al. 1996:212-4; cf. Rollinger 2003a:305-19, 2003b; Tuplin 2004:232-48.

<sup>1084</sup> Summerer 2005b:129.

<sup>1085</sup> Alkım 1973:65, Kızıltan 1992:226. Southwest of the fortress is a flat settlement dating to the Early Bronze Age, Iron Age, and the Roman period (Özsait 2004:273).

<sup>1086</sup> Winter dates the terracottas c. 530 (1993:243, 246, 253, and 264); Åkerström dates them to 550-525 (1966:127-33); Cummer dates the pottery and terracottas to the early sixth century (1976:35); Summerer dates the terracottas to the second half of the sixth century (2005b, 2008:263-6).

<sup>1087</sup> On our arrival at the first settlement on the Black Sea coast, more literary sources are available for the history of settlements. The literary sources are analyzed in later chapters, and the inventory only covers material evidence.

<sup>1088</sup> Price 1993:pls. 40-1 nos. 1053-94.

the ridge in 1908 but the excavations were never published.<sup>1089</sup> Salvage excavations have also been conducted of the uppermost Roman and Hellenistic occupational levels. Through these excavations, a collection of sixth through fourth century imported Attic black figure and other Aegean and painted Late Iron Age ceramics from the ridge have been assembled.<sup>1090</sup> This assemblage can be compared to both the Akalan and Sinop excavations. Painted Iron Age ceramics have also been collected at several other settlements in the vicinity of Samsun.

### ***J.3. Tekkeköy*** LLIA FS?

41.2053° N, 36.4586° E

Kökten, Özgüç and Özgüç 1945:382-8, pl. 68(6).7 s.v. Tekkeköy; Bilgi et al. 2002:285; Dönmez 2004a:71 n. 17; Bilgi et al. 2004a:396-7.

Dönmez redated an Early Bronze Age painted sherd to the Late Iron Age and argued that Tekkeköy was also a Late Iron Age site.<sup>1091</sup> Tekkeköy is a cave-riddled outcrop with rockcut features c. 16 km to the southeast of Kara Samsun where the coast opens onto the Çarşamba Delta.

### ***J.4. Göktepe*** M&LIA SM

41.3026° N, 36.2023° E

Alkım 1974:52; Kızıltan 1992:226.

Similar to Akalan, Göktepe is a settlement mound that lies on the northern shoulder of the Kurten Valley, but c. 3.5 km further to the northeast. The mound is occupied in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages with an Iron Age occupational layer on the surface.

---

<sup>1089</sup> Macridy-Bey excavated Kara Samsun in 1908, after he excavated Akalan (**J.1**). The painted “Galatian” (possibly Late Iron Age and Hellenistic) ceramics from Kara Samsun that are housed in the İ are probably from these excavations (Mellink 1956:383, 1958:101).

<sup>1090</sup> Atasoy 2003:1347, Dönmez 2003b:3.

<sup>1091</sup> A Mesolithic occupation and an Early Bronze Age cemetery are also on the site (Bilgi et al. 2002:285).

### ***J.5. Bağtepe & Dedeüstü Tepesi*** LLIA SM

41.2796° N, 36.2694° E, & 41.2846° N, 36.2711° E  
Alkim 1974:52; Kızıltan 1992:226; Dönmez 1999:516.

Bağtepe and Dedeüstü Tepesi are Late Iron Age settlement mounds located on a terrace c. 6 km southwest of Kara Samsun.<sup>1092</sup>

### ***J.6. İkiztepeler*** LIA? TUM

41.2705° N, 36.2626° E, & 41.2659° N, 36.2675° E  
Cumont and Cumont 1906:121-2, pl. 10; Osten 1929:29-31, 34-5 figs. 50-1 s.v. Karamut;  
Dengate 1978:250, pls. 65 fig. 4, 66 fig. 7 s.v. Kızkalesi?; Kızıltan 1992:226 s.v. Karanlık Tepe.

Bağtepe and Dedeüstü Tepesi share their terrace with two prominent tumuli that are often associated with the elite who presumably resided at Akalan. These İkiztepeler tumuli could also be associated with elites residing at Bağtepe and Dedeüstü Tepesi. It is also conceivable that these two mounds cover settlements that were under the administration of the residents of Akalan or Amisos.

Numerous additional tumuli line the ridges that are both adjacent to Kara Samsun on the west and c. 4 km distant on the southeast.<sup>1093</sup> Although most of these are probably Hellenistic, the İkiztepeler tumuli are possibly Iron Age. Dengate published a ceramic vessel fragment and red slipped pan tiles from a tumulus illicitly excavated at Kızkalesi west of Samsun. Kızkalesi is an otherwise unattested place name, and consultation of

---

<sup>1092</sup> Longer Late Iron Age (c. 650-350). Bağtepe dimensions: 70 × 30 m, height: 15 m. Bağtepe is also occupied in the Late Chalcolithic period and the Early Bronze Age (Dönmez 1999:516). A Middle Bronze Age and possible Early Bronze Age occupation underlies the Iron Age on Dedeüstü Tepesi (Alkim 1974:52).

<sup>1093</sup> On the west of Kara Samsun lies the forked ridge of Baruthane with tumuli (Osten 1929:29-30, 34 fig. 49 s.v. Dromedar; Atasoy, Endoğlu and Dönmez 2005 (western side of ridge: 41.3188° N, 36.3238° E; eastern side of ridge: 41.3176° N, 36.3268° E, approximate). Cumont and Cumont argue that the dedication of the Baruthane tumuli to the Saints Cosmas and Damian is a continuation of their original dedication to Castor and Pollux. Consequently, he proposes that they are not only tumuli but prominent landmarks for sailors approaching the harbor (1906:121-2). To the west of the ridge of Baruthane is a second ridge with additional tumuli (Osten 1929:29-30 s.v. Palach [41.3204° N, 36.3056° E]). Southeast of Samsun lies the ridge of Dervent with prominent tumuli (Osten 1929:29-39, 31 figs. 45-6, 33 fig. 48 (41.2665° N, 36.3738° E).

Cumont and Cumont's comprehensive map of the tumuli around Samsun reveals no other tumuli on the city's west. Consequently, Dengate must be referring to İkiztepe.

### ***J.7. Beylik Tepecik*** M&LIA SM

41.4586° N, 36.0919° E, Beylik  
Alkım 1974:50; Kızıltan 1992:fig. 6; Dönmez 2000:; Dönmez 2001a:879, fig. 8; Dönmez 2002b:255.

The settlement mound of Tepecik rests on a ridge above contemporary delta plain near where the route from Samsun reaches the Kızılırmak Delta. A spring lies at the foot of the mound which has a Bronze Age foundation and an upper occupational layer with painted Iron Age ceramics.<sup>1094</sup>

### ***J.8. Bafra İkiztepe I H TUM & III LLIA-H SM***

41.6162° N, 35.8720° E, mound III  
Kökten, Özgüç and Özgüç 1945:395; Gökoğlu 1952:41; Burney 1956; Alkım 1972:56; Alkım, Alkım and Bilgi 1988:204-6, 255-6, pl. 96 figs. 183-183a, plans 19-20; Bilgi 1999a; Dönmez 2003b:2-3.

The four settlement mounds at İkiztepe lie at the end of the low promontory formed by the remnants of the mouth of the Kızılırmak in the earlier c. 20-30 m high delta plain.<sup>1095</sup> Bilgi began excavations on the third mound in 1993, and uncovered Late Iron Age and Hellenistic occupational debris immediately below the plow zone.<sup>1096</sup> The architectural features associated with this debris had been destroyed, but two simple burials and a kiln pit of the Late Iron Age were excavated. It is probable that İkiztepe was a coastal settlement in this period.

---

<sup>1094</sup> Kızıltan (1992) does not review the dating of the settlement published in Alkım's preliminary reports (Alkım 1974:50). Dönmez lists the periods represented on the mound as Late Chalcolithic, and Early and Middle Bronze Ages (2001a:879). Mound dimensions: 80 × 50 m, height: 10 m (ibid.:879).

<sup>1095</sup> The excavations have concentrated on a Chalcolithic settlement and Early Bronze Age cemetery. Site dimensions: 175 × 375 m; height of first mound: 29 m, second mound: 22.5 m, third mound: 12.3 m, fourth mound: 16 m.

<sup>1096</sup> Although this is the longer Late Iron Age (c. 650-350), the settlement was probably continuously occupied through the Achaemenid to the Hellenistic period.



The summit of the first mound is also the location of a Hellenistic tumulus with ashlar dromos and vaulted burial chamber. Of the 16 tumuli published by Kızıltan and Bilgi, the excavated examples are all Hellenistic and Roman.<sup>1097</sup> The only evidence for Late Iron Age tumuli derives from burial artifacts that were illicitly excavated in the 1920s and 1930s around Samsun and Sinop. These artifacts are discussed in the third chapter. Recent illicit excavations at the Kışla tumulus revealed masonry similar to the İkiztepe tumulus.<sup>1098</sup> The Kelkaya is a second tumulus illicitly excavated. The tumulus has a barrel vaulted burial chamber built of limestone ashlar masonry. On the basis of the similarity of the masonry and plan to the Lerdüğe tumulus, Bilgi dates Kelkaya to the Roman period.<sup>1099</sup> The İkizpınar tumulus is surrounded by a cluster of Roman settlements.<sup>1100</sup> Bilgi conducted salvage excavations in 1998 at a fourth tumulus but was not able to find the burial chamber. This Külcüler tumulus is located on the promontory facing İkiztepe across the remnant mouth of the Kızılırmak.<sup>1101</sup> The comparable size of the Külcüler tumulus to the Baruthane and Dervent tumuli around Samsun indicates that it may also have been intended to be visible to passing mariners. Even the Külcüler tumulus is probably Hellenistic, however. Consequently, the Iron Age burial landscape of the Kızılırmak Delta consists only of the simple Late Iron Age burials of İkiztepe III. The Late Iron Age settlement pattern of the delta, however, can now be proposed with

---

<sup>1097</sup> Kızıltan publishes 17 tumuli but Yörükler is a settlement (Kızıltan 1992:220, Dönmez 1999:516).

<sup>1098</sup> Kışla tumulus diameter: 20 m (36.0389° E, 41.4715° N, approximate; Bilgi et al. 2002:281-2; Bilgi et al. 2004a:392).

<sup>1099</sup> Kelkaya tumulus diameter: 30 m, height: 2 m (35.8200° E, 41.3264° N, approximate; Bilgi et al. 2004b:88, 93 plan 2, ill. 2).

<sup>1100</sup> İkizpınar tumulus dimensions: 80 × 40 m, height: 15 m (35.9192° E, 41.4536° N; Kızıltan 1992:220; Dönmez 1999:515). The Roman settlements are Cevizlik Mevkii, Koca Löp, and Bakırdere Tepecik (Kızıltan 1992:220).

<sup>1101</sup> Külcüler tumulus diameter: 80 m, height: 12 m (35.9480° E, 41.6027° N; Alkim 1972:56; Kızıltan 1992:220; Bilgi et al. 2002:281, 294 fig. 4; Bilgi et al. 2004a:392, fig. 11).

unfortified settlements located along the coast at İkiztepe, Şirlektepe, Alaçam Dedetepe, and possibly Beylik Tepecik.

***J.9. Şirlektepe*** LLIA-H SM

41.5967° N, 35.8639° E

Kökten, Özgüç and Özgüç 1945:394 s.v. Cirlek-tepe; Gökoğlu 1952:40-1 s.v. Hoşkadem Tepesi; Burney 1956 s.v. Kuşçular; Alkim 1972:56; Kızıltan 1992:219; Dönmez 1999:513-4, fig. 1-2; Dönmez 2001a:877-8, fig. 3 Dönmez 2002b:250-1.

Şirlektepe is a settlement mound located on the earlier delta plain on the left bank of the Kızılırmak upstream from İkiztepe.<sup>1102</sup> The mound was occupied in the Late Iron Age and Hellenistic periods.<sup>1103</sup>

***J.10. Kızkayaşı*** LLIA-H-R SM/FS? RC

41.4246° N, 35.8442° E

Dönmez 2003b:3, 15 fig. 1; Bilgi et al. 2004b:87, 94 fig. 1.

Kızkayaşı is a settlement on an outcrop and its surrounding slopes. The outcrop previously was 300-400 m distant from the Kızılırmak River, but today the waters of a dam lap against the foot of the outcrop. Bilgi locates a Hellenistic and Roman settlement on the slope to the south of the outcrop, and a Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age settlement mound at the foot of a vertical face of the outcrop on the north. Dönmez identifies Iron Age ceramics on the site. Numerous rockcut steps surround a niche that faces the southern slope.<sup>1104</sup>

***J.11. Alaçam Dedetepe*** LLIA SM

41.6079° N, 35.6983° E

Alkim 1972:56; Kızıltan 1992:217; Dönmez 1999:515.

---

<sup>1102</sup> Mound dimensions: 80 × 50 m, height: 20 m. The Late Chalcolithic period, Early and Middle Bronze Ages, and Hellenistic period are also represented on the site (Dönmez 2001a:877).

<sup>1103</sup> Similar to İkiztepe, Şirlektepe was occupied in the longer Late Iron Age (c. 650-350) and the Hellenistic period; therefore, probably continuously occupied through the Achaemenid period.

<sup>1104</sup> Niche height: 3.5 m, width: 5 m (Bilgi et al. 2004b:87).

The location of the settlement mound of Dedetepe mirrors the eastern Beylik Tepecik.<sup>1105</sup> Similarly, Dedetepe rests on a hill at the northern end of a ridge above the contemporary delta plain. The uppermost occupation layer is the Late Iron Age.

***J.12. Sivritepe LLIA-H FS***

41.6037° N, 35.5905° E

Kökten, Özgüç and Özgüç 1945:395; Burney 1956; Dengate 1978:247-8, pl. 65 fig. 3; Kızıltan 1992:217, fig. 1; Dönmez 1999:515-6; Dönmez 2001a:876-7, fig. 1; Dönmez 2002b:248.

Sivritepe is a possibly fortified settlement mound on a spur above the left bank of the Uluçay Stream.<sup>1106</sup> This is the settlement that regulates the northern terminus of the route from Oymaağaç. The contemporary road leaves the Uluçay Valley on the opposite bank of the stream and follows ridge summits southward to the crossing of the Kızılırmak north of Oymaağaç. Sivritepe also is located at the western edge of the contemporary delta plain. The Late Iron Age occupation is sandwiched between the Middle Bronze Age and the Hellenistic period, and the scattered blocks from construction and illicit excavation on the mound indicate that the spur had a defensive wall.

***J.13. Kocakaya LIA-H-R F? TUN***

41.3678° N, 35.8170° E

Dönmez 2003b:3, 8, 14 pl. 1.3; Bilgi et al. 2004b:88, 93 ill. 1, 95 fig. 3.

Kocakaya is a settlement spread over an outcrop on the slope of a hill above the right bank of the Kızılırmak River, 5 km downstream from Kapıkaya and Asarkale.<sup>1107</sup> On the outcrop itself the ceramics collected date to the Roman period. The ceramics on the slope

---

<sup>1105</sup> Mound dimensions: 60 × 35 m, height: 10 m. The Late Chalcolithic period, Early, and Middle Bronze Ages are also represented on the site (Dönmez 1999:515). The Late Iron Age is the longer duration (c. 650-350).

<sup>1106</sup> Mound dimensions: 70 × 50 m, height: 10 m. The Late Chalcolithic period, Early, and Middle Bronze Ages are also represented on the site (Dönmez 1999:515-6).

<sup>1107</sup> Settlement dimensions: 150 × 100 m (Bilgi et al. 2004b:88).

to the north of the outcrop range from the Early Bronze Age to the Late Iron Age and Roman period. Dönmez notes that the late phase of the Late Iron Age is present on the site. A stepped tunnel leading down to a cistern is carved in the lower level of the outcrop on the south.<sup>1108</sup>

Surveys have located seven Late Iron Age settlements in the Kızılırmak Delta; however, the publications do not indicate which of the settlements might be a fortified center of the delta. Sivritepe lies on the western edge of the *contemporary* delta plain and probably is a settlement intended to regulate travel on the route to the Vezirköprü Plain. The start of the route to Havza and the vicinity of the Hellenistic fortress at Asarkale is a more probable location for a Late Iron Age fortified center of the delta comparable to Kaledoruğu in the Kavak Valley. Although the publication of the settlement and its ceramics are not sufficient to argue for one settlement over another, Kocakaya is a possibility. The hills between Kocakaya and Kızılcayası are the area with the greatest diachronic density of settlement throughout the Kızılırmak Delta.

#### ***J.14. Kapıkaya & Asarkale*** H F RCT TUN

41.3708° N, 35.7631° E, Kapıkaya tomb, & 41.3734° N, 35.7644° E, fortress<sup>1109</sup>  
Fourcade 1811:41; Kannenberg 1894:90 nos. 11-3; Prittwitz und Gaffron 1894:126; Flottwell 1895:19-21; Kannenberg 1895a:102-4; Cumont and Cumont 1906:119?; Gökoğlu 1952:117-9, 128-9, 181; von Gall 1966a:96-100, 116-9, pl. 12; von Gall 1967b:513 no. 12; Kızıltan 1992:figs. 8-9, 12-4; Bilgi 1999a; Bilgi et al. 2002:280-1, 293 figs. 1-2; Bilgi et al. 2003:41-3, 45 plan 1, 46-8 figs. 1-6; Marek 2003:30, 36 fig. 49; Bilgi et al. 2004a:390-2, 397, figs. 1-9; Bilgi et al. 2004b:90, 98 fig. 8; Dökü 2008a:119, cat. nos. 15-7, ill. 13-5, figs. 21-2, 35.

Earlier researchers have located the Achaemenid presence in the delta landscape not in the settlements, but in the tombs cut in the Kapıkaya and Asarkale cliffs. Facing each

<sup>1108</sup> The 17 m long tunnel has 10 steps, and measures 1.4 m in height and 1.7 m in width (ibid.:88).

<sup>1109</sup> The coordinates of the eastern (fortress cliff) tomb are 41.3740° N, 35.7667° E; the coordinates of the western (upstream cliff) tomb are 41.3734° N, 35.7607° E.

other on either bank of the Kızılırmak where it debouches from the Küre Mountains onto its delta, two tombs were cut into striking high cliffs on the left bank upstream of Asarköy, and the third into a mirroring cliff upstream from Kapıkaya Köyü (**figs. 56-8**). Similar to Kalekapı (**C.7**), these tombs are carved into a gorge on the route through Belalan Tepecik (**I.30**) to the Havza Plain, and they are associated with a fort. The Kapıkaya cliff is not, however, named after the tomb, but after a spectacular natural arch crowning its summit, and the significance of the place was certainly established before the carving of the tombs.<sup>1110</sup>

The fortress associated with the Asarkale and Kapıkaya tombs and guarding the first gorge upstream of the delta has received the attention of archaeologists, but the evidence of ceramics is poor on account of the walls of a Byzantine fort. In Bilgi's survey of the walls of the fort, the standing lower courses indicate Hellenistic unbonded ashlar masonry below the Byzantine bonded rubble and brick masonry. Hellenistic ceramics confirm the date of the masonry. A rockcut tunnel leads to a postern gate at the edge of the Kızılırmak. The similarity of the tunnel to a Late Roman and Byzantine postern tunnel located 7.5 km to the southeast of Asarkale at Tepedeliği suggests that the Asarkale tunnel was carved or altered in the Byzantine period.<sup>1111</sup>

Von Gall dates the tombs by their heavy column proportions to the fifth century: the eastern Asarkale tomb cut in the fortress cliff has five columns and a shallow inset pedimental façade with corner acroteria, and the upper Asarkale and the Kapıkaya tombs

---

<sup>1110</sup> In the fifth chapter in the section "Kalekapı and Kazankaya Canyon," I argue for continuity in the social memory of Hittite practices.

<sup>1111</sup> Flottwell 1895:22-3, pl. 2; Leonhard 1915:237 no. 13; von Gall 1967b:515 no. 36; Olshausen and Biller 1984:208 s.v. İnöükoşaca; Bilgi et al. 2004b:88-9, 95 fig. 5. A second possibility is that the Tepedeliği is a Hellenistic tunnel and fort underlying a Late Roman and Byzantine settlement. The coordinates of Tepedeliği are 41.3071° N, 35.8798° E, approximate.

have four columns and smoothed plain façades. Dökü extends von Gall's date down to the end of the fourth century based on comparison to the multiple columned royal tombs in Amasya.

Dökü's comparison is a step in the right direction, but it does not go far enough. Rather than arguing that the Kapıkaya and Asarkale tombs influence the later royal tombs, as Dökü does, I would argue that the third century royal tomb of Mithridates I with six columns influences the three Asarkale and the Kapıkaya tombs. The third century rockcut tomb of Mithridates II also had four columns and a pediment, as does, the early second century tomb of Mithridates III.<sup>1112</sup> Although the three tombs Asarkale and Kapıkaya are the last to be covered in the inventory, the argument for their Hellenistic date is the strongest, particularly the five columned porch with pediment.<sup>1113</sup> The only aspect of the tombs that appears to support an earlier date, their column proportions, is studied historiographically in the sixth chapter and demonstrated to be a consequence of seeing the Paphlagonian tombs as early and primitive.

### ***K. Sinop Promontory***

West of Sivritepe and southeast of Gerze on the Sinop Promontory, the Küre Mountains fall straight into the sea without a coastal plain. The northern valleys of the mountains gradually transition from incised upland valleys to gentler lowland valleys and delta plains framed by the northern volcanic İnceburun Cape and Boztepe Headland. North of Gerze the lowland valleys are oriented east-west, whereas the inland valleys are

---

<sup>1112</sup> Fleischer 2009:112-3 fig. 4, 115 s.v. tomb A (Mithridates I), tomb B (Mithridates II), and tomb D (Mithridates III). The later tombs in Amasya have an arched façade.

<sup>1113</sup> The burial chambers also support this date. The tomb in the Asarkale fortress cliff has a slightly vaulted ceiling, a bench, a kline with a turned leg, and two square tables. The tomb to the west of the Asarkale fortress has an L-shaped double bench with two depressions with semi-circular arcs around the head and two square tables. The burial chamber of the Kapıkaya tomb is unfinished.

oriented north-south and flow into the Karasu River. River progradation has formed two delta plains: the Karasu Valley between Aklıman and the city of Sinop, and on the western coast of the promontory around Sarıkum.<sup>1114</sup> The Sinop Province Regional Survey has gradually documented the Iron Age settlements of the western half of the promontory. The settlement pattern now resembles other subregions of northern Turkey with a significant Iron Age presence. The publications of the survey, however, frequently frame their interpretation of the landscape as an island separated from Turkey by the terrain and dense forest cover of the Küre Mountains.<sup>1115</sup> The research of Anca Dan casts doubt on the framework supporting the concept of the promontory as an island.<sup>1116</sup> The Sinop Province Regional Survey's own documentation of the fortified settlement of Tıngıroğlu Tepesi and its location in the mountains on the route to the Gökırmak Valley are additional evidence contradicting the concept.

### ***K.1. Tıngıroğlu Tepesi*** EIA-MIA-LIA-H FS

41.7885° N, 34.9709° E

Işın 1998:103-4 no. 25, pl. 16.8-9; Dönmez 2000:230, 239 fig. 2; Dönmez 2003b:3 n. 15; Doonan 2004b:90; Doonan, Casson and Gantos 2008:136, 143 maps 3-4, 145-6 figs. 3-4.

Tıngıroğlu Tepesi is a fortified settlement mound occupied in the Early, Middle, and Late Iron Ages, as well as the Hellenistic period.<sup>1117</sup> The Early Iron Age is represented by a single sample of the handmade wares dated by luminescence to the late second or

---

<sup>1114</sup> Doonan et al. 2001a.

<sup>1115</sup> E.g. Burney 1956:180; Doonan 2004b:6-11.

<sup>1116</sup> Dan locates the beginning of this concept in the capitalist framework of colonial travelers who interpreted ancient Sinope as the Hong Kong of the Black Sea (2009:119-22).

<sup>1117</sup> Işın and Dönmez list the periods represented on the site as Early and Middle Bronze Ages, and Late Iron Age (Işın 1998:103, 126-7 pls. 15.1-7, 16.10-1; Dönmez 2000:230). I conclude from their failure to mention Hellenistic ceramics that the Hellenistic occupation documented by the Sinop Province Regional Survey is not substantial and that the fortification walls are Iron Age. The presence of a Early and Middle Bronze Age occupation is not mentioned by Doonan, Casson, and Gantos (2008:136).

early first millennium (c. 1300-800).<sup>1118</sup> The Sinop Province Regional Survey mapped standing walls and a central tower built in dry stone masonry with naturally cleaved stones. The fortress is surrounded by a c. 6 ha ceramic scatter. Tingiroğlu Tepesi is now comparable architecturally to Akalan, Yüklütepe, and other Iron Age fortified settlements.

The location of Tingiroğlu Tepesi is also similar to other Iron Age fortified settlements. The settlement rests on an outcrop on the south face of an east-west running ridge. The outcrop lies halfway between the valley floor and the summit, and the old Boyabat-Sinop highway runs at the foot of the outcrop. The elevation of the ridge decreases to reach a saddle c. 2 km to the west of Tingiroğlu Tepesi. From the saddle, the route southwards climbs along the summit of the ridge for c. 11 km, as far as the pass at an elevation of 1400 m, before descending to the Gökırmak Valley.<sup>1119</sup>

### ***K.2. Maltepe-Tepealtı*** IA-H-R S

41.7811° N, 34.9254° E, approximate

Işın 1998:104 no. 26; Doonan 2004b:14 fig. 1-10, 90; Doonan, Casson and Gantos 2008:136-7.

On the western slope below the saddle to the west of Tingiroğlu Tepesi is a low settlement mound with occupation contemporaneous with Tingiroğlu Tepesi.<sup>1120</sup> The

---

<sup>1118</sup> Doonan, Casson and Gantos 2008:136. On handmade wares more generally, see also Doonan 2004b:63.

<sup>1119</sup> A Hellenistic sanctuary of Zeus is located on a mountain peak c. 6 km to the east of Tingiroğlu Tepesi. Significant traces of burning and fine ware ceramics were collected on the peak. The sanctuary is identified as dedicated to Zeus on the basis of the numerous bull figurines (Işın 1998:109 no. 31, 134 pl. 23; Doonan 2009:72, 73 fig. 3). The coordinates and elevation of Asar Tepe are 41.7740° N, 35.0431° E, 1040m.

<sup>1120</sup> Mound diameter: 30 m, height: 4 m (Işın 1998:104). Whereas Işın identifies the site as Early Bronze Age, the presence of an Early Bronze Age occupation is not mentioned by Sinop Province Regional Survey (Işın 1998:104; Doonan, Casson and Gantos 2008:136-7). The Roman period is also represented at the site (ibid.:136-7).



Iron Age occupation is confirmed by luminescence analysis of one ceramic sample from the settlement.<sup>1121</sup>

### ***K.3. Gavurtepe*** LLIA-H?-R SM

41.8660° N, 34.8276° E

Işın 1998:102-3 no. 20, 125 pl. 14.5-8; Dönmez 2000:230; Dönmez 2003b:3 n. 15.

Gavurtepe is a settlement mound located in the center of the Sinop Promontory where the coastal valley of the Karasu River transitions to the mountainous highlands. The oval mound is on the shoulder of a valley of a tributary of the Karasu River.<sup>1122</sup> Işın identifies a Late Iron Age occupation at the settlement.<sup>1123</sup>

### ***K.4. Nohutluk/Karapınar*** LIA S

41.9561° N, 35.0369° E, approximate

Doonan et al. 2000:347, 355 figs. 9-10; Doonan et al. 2001a:116, 130 fig. 13; Doonan et al. 2001b:139-40; Doonan 2004b:88-9; Doonan and Bauer 2005:277; Doonan, Casson and Gantos 2008:134-5, 142 map 2.

Nohutluk is a settlement located on a terrace above the right bank of the lower Karasu Valley. The fourth century is represented at the settlement, but the earlier Iron Age occupation was tentative until the publication of luminescence samples collected in 2006.<sup>1124</sup> The settlement's terrace location above the arable floor of the Karasu Valley and the absence of painted Iron Age fine wares indicates that Nohutluk is probably an

---

<sup>1121</sup> The sample dates to c. 920-380 (ibid.:136-7).

<sup>1122</sup> Mound dimensions: 90 × 60 m, height: 10 m (Dönmez 2000:230).

<sup>1123</sup> Dönmez lists the periods as Early Bronze Age, Late Iron Age, and Roman period; Işın lists them as Early Bronze Age, Late Phrygian, and Classical periods. Other sites listed as Classical by Işın must be Roman and/or Hellenistic. After study of the sherds collected by Işın, Dönmez dates the undecorated ceramics of Gavurtepe and Tıngıroğlu Tepesi, published by Işın as Late Phrygian, to the Hellenistic or Late Roman period (Işın 1998:pl. 14.5-8; Dönmez 2003b:3 n. 15 cf. Dönmez 2000:230). The Sinop Province Regional Survey has apparently not visited Gavurtepe (Doonan et al. 1999, 2000, 2001b; Doonan and Bauer 2005; Doonan, Casson and Gantos 2008).

<sup>1124</sup> Doonan mentions handmade wares and "early-mid 1<sup>st</sup> millennium and Hellenistic pottery" (2004b:88), but mentions only diagnostic sherds from fourth century BCE through first century CE (Doonan, Casson and Gantos 2008:134-5).

agricultural settlement similar to Bağtepe and Dedeüstü Tepesi on the terrace between Akalan and Kara Samsun.

***K.5. Gerze Burnu/Kösk Höyük (Karoussa)*** LIA SM

41.8025° N, 35.2051° E

Gökoğlu 1952:16; French 1989:276; Işın 1998:100-1 no. 12, 121 pl. 10; Dönmez 2003b:3; Avram, Hind and Tsetskhladze 2004:958 no. 718; Doonan and Bauer 2005:276.

The first promontory that protects a harbor on the eastern coast of the Sinop Promontory lies at Gerze. Kösk Höyük is a settlement mound on the Gerze Burnu that is slowly eroding into sea. During his survey of Roman roads, French noted painted Late Iron Age ceramics on the surface of the mound. The fourth century geography compiled by Pseudo-Skylax lists the settlement (Karoussa) as a Greek ‘urban’ settlement.<sup>1125</sup>

***K.6. Sinop (Sinope)*** LLIA-H-R US/FS TUM NEC

42.0258° N, 35.1410° E, tower, & 42.0274° N, 35.1509° E, temple

Gökoğlu 1952:17; Akurgal 1955b; Akurgal 1956; Akurgal and Budde 1956; Budde 1956; Boysal 1958; Boysal 1959; Martin 1998; Dönmez 2003b:3-4; Doonan 2003; Avram, Hind and Tsetskhladze 2004:960-3 no. 729; Doonan 2004b:74-6; French 2004; Doonan 2009.

The settlement at Sinop is located on a peninsula between the northeastern corner of the promontory and the Boztepe Headland. Excavations directed by Akurgal and Budde between 1951 and 1953 demonstrated that Aegean ceramics began to be imported at the end of the seventh century. In trenches scattered throughout the city, fifth and fourth century deposits were excavated but none was associated with preserved contexts except the refuse pits.

A deposit of sixth and fifth century imported ceramics was excavated in a sounding under the foundations of a Hellenistic temple. The imported ceramics were mixed with

---

<sup>1125</sup> Pseudo-Skylax §89 “Κάπουσσα πόλις Ἑλληνίς” (Counillon 2004b:20). On Pseudo-Skylax’s identification of cities (poleis) in the Black Sea, see Avram, Hind and Tsetskhladze 2004:928.

painted Late Iron Age wares and architectural terracottas in an assemblage comparable to Akalan. The deposit indicates the presence of a temple outside the area of the settlement.

The Sinop Province Regional Survey documented a dry stone wall foundation sealed by Hellenistic construction fill in the area of the settlement. The wall was visible in the scarp below the Hellenistic tower at the northwest corner of urban walls, and probably defines the western extent of the Late Iron Age settlement at Sinop.<sup>1126</sup> The excavations of Akurgal and Budde also documented a necropolis to the west of the Hellenistic tower with sixth century and later ceramics and funerary reliefs.<sup>1127</sup>

The evidence for Sinop as a city begins in the fifth century and becomes ample in the fourth century. Sinope begins minting coins c. 490 with the head of an eagle over a dolphin.<sup>1128</sup> Around 350, the city begins to expand into the surrounding landscape with the establishment of farmsteads and amphora kilns on Boztepe.<sup>1129</sup> This expansion does not coincide with the end of the Achaemenid administration of Sinope nor the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Rather, it coincides with gradual Achaemenid administrative absorption of not only Sinope but also Paphlagonia. In comparison to this gradual

---

<sup>1126</sup> Doonan 2007a:pl. 77.2-3. Doonan does not distinguish between elite and non-elite architecture when he states that the wall belongs to the Greek colony because “stone architecture is not characteristic of non-Greek settlement in Sinop Province” (ibid.:615).

<sup>1127</sup> Akurgal 1955b; Akurgal 1956:51, 59; Boysal 1958; Budde 1963.

<sup>1128</sup> Price 1993:pls. 50 nos. 1359-66.

<sup>1129</sup> Doonan et al. 2001b:137-9; Doonan 2004b:76-81; Doonan 2009:71-2. The earliest Sinopean amphora stamps date to the early fourth century (Fedoseev 1999). The French and Turkish collaborative project on the Sinopean amphora workshops, however, has only excavated Hellenistic workshops on Boztepe at Zeytinlik and Nisiköy, and Roman workshops at Demirci (Kassab Tezgör 1995; Garlan and Kassab Tezgör 1996; Kassab Tezgör 1996a; Kassab Tezgör 1996b; Tatlıcan 1996; Dereli and Garlan 1997; Garlan and Tatlıcan 1997a; Garlan and Tatlıcan 1997b; Kassab Tezgör and Tatlıcan 1997; Garlan and Tatlıcan 1998; Kassab Tezgör 1998; Kassab Tezgör and Tatlıcan 1998; Kuzucuoğlu and Andrieu 1998; Tatlıcan, Kassab Tezgör and Dereli 1998; Tatlıcan, Kassab Tezgör and Dereli 1999; Tatlıcan, Kassab Tezgör and Özdaş 1999; Kassab Tezgör and Tatlıcan 2000; Kassab Tezgör and Dereli 2001; Kassab Tezgör and Dereli 2002).

expansion, the settlement density of the Sinop Promontory in the Hellenistic period appears to expand dramatically.<sup>1130</sup>

***K.7. Akliman (Harmene)*** LIA?-H-R S TUM

42.0501° N, 35.0425° E

Gökoğlu 1952:18-9; Stoop 1977/78; Doonan et al. 2001a; Doonan 2004b:72, 82-3.

Akliman is a settlement on the north shore of a bay to the west of the Karasu delta plain—an estuary in Late Iron Age. Hindered by forests from surveying away from the coast, the Sinop Province Regional Survey sampled only the shore of the bay. No artifacts earlier than the Hellenistic period were encountered. Akliman is the location of Harmene, a Sinopean harbor where Xenophon and the mercenaries anchored after their arrival by ship from Kotyora on their return to the Aegean.<sup>1131</sup>

***L. Ayancık to Filyos Rivers***

The coast from the Sinop Promontory to the Filyos River is the long stretch where incised river valleys with dense forest cover descend to sea, and valleys with gentle slopes and broad floors are infrequent. Consequently, settlements have access to less

---

<sup>1130</sup> All the tumuli around Sinope and elsewhere on the promontory are associated with this Hellenistic expansion. Gökoğlu lists 10 tumuli on the urban peninsula of Sinope (1952:47). Akurgal identifies two clusters of tumuli: above Dağ Mahallesi and in Korucuk Köyü south of the the peninsula. He proposes that one of these tumuli is the burial of Mithridates VI (42.0025° N, 35.1043° E, Korucuk Köyü; 1956:51, 58-9). Except for the artifacts from illicitly excavated tumuli discussed in the third chapter, the evidence suggests that the tumuli on the promontory are probably all Hellenistic. Doonan interprets the tumulus at Kayanın Başı as part of the ritual landscape centered on the Hellenistic sanctuary on Asar Tepe (41.7701° N, 35.0616° E, approximate; Işın 1998:109 no. 44; Doonan and Bauer 2005:275-6, 282 figs. 7-9; Doonan 2009:72-4). Doonan also interprets the tumuli cluster around Kocagöz Tepe as Hellenistic (Erzen 1956:9-10; Burney 1956:182; Doonan et al. 1999:362; Doonan 2004b:85-7, 150; Doonan 2009:75). The Sinop Province Regional Survey documented 10 tumuli around Akliman that are associated with a Hellenistic and Roman settlement. The tombs are 10-15 m in diameter and 3-4 m high (Doonan et al. 2001a:117). One of the tumuli (Tatarmezarlığı 1) has been excavated illicitly and is dated to the Hellenistic period on the basis of the similarity of the masonry and plan to Bafra İkiztepe tumulus (Doonan et al. 1999:366, 371 fig. 6; Doonan 2004b:82-4). Karacakese and Osmaniye (Karagöl?) are two tumulus clusters located around the delta plain of the Karasu River (Doonan et al. 2000:347, Doonan et al. 2001a:117, Doonan 2004b:82 fig. 4-8).

<sup>1131</sup> Xen. *An.* 6.1.15-17. The fourth century geography compiled by Pseudo-Skylax lists the settlement (Armene) as a Greek ‘urban’ settlement with harbor (§89 “Ἀρμένη πόλις Ἑλληνὶς καὶ λιμὴν” [Counillon 2004b:20]).

arable land and are more dispersed. The absence of surveys with an emphasis on settlements; however, leads us to have more questions than answer about this landscape. In particular, there has been no documentation of settlements in the inner valleys and the routes ascending through the valleys to the copper mining areas of the mountains and the Gökırmak Valley. Additionally, several coastal settlements attested in the literary sources cannot be associated with contemporaneous artifacts or architecture. A sequence of harbors, anchorages, and sheltered beaches can only be inferred along the coast.

***L.1. Çaylıoğlu (Stephane) & westwards*** EIA?-LIA?-H?-R S/FS?

41.9694° N, 34.4981° E

Gökoğlu 1952:19 s.v. Stephana; French 1985:88; French 1986b; Belke 1996:273-4; Işın 1998:97 no. 1 s.v. İstefan (Çaylıoğlu); Counillon 2004b:123.

Çaylıoğlu is a settlement located on the summit of a promontory surveying the sea. The promontory protects a harbor on its east from the northwest winds. French identified only Early Bronze Age and Roman ceramics on the promontory.<sup>1132</sup> The fourth century geography compiled by Pseudo-Skylax is our only Achaemenid period source on several settlements, Çaylıoğlu included. Pseudo-Skylax describes the settlement Çaylıoğlu (Stephane) as a harbor.<sup>1133</sup> The Greek ‘urban’ settlement listed by Pseudo-Skylax to the west of Stephane, Koloussa, cannot be located with certainty.<sup>1134</sup> Belke locates Koloussa on the Güllüsu Promontory between Çatalzeytin and Türkeli, whereas Counillon places the settlement at Türkeli where the Karapınar Stream has a valley floor and gentle

---

<sup>1132</sup> If the Early Bronze Age ceramics are similar to the Tingiroğlu Tepesi handmade wares tentatively dated to the Early Iron Age, occupation at Çaylıoğlu may begin in the Early Iron Age and not the Early Bronze Age (on the Tingiroğlu Tepesi luminescence dating, see Doonan, Casson and Gantos 2008:136).

<sup>1133</sup> Pseudo-Skylax §90 “Στεφάνη Λιμὴν” (Counillon 2004b:22).

<sup>1134</sup> Pseudo-Skylax lists the settlement (Koloussa) as a Greek ‘urban’ settlement (§90 “Κολοῦσσα πόλις Ἑλληνίς” [Counillon 2004b:22]).

terraces.<sup>1135</sup> The persistence of the place name allows us to pinpoint the location of Kinolis, the next ‘urban’ settlement of Pseudo-Skylax, between Çatalzeytin and Abana at a headland with a bay to the west.<sup>1136</sup> The last Greek ‘urban’ settlement of Pseudo-Skylax before the coast bends to the southwest is Karambis.<sup>1137</sup> Although evidence for a settlement at Karambis is weak, Cape Karambis is where ships turned north with the currents to reach Crimea.<sup>1138</sup> From the Sinop Promontory to Cape Karambis, the settlements near headlands and promontories that participate in the maritime sphere are at least tangentially known. These settlements also participated in a mountainous inland sphere that is difficult to characterize. A particularly significant absence is the evidence for a settlement connected to Küre at İnebolu.<sup>1139</sup> After the bend, the settlements along the coast are supported by additional literary and material evidence.

## ***L.2. Cide & Gideros (Kytoros) LIA?-H?-R? S***

41.8980° N, 32.9848° E, & 41.8606° N, 32.8577° E  
 Gökoğlu 1952:22-3 s.v. Gidoros, 164-5 s.v. Gidoros Kalesi; Robert 1980:147-50; Belke 1992:148-9, figs. 8-9; Marek 1993:17-8, 89, pls. 32.1, 33.1; Belke 1996:158 s.v. Aigialos, 245-6 s.v. Kytōros; Avram, Hind and Tsetskhladze 2004:959 no. 724; Düring and Glatz 2009.

<sup>1135</sup> Gökoğlu 1952:160-1 s.v. Güllüsu Kalesi, Belke 1996:238 s.v. Kolussa, Avram, Hind and Tsetskhladze 2004:959 no. 721, Counillon 2004b:127-8. The coordinates of Türkeli are 41.9465° N, 34.3370° E, and the coordinates of Güllüsu Kalesi are 41.9470° N, 34.2783° E.

<sup>1136</sup> Pseudo-Skylax §90 “Κίνωλις πόλις Ἑλληνίς” (Counillon 2004b:22). Jacopi 1937:13, pl. 11.37-8; Gökoğlu 1952:19-20 s.v. Ginoğlu Kalesi; Belke 1996:232-3; Avram, Hind and Tsetskhladze 2004:959 no. 720; Counillon 2004b:128. The coordinates of Kinolis are 41.9655° N, 34.1657° E.

<sup>1137</sup> Pseudo-Skylax §90 “Κάραμβις πόλις Ἑλληνίς” (Counillon 2004b:22). Belke 1996:226-7; Avram, Hind and Tsetskhladze 2004:958 no. 717. The coordinates of Cape Karambis are 42.0192° N, 33.3443° E.

<sup>1138</sup> Counillon argues that Pseudo-Skylax alone cannot support a settlement at the cape because Pseudo-Skylax applies “πόλις Ἑλληνίς” too loosely, and other geographers list Karambis only as a cape (Counillon 2004b:125-6).

<sup>1139</sup> Jacopi 1937:8, pl. 6.21; Gökoğlu 1952:20-1; Marek 1993:82 n. 558, pl. 33.2; Belke 1996:219-21 s.v. İōnopolis. The coordinates of the Roman acropolis on Abastepe are 41.9763° N, 33.7564° E.

The Cide Archaeological Project is currently surveying the coastal plain between Cide and Gideros, but the results for the Iron Age are tenuous.<sup>1140</sup> Cide lies at the northeastern end of an c. 5.5 km long beach near the mouth of a stream. In the middle of the beach is the mouth of the Devrekani River. Gideros is a bay around the corner from the southwestern end of the beach. The beach is identified as the Homeric Aigialos, and Gideros as the Homeric Kytoros.<sup>1141</sup> Kytoros is also listed by Pseudo-Skylax as a Greek ‘urban’ settlement, but only Medieval and Ottoman period fortresses have been surveyed on the two headlands that enclose the bay. The locations of other medieval fortresses on the summits of the first ridge of mountains above the sea are possible locations for Iron Age fortified settlements.<sup>1142</sup>

### ***L.3. Tekkeönü (Kromna)*** LIA-H-R US/FS?

41.8314° N, 32.6691° E

Robert 1937; Robert 1980:418; Belke 1992:147-8, figs. 4-7; Marek 1993:17, 21, pl. 30.1; Belke 1996:241-2 s.v. Krōmna; Avram, Hind and Tsetschladze 2004:959 no. 723.

The fourth century urban settlement of Kromna is located at Tekkeönü. Rather than Late Iron Age ceramics or other artifacts, Roman inscriptions identify the location, and an Achaemenid inscription from Sinope and coins support the presence of an urban settlement in the fourth century.<sup>1143</sup> A Medieval fortress is located on the headland running from the northeast to the southwest that protects a bay to the east of a promontory. Kromna minted silver coins in the fourth century with a head of Zeus

<sup>1140</sup> After the first two week season body sherds that “could belong to” this period were collected at (Düring and Glatz 2009:16). Possible Early Bronze Age sherds were collected at Okçular Kalesi (41.8627° N, 32.9165° E).

<sup>1141</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.853, 855. Pseudo-Skylax also refers to Kytoros as a “πόλις Ἑλληνίς” (§90, Counillon 2004b:22).

<sup>1142</sup> On Hıdır and Okçular Kaleleri, see Gökoğlu 1952:164 s.v. Hıdır Kalesi, 166 s.v. Okcu Kalesi; Belke 1996:216 s.v. Hıdır Kalesi, 255 s.v. Okçular. The coordinates of Hıdır Kalesi are 41.8810° N, 32.9837° E.

<sup>1143</sup> Kromna is also mentioned in the *Iliad* but not by Pseudo-Skylax (Hom. *Il.* 2.855).

wearing a laurel wreath on the obverse and the head of Hera with a crown on the reverse.<sup>1144</sup> The inscription from Sinope is a treaty of military alliance dated to c. 350 between Sinope and the rulers of Herakleia. The treaty states that Sinope and Herakleia will assist each other if either is invaded, except if the aggressor is the Achaemenid king. The treaty has a clause that Kromna and Sesamos can opt into the treaty.<sup>1145</sup>

#### ***L.4. Amasra (Sesamos)*** LIA-H-R US/FS

41.7491° N, 32.3866° E

Gökoğlu 1952:24-5, 166-9; Robert 1980:151-63; Marek 1985; Marek 1989; Hill 1990; Hill 1991; Hill and Crow 1992; Hill and Crow 1993; Marek 1993:16-7, 21, pls. 17-9; Crow and Hill 1995; Belke 1996:161-70, figs. 7-10; Avram, Hind and Tsetskhladze 2004:960 no. 728.

Amasra is the location of Sesamos, the westernmost of the urban settlements along the coast with incised river valleys and dense forest cover. A promontory with a headland on the east and the Boztepe Island to the west protects a double harbor. Similar to Tekkeönü, no Late Iron Age ceramics or other artifacts indicate an Achaemenid period occupation in Amasra, but Sesamos is coupled with Kromna in the Sinopean military alliance treaty discussed above, and Sesamos minted silver and bronze coins in the fourth century with a head of Zeus wearing a laurel wreath on the obverse and the head of Demeter on the reverse.<sup>1146</sup>

#### ***L.5. Hisarönü (Tieion)*** MIA-LIA-H-R US/FS

41.5738° N, 32.0296° E

Robert 1937a; Gökoğlu 1952:25, 169-70 s.v. Filyos Kalesi; Marek 1993:16, 21-4, pls. 5-6; Sönmez and Öztürk 2008:135; Atasoy and Ertuğrul 2009:2, 8 fig. 1, 13 fig. 12b, 14 fig. 13.

---

<sup>1144</sup> Price 1993:pls. 49 nos. 1322-43.

<sup>1145</sup> French 2004:1-4 no. 1. The exception for the Achaemenid king is stated in lines 2-15. The clause on Kromna and Sesamos is on lines 23-4. The treaty is dated between 353/2 and 346/5 B.C.E.

<sup>1146</sup> Sesamos is mentioned in the *Iliad* (Hom. *Il.* 2.853), and Pseudo-Skylax lists Sesamos as a “πόλις Ἑλληνίς” (Counillon 2004b:22).



After a field season of survey in 2006, a project from Trakya University began excavations in 2007 at Hisarönü, the Hellenistic and Roman city of Tieion. Ceramics that demonstrate occupation from the seventh through the fourth centuries were excavated in a sondage on the acropolis of Tieion in 2007. The ceramics range from Wild Goat style, Ionian kylikes, west Anatolian Archaic wares, grey wares, Attic Black Figure, Attic Red Figure, and Black Glazed wares. Although limited in extent, these sherds provide a necessary balance to the emphasis on Sinope and Amisos as Greek colonial settlements.<sup>1147</sup>

---

<sup>1147</sup> A survey begun in 2004 of the coastal Filyos and Devrek Valleys has yet to encounter any Iron Age settlements (Karauguz 2009:108; see also Karauguz 2006; 2007; 2008a, b).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY<sup>1</sup>

- Abrams, P. 1988. "Notes on the difficulty of studying the state (1977)," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1:58-89.
- Adams, E. 2007. "'Time and chance:' unraveling temporality in north-central Neopalatial Crete," *AJA* 111:391-421.
- Ahn, G. 1992. *Religiöse Herrscherlegitimation im achämenidischen Iran; die Voraussetzungen und die Struktur ihrer Argumentation*. Leiden: Brill.
- Ainsworth, W.F. 1838. *Researches in Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæa; forming part of the labours of the Euphrates Expedition*. London: J.W. Parker.
- . 1839. "Notes on a journey from Constantinople, by Heraclea, to Angora, in the Autumn of 1838," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 9:216-76, map.
- . 1842. *Travels and researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia*, vol. 1. London: John W. Parker.
- . 1844. *Travels in the track of the ten thousand Greeks; being a geographical and descriptive account of the expedition of Cyrus and of the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, as related by Xenophon*. London: John W. Parker.
- . 1888. *A personal narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.
- Åkerström, Å. 1966. *Die architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens*. Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup.
- Akkan, E. 1970. *Bafra Burnu-Delice Kavşağı arasında Kızılırmak Vadisinin jeomorfolojisi*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi.
- Akkaya, M. 1993. "Amisos antik kenti kurtarma kazısı," *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 1992 3:207-18.
- . 1998. "Amisos antik kenti kurtarma kazısı ve mozaik kaldırma çalışmaları," *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 1997 8:43-51.

---

<sup>1</sup> *American Journal of Archaeology* abbreviations. <http://www.ajaonline.org/index.php?ptype=page&pid=8> (accessed March 12, 2010).

- Akkemik, Ü., B. Aytuğ, and S. Güzel. 2004. "Archaeobotanical and dendroarchaeological studies in Ilgarini Cave (Pınarbaşı, Kastamonu, Turkey)," *Turkish Journal of Agriculture and Forestry* 28:9-17.
- Akok, M. 1945. "Kastamonu şehri tarihî içkalesi," *Belleten* 9:401-4, pls. 75-7.
- . 1948. "Samsun İli Havza İlçesinin Lerdüğe köyünde bulunan tümülüsler," *Belleten* 12:835-54.
- Aksay, A., et al. 2002. *Türkiye jeoloji haritası/Geological map of Turkey; Zonguldak (1:500,000)*. Ankara: Maden Tetkik ve Arama Genel Müdürlüğü.
- Akurgal, E. 1955a. *Phrygische Kunst*. Ankara: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Ankara.
- . 1955b. "Zwei Grabstelen vorklassischer Zeit aus Sinope," *BWPr* 111:5-31.
- . 1956. "Sinop kazıları/Die Ausgrabungen von Sinope," *TürkArkDerg* 6.1:47-61.
- . 1961. *Die Kunst anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- . 1965. "Les problèmes de l'art phrygien," in *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques; huitième congrès international d'archéologie classique (Paris, 1963)*. Paris: De Boccard, 467-74, pls. 114-7.
- . 1967. "Eine Silberschale aus dem Pontus," *AntK* 10:32-38, pls. 8-9.
- . 1976. "Sinope," *PECS* 482.
- Akurgal, E., and L. Budde. 1956. *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Sinope*. Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu.
- Alcock, S.E., et al., eds. 2001. *Empires; perspectives from archaeology and history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alkım, H. 1983. "Ein Versuch der Interpretation der Holzarchitektur von İkiztepe," in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien; Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, ed. R.M. Boehmer and H.Hauptmann. Mainz: von Zabern, 13-27, pls. 2-5.
- Alkım, U.B. 1972. "Samsun Province," *AnatSt* 22:56.
- . 1973. "Tilmen Hüyük and the Samsun region," *AnatSt* 23:62-5.
- . 1974. "Samsun region, 1973," *AnatSt* 24:50-3.
- . 1976. "İkiztepe and Samsun survey," *AnatSt* 26:42-4.
- . 1978. "İkiztepe and the Samsun region, 1977," *AnatSt* 28:23-7.

- Alkım, U.B., H. Alkım, and Ö. Bilgi. 1988. *İkiztepe I; birinci ve ikinci dönem kazıları/the first and second seasons' excavations (1974-1975)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- . 2003. *İkiztepe II; üçüncü, dördüncü, beşinci, altıncı, yedinci dönem kazıları (1976-1980)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Allen, S.H. 1999. *Finding the walls of Troy; Frank Calvert and Heinrich Schliemann at Hisarlık*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Altay, B. 1987. "Küre mağaraları (27-30.6.1987)," *Mağara Araştırma Derneği Bülten* 2:6-10.
- Althusser, L. 1994. "Ideology and ideological state apparatuses (notes towards an investigation)," in *Mapping ideology*, ed. S. Žižek. London: Verso, 100-40.
- Amandry, P. 1959. "Toreutique achéménide," *AntK* 2:38-62, pls. 20-30.
- . 1963. "Argenterie d'époque achéménide," in *Collection Hélène Stathatos, 3; objets antiques et byzantins*. Strasbourg, 260-72, pls. 37-38.
- Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined communities; reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, revised ed. New York: Verso.
- Anderson, J.G.C. 1903. *Studia Pontica I; a journey of exploration in Pontus*. Bruxelles: H. Lamertin.
- Anderson, J.G.C., F. Cumont, and H. Grégoire. 1910. *Studia Pontica III; recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont de de l'Arménie*. Bruxelles: H. Lamertin.
- Apter, A. 2007. *Beyond words; discourse and critical agency in Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Archibald, Z.H. 1998. *The Odrysian kingdom of Thrace*. Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon.
- Ardos, M. 1984. *Türkiye ovalarının jeomorfolojisi*, vol. 1. Istanbul: Acar Matbaacılık Tesisleri.
- Arık, R.O. 1939. "Archäologische Funde aus der Türkei 1934-1938," *AA* 1939:94-223.
- Armayer, O.K. 1978. "Herodotus' catalogues of the Persian empire in the light of the monuments and the Greek literary tradition," *TAPA* 108:1-9.
- Arnaud, P. 1992. "Les relations maritimes dans le Pont-Euxin d'après les données numériques des géographes anciens," *REA* 94:57-77.
- Aruz, J., et al., eds. 2000. *The golden deer of Eurasia; Scythian and Sarmatian treasures from the Russian steppes*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

- Asheri, D., and W. Hoepfner. 1972. *Herakleia Pontike; Forschungen zur Geschichte und Topographie*. Wien: Hermann Böhlau.
- Atabay, M. 2002. "Anadoluculuk," in *Modern Türkiye'de siyasî düşünce*, vol. 4; *milliyetçilik*. ed. M. Belge. Istanbul: İletişim, 515-32.
- Atalay, E., and A. Ertekin. 1986. "Çorum yöresinde yeni bulunan kaya kabartması," *Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Bülteni* 8:19-26.
- Atalay, İ., and R. Efe. 2010. "Structural and distributional evaluation of forest ecosystems in Turkey," *Journal of Environmental Biology* 31:61-70.
- Atasoy, S. 2003. "Amisos," in *Ancient Greek colonies in the Black Sea*, vol. 2, ed. D.V. Grammenos and E.K. Petropoulos. Thessaloniki: Archaeological Institute of Northern Greece, 1331-77.
- Atasoy, S., M. Endoğlu, and Ş. Dönmez. 2005. "Samsun-Baruthane tümülüsleri kurtarma kazısı," *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 18.2:153-65.
- Atasoy, S., and Ö. Ertuğrul. 2009. "Filyos – Tios kazısı 2007," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 2008 30.4:1-14.
- Auerbach, E. 1957. *Mimesis; the representation of reality in western literature*. trans. W. Trask. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.
- Avram, A. 2007. "Some thoughts about the Black Sea and the slave trade before the Roman domination (6<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC)," in *The Black Sea in antiquity; regional and interregional economic exchanges*, ed. V. Gabrielsen and J. Lund. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 239-52.
- Avram, A., J. Hind, and G. Tsetschladze. 2004. "The Black Sea area," in *An inventory of archaic and classical poleis*, ed. M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 924-73.
- Aydın, M., et al. 1986. "Ballıdağ - Çangaldağı (Kastamonu) arasındaki bölgenin jeolojisi," *Türkiye Jeoloji Kurumu Bülteni* 29:1-16.
- Aydın, S. 2002. "Batılılaşma karşısında arkeoloji ve klasik çağ araştırmaları," in *Modern Türkiye'de siyasî düşünce*, vol. 3; *modernleşme ve batıcılık*, ed. M. Belge. Istanbul: İletişim, 403-27.
- Bäbler, B. 1998. *Fleißige Thrakerinnen und wehrhafte Skythen; Nichtgriechen im klassischen Athen und ihre archäologische Hinterlassenschaft*. Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner.

- Bahrani, Z. 1998. "Conjuring Mesopotamia: imaginative geography and a world past," in *Archaeology under fire; nationalism, politics and heritage in the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*. ed. L. Meskell. Routledge: New York, 159-74.
- Bakır, T. 1995. "Archäologische Beobachtungen über die Residenz in Daskyleion," *Pallas* 43:269-85.
- . 2003. "Daskyleion (Tyaiy Drayahya) Hellespontine Phrygia bölgesi Akhaemenid Satraplığı," *Anadolu/Anatolia* 25:1–26.
- . 2007. "Auswertung der Keramik für relative Chronologie im perserzeitlichen Daskyleion," in *The Achaemenid impact on local populations and cultures in Anatolia (sixth-fourth centuries B.C.); papers presented at the international workshop, Istanbul 20-21 May 2005*, ed. İ. Delemen. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology, 167-76.
- . 2009. "Daskyleion 2007 yılı kazıları," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 2008* 30.2:13-32.
- Balcer, J.M. 1988. "Persian occupied Thrace (Skudra)," *Historia* 37:1-21.
- . 1993. "The ancient Persian satrapies and satraps in western Anatolia," *AMIran* 26:81-90.
- Ballard, R.D., D.F. Coleman, and G.D. Rosenberg. 2000. "Further evidence of abrupt Holocene drowning of the Black Sea shelf," *Marine Geology* 170:253–61.
- Ballard, R.D., et al. 2001. "Deepwater archaeology of the Black Sea: the 2000 Season at Sinop, Turkey," *AJA* 105:607-23.
- Baran, A.K. 2002. "Paphlagonia'daki Pompeiopolis antik kenti," *Belleten* 66(247):819-38.
- Barat, C. 2005. "Voyageurs et perception des vestiges archéologiques à Sinope au temps de la représentation diplomatique française, sous le Consulat et l'Empire," *Anabases: tradition et réception de l'Antiquité* 2:163-75.
- . 2009. "Sinope et ses relations avec la péninsule anatolienne: réseaux, échanges des biens et des hommes," in *L'Asie Mineure dans l'antiquité; échanges, populations et territoires, regards actuels sur une péninsule*, ed. H. Bru, F. Kirbihler, and S. Lebreton. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 351-75.
- Barat, C., et al. 2009. "Prospection et inventaire archéologiques dans la vallée du Gökırmak. Premier rapport préliminaire: région de Taskopru," *Anatolia Antiqua* 17:393-409.

- Barker, G. 1991. "Two Italys, one valley: an Annaliste perspective," in *The Annales school and archaeology*, ed. J. Bintliff. London: Leicester University Press, 34-56.
- Barnett, R.D. 1953. "The Phrygian rock façades and the Hittite monuments," *BibO* 10:78-82, pls. 8-10.
- Baughan, E.P. 2004. "Anatolian funerary *klinai*: tradition and identity," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- Bauer, A.A. 2006. "Between the steppe and the sown: prehistoric Sinop and inter-regional interaction along the Black Sea coast," in *Beyond the steppe and the sown; proceedings of the 2002 University of Chicago conference on Eurasian archaeology*, ed. D.L. Peterson, L.M. Popova, and A.T. Smith. Leiden: Brill, 227-45.
- Beckman, G. 2001. "The Hittite Gilgamesh," in *The epic of Gilgamesh; a new translation, analogues, criticism*, ed. and trans. B.R. Foster. New York: Norton, 157-65.
- Begemann, F., S. Schmitt-Strecker, and E. Pernicka. 2003. "On the composition and provenance of metal finds from Beşiktepe (Troia)," in *Troia and the Troad; scientific studies*, ed. G.A. Wagner, E. Pernicka, and H.-P. Uerpmann. Berlin: Springer, 173-201.
- Behçet, M. 1341 [1925]. *Kastamonu: âsar-i kadimesi*. Istanbul: Matbaa-yi Âmire.
- Belke, K. 1992. "Untersuchungen an der paphlagonischen Schwarzmeerküste," in *Die Schwarzmeerküste in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. R. Pillinger, A. Pülz, and H. Vetters. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 145-54, pls. 37-42.
- . 1996. *Paphlagonien und Honōrias*. Tabula Imperii Byzantini 9. Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Bender, B. 2002. "Time and landscape," *CurrAnthr* 43 suppl.:S103-S112.
- Benjamin, W. 1978. "On the mimetic faculty," in *Reflections; essays, aphorisms, autobiographical writings*. trans. E. Jephcott. New York: Schocken Books, 333-6.
- Bergquist, B. 1998. "Feasting of worshippers or temple and sacrifice? The case of Herakleion on Thasos," in *Ancient Greek cult practice from the archaeological evidence; proceedings of the fourth international seminar on ancient Greek cult organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22-24 October 1993*, ed. R. Hägg. Jonsered: Paul Åströms, 57-72.

- Berman, R.A. 1998. *Enlightenment or empire; colonial discourse in German culture*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Berndt, D. 2002. *Midasstadt in Phrygien; eine sagenumwobene Stätte im anadolischen Hochland*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Berndt-Ersöz, S. 1998. "Phrygian rock-cut cult façades: a study of the function of the so-called shaft monuments," *AnatSt* 48:87-112.
- . 2006. *Phrygian rock-cut shrines; structure, function, and cult practice*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2007. "Phrygian rock-cut step monuments: an interpretation," in *Anatolian Iron Ages 6; the proceedings of the sixth Anatolian Iron Ages colloquium, held at Eskişehir, 16-20 August 2004*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and A. Sagona. Leuven: Peeters, 19-39.
- Bessac, J.-C. 2007. *Le travail de la pierre à Pétra; technique et économie de la taille rupestre*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Bhabha, H.K. 1994. *The location of culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Bilgen, A.N. 1999. "Kastamonu Kınık Kazısı 1994-1995 Metalürjik Buluntuları", *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 15:269- 93.
- Bilgi, Ö. 1993. "A shaft-hole axe from Amisos," *IstMitt* 43:253-54, pl. 25.2.
- . 1999a. "İkiztepe in the Late Iron Age," *AnatSt* 49:27-54.
- . 1999b. "İkiztepe kazısı 1997 dönemi sonuçları," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1998 20.1:485-505.
- . 2001a. "İkiztepe kazılarının 1999 dönemi sonuçları," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 2000 22.1:315-26.
- . 2001b. *Protohistorik çağ'da orta Karadeniz bölgesi madencileri; Hind Avrupalıların anavatanı sorununa yeni bir yaklaşım/Protohistoric age metallurgists of the central Black Sea region; a new perspective on the question of the Indo-Europeans' original homeland*. Istanbul: TASK Vakfı.
- Bilgi, Ö., et al. 2002. "Samsun (Amisos) bölgesinin kültürel gelişimi projesi ile ilgili yüzey araştırması-2000," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 2001 19.1:279-96.
- . 2003. "2001 yılı Samsun İli yüzey araştırması," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 2002 20.2:41-50.



- . 2004a. “Samsun (Amisos) bölgesi’nin kültürel gelişimi projesi,” *Belleten* 68:387-402, ills., figs.
- . 2004b. “Samsun İli 2002 dönemi yüzey araştırmaları,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2003* 21.1:87-96.
- Bilgi, Ö., Ş. Dönmez, and E.U. Ulugergerli. 2005. “Samsun İli 2003 dönemi yüzey araştırması,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2004* 22.1:115-24.
- Bilsel, S.M.C. 2007. “‘Our Anatolia’: organicism and the making of Humanist culture in Turkey,” *Muqarnas* 24:223-41.
- Bintliff, J. 1991. “The contribution of an *Annaliste*/structural history approach to archaeology,” in *The Annales school and archaeology*, ed. J. Bintliff. London: Leicester University Press, 1-33.
- Bittel, K. 1945. *Grundzüge der Vor- und Frühgeschichte Kleinasiens*. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth.
- . 1970. *Hattusha; the capital of the Hittites*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bittel, K., and A.M. Schneider. 1943. “Archäologische Funde aus der Türkei 1942,” *AA* 1943:200-55.
- Bittel, K., and R. Naumann. 1965. “Notizen über einige paphlagonische Felsgräber,” *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 2.1-2:71-84, pls. 8-13.
- Bittel, K., et al. 1975. *Das hethische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya*. Berlin: Mann.
- Blegen, C.W. 1956. “The royal bridge,” in *The Aegean and the Near East; studies presented to Hetty Goldman on the occasion of her seventy-fifth birthday*, ed. S.S.Weinberg. Locust Valley, New York: J.J. Augustin, 32-5.
- Blum, H., et al., eds. 2002. *Brückenland Anatolien? Ursachen, Extensität und Modi des Kulturaustausches zwischen Anatolien und seinen Nachbarn*. Tübingen: Attempto Verlag.
- Boardman, J. 1975. “Herakles, Peisistratos and Eleusis,” *JHS* 95:1-12.
- . 2000. *Persia and the west; an archaeological investigation of the genesis of Achaemenid art*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Bohak, G. 2005. “Ethnic portraits in Greco-Roman literature,” in *Cultural borrowings and ethnic appropriations in antiquity*, ed. E.S. Gruen. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 207-37.

- Bonnet, C. 1988. *Melqart; cultes et mythes de l'Héraclès tyrien en Méditerranée*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Borchhardt, J., ed. 1975. *Myra; eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- . 2007. "Der Gürtel als Zeichen der Gefolgschaft," in *The Achaemenid impact on local populations and cultures in Anatolia (sixth-fourth centuries B.C.); papers presented at the international workshop, Istanbul 20-21 May 2005*, ed. İ. Delemen. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology, 33-57.
- Boré, E. 1840. *Correspondance et mémoires d'un voyageur en orient*, vol. 1. Paris: Olivier-Fulgence.
- Borić, D. 2002. "'Deep time' metaphor: mnemonic and apotropaic practices at Lepenski Vir," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 3:46-74.
- Bostancı, E.Y. 1952. "Gök Irmak Vadisinde prehistuvar araştırmaları yeni Paleolitik buluntular," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 10:137-42, pls. 1-7.
- Bosworth, A.B., and P.V. Wheatley. 1998. "The origins of the Pontic house," *JHS* 118:155-64.
- Bottema, S., H. Woldring, and B. Aytuğ. 1993/1994. "Late Quaternary vegetation history of northern Turkey," *Palaeohistoria* 35/36:13-72, figs. 7-24.
- Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a theory of practice*. trans. R. Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1990. "Structures, habitus, practices," in *The logic of practice*. trans. R. Nice. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 52-65.
- . 1999. "Rethinking the state: genesis and structure of the bureaucratic field," trans. L.J.D. Wacquant and S. Farage, in *State/culture; state-formation after the cultural turn*, ed. G. Steinmetz. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 53-75.
- Bowden, R. 2004. "A critique of Alfred Gell on art and agency," *Oceania* 74:309-24.
- Boyce, M. 1975. *A history of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 1; *the early period*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1982. *A history of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 2; *under the Achaemenians*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2001. *Zoroastrians; their religious beliefs and practices*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Routledge.

- Boysal, Y. 1958. "Sinop'un en eski buluntuları ve kolonizasyonu hakkında/Über die älteren Funde von Sinope und die Kolonisationsfrage," *TürkArkDerg* 8.2:23-34, pls. 21-4.
- . 1959. "Über die älteren Funde von Sinope und die Kolonisationsfrage," *AA* 1959:8-20.
- Boztuğ, D., and O. Yılmaz. 1995. "Daday-Devrekani masifi metamorfizması ve jeolojik evrimi, Kastamonu bölgesi, Batı Pontidler, Türkiye," *Türkiye Jeoloji Bülteni* 38:33-52.
- Bradley, J.R. 1991. *The sources of Cornelius Nepos; selected lives*. New York: Garland.
- Braudel, F. 1972. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II*. trans. S. Reynolds. New York: Harper & Row.
- Braund, D. 2000. "Learning, luxury and empire: Athenaeus' Roman patron," in *Athenaeus and his world; reading Greek culture in the Roman Empire*. eds. D. Braund and J. Wilkins. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 3-22.
- Braund, D., and T. Sinclair. 2000. "Map 87 Pontis-Phasis," in *Barrington atlas of the Greek and Roman world; map-by-map directory*, vol. 2, ed. R.J.A. Talbert. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Briant, P. 1976. "Brigandage, dissidence et conquête en Asie achéménide et hellénistique" and "Réponse," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 2:163-258, 273-9.
- . 1982a. *Etat et pasteurs au Moyen-Orient ancien*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1982b. *Rois, tributs et paysans; études sur les formations tributaires du Moyen-Orient ancien*. Paris: Les Belles lettres.
- . 1996. *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexander*, ed. P. Briant et al. Achaemenid history, vol. 10. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- . 2002. *From Cyrus to Alexander; a history of the Persian Empire*. trans. P.T. Daniels. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2005. "Milestones in the development of Achaemenid historiography in the era of Ernst Herzfeld," in *Ernst Herzfeld and the development of Near Eastern studies, 1900-1950*, ed. A.C. Gunter and S.R. Hauser. Leiden: Brill, 263-80.
- . 2006. "L'Asie mineure en transition," in *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques (vers 350-300 av. J.-C.); actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par la «Chaire d'histoire et civilisation*

*du monde achéménide et de l'empire d'Alexandre» et le «Réseau international d'études et de recherches achéménides», 22-23 novembre 2004, ed. P. Briant and F. Joannès. Paris: De Boccard, 309-51.*

Briggs, W.W., and W.M. Calder, III, eds. 1990. *Classical scholarship; a biographical encyclopedia*. New York: Garland Publishing.

Brixhe, C. 1979. "Le nom de Cybèle: l'antiquité avait-elle raison?" *Die Sprache* 25:40-5.

———. 2002. "Achéens et Phrygiens en Asie Mineure: approche comparative de quelques données lexicales," in *Novalis Indogermanica; Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Fritz and S. Zeilfelder. Graz: Leykam, 49-73.

Brixhe, C., and G.D. Summers. 2006. "Les inscriptions phrygiennes de Kerkenes Dağ (Anatolie centrale)," *Kadmos* 45:93-135.

Brixhe, C., and M. Lejeune. 1984. *Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes*. Paris: Recherche sur les civilisations.

Bruce, I.A.F. 1967. *An historical commentary on the 'Hellenica Oxyrhynchia.'* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brunt, P.A. 1980. "On historical fragments and epitomes," *CQ*, n.s., 30:477-94.

Bryce, T.R. 1991. "Tombs and the social hierarchy in ancient Lycia," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 18:73-85.

———. 2002. *Life and society in the Hittite world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2005. *The kingdom of the Hittites*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bryer, A., and D. Winfield. 1985. *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

Budde, L. 1956. "Kurzer vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in Sinope der Kampagnen 1951-53," *TürkArkDerg* 6.2:5-10, pls. 1-3.

———. 1963. "Eine Tierkampfgruppe aus Sinope," *AntP* 2:55-74.

Bujskikh, A. 2007. "The earliest East Greek pottery from Olbia Pontica," in *Frühes Ionien eine Bestandsaufnahme; Panionion-Symposion Güzelçamlı 26. September-1. Oktober 1999*, ed. J. Cobet et al. Mainz: von Zabern, 499-510, pls. 59-62.

Burkert, W. 1986. "Oriental and Greek mythology: the meeting of parallels," in *Interpretations of Greek mythology*, ed. J. Bremmer. Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 10-40.

- . 1992. *The orientализing revolution; Near Eastern influence on Greek culture in the early Archaic age*. trans. M.E. Pinder and W. Burkert. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Burney, C.A. 1956. "Northern Anatolia before Classical times," *AnatSt* 6:179-203.
- . 1993. "The god Haldi and the Urartian state," in *Aspects of art and iconography; Anatolia and its neighbors (Nimet Özgüç'e armağan/studies in honor of Nimet Özgüç)*, ed. M.J. Mellink, E. Porada, and T. Özgüç. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 107-10.
- . 2004. *Historical dictionary of the Hittites*. Oxford, U.K.: Scarecrow Press, 155-6.
- Burstein, S.M. 1976a. "Fragment 53 of Callisthenes and the text of *Iliad* 2.850-55," *CP* 71:339-41.
- . 1976b. *Outpost of hellenism; the emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Butler, J. 1993. *Bodies that matter; on the discursive limits of "sex."* New York: Routledge.
- Çağlar, I., A.Z. Denizlioğlu, and A. Ustalar. 1995. "Self potential investigation of Boyalı (Taşköprü) copper mineralization site," in *MinChem'95; proceedings of the fifth symposium on mining chemistry, Istanbul, Turkey, 7-10 November 1995*. Istanbul: Istanbul Technical University, 37-45.
- Çakır, N. 1995. "Kastamonu İli Taşköprü İlçesi Pompeiopolis (Zımbıllı tepesi höyüğü) 1993 yılı kurtarma kazısı," *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri 1994* 5:39-65.
- Çakır, Ü., Y. Genç, and D. Paktunç. 2006. "Intrusive lherzolites within the basalts of Küre ophiolite (Turkey): an occurrence in the Tethyan suprasubduction marginal basin," *Geological Journal* 41:123-43.
- Calmeyer, P. 1975a. "The subject of the Achaemenid tomb reliefs," in *Proceedings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> annual symposium on archaeological research in Iran*, ed. F. Bagherzadeh. Tehran: Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research, 233-42.
- . 1975b. "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive, 3. Felsgräber," *AMIran* 8:99-113, pl. 14.
- . 1976. "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive, 3. Felsgräber," *AMIran* 9:45.
- . 1980. "Textual sources for the interpretation of Achaemenid palace decorations," *Iran* 18:55-63, pls. 1-4.

- . 1996. "Achaimenidische Möbel und <sup>IS</sup>KUSSÛ ŠA ŠARRUTE," in *The furniture of western Asia, ancient and traditional; papers of the conference held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28 to 30, 1993*. ed. G. Herrmann and N. Parker. Mainz: von Zabern, 223-31, pls. 71-7.
- Carneiro, R.L. 1981. "The chiefdom: precursor of the state," in *The transition to statehood in the new world*, ed. G.D. Jones and R.R. Kautz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 37-79.
- Casabonne, O. 2004. *La Cilicie à l'époque achéménide*. Paris: De Boccard.
- . 2007. "The formation of Cappadocia: Iranian populations and Achaemenid influence," in *The Achaemenid impact on local populations and cultures in Anatolia (sixth-fourth centuries B.C.); papers presented at the international workshop, Istanbul 20-21 May 2005*, ed. İ. Delemen. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology, 103-6.
- Cenderus, G. 1838-1839. *Historiarum compendium*, ed. I. Bekker. Bonn: E. Weber.
- Çevik, N. 2000. *Urartu kaya mezarları ve ölü gömme gelenekleri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Chambers, M., ed. 1993. "*Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*" post Victorium Bartoletti. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Chantraine, P. 1933. *La formation des noms en grec ancien*. Paris: Édouard Champion.
- . 1968-1980. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque; histoire de mots*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Chanykoff, N. 1866. "Reise im nördlichen Kleinasien im Jahre 1846," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erkunde zu Berlin* 1:415-35, pl. 6.
- Chaput, E. 1941. *Phrygie, exploration archéologique faite de publiée sous la direction de M. Albert Gabriel*, vol. 1; géologie et géographie physique. Paris: De Boccard.
- Chapman, R. 2003. *Archaeologies of complexity*. New York: Routledge.
- Charlesworth, M. 1980. "Three Urartian tombs at Palu in Turkey," *AMIran* 13:91-97, pls. 19-20.
- Chatterjee, P. 1999a. "The nation and its fragments; colonial and postcolonial histories," in *The Partha Chatterjee omnibus; comprising "Nationalist thought and the colonial world," "The nation and its fragments," "A possible India."* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, vii-282.

- . 1999b. "Nationalist thought and the colonial world; a derivative discourse?" in *The Partha Chatterjee omnibus; comprising "Nationalist thought and the colonial world," "The nation and its fragments," "A possible India."* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, v-181.
- Childs, W.A.P. 1981. "Lycian relations with Persians and Greeks in the fifth and fourth centuries re-examined," *AnatSt* 31:55-80.
- Çınaroğlu, A. 1990/91. "Kastamonu kökenli bir grup Hitit gümüş eseri - a Hittite silver collection from Kastamonu," *Müze - Museum* 4:53-9.
- Çınaroğlu, A., and D. Çelik. 2006 "2004 yılı Kastamonu-Kınık kazısı," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 2005* 27.1:7-18.
- . 2008. "2006 yılı Kastamonu-Kınık kazısı," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 2007* 29.2:513-24.
- Çınaroğlu, A., and E. Genç. 2004 "Kastamonu Kınık 2002 yılı kazısı," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 2003* 25.1:355-66.
- . 2005 "2003 yılı Kastamonu-Kınık kazısı," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 2004* 26.1:277-90.
- Claessen, H.J.M. 1989. "Tribute and taxation or how to finance early states and empires," in *Le tribut dans l'empire perse; actes de la table ronde de Paris, 12-13 décembre 1986*, ed. P. Briant and C. Herrenschmidt. Paris: Peeters, 45-59.
- Clare, R.J. 2002. *The path of the Argo; language, imagery and narrative in the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, J.E., and M. Blake. 1994. "The power of prestige: competitive generosity and the emergence of rank societies in lowland Mesoamerica," in *Factional competition and political development in the New World*. ed. E.M. Brumfiel and J.W. Fox. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 17-30.
- Cohen, B. 1994. "From bowman to clubman: Herakles at Olympia," *ArtB* 76:695-715.
- Çokay-Kepçe, S., and M. Recke. 2007. "Achaemenid bowls in Pamphylia," in *The Achaemenid impact on local populations and cultures in Anatolia (sixth-fourth centuries B.C.); papers presented at the international workshop, Istanbul 20-21 May 2005*, ed. İ. Delemen. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology, 83-95.
- Coleman, D.F., and R.D. Ballard. 2007. "Submerged paleoshorelines in the southern and western Black Sea—implications for inundated prehistoric archaeological sites," in *The Black Sea flood question; changes in coastline, climate and human settlement*, ed. V. Yanko-Hombach et al. Dordrecht: Springer, 671-96.

- Collins, B.J. 1997. "Purifying a house: a ritual for the infernal deities (1.68)," in *The context of scripture, vol. 1; canonical compositions from the biblical world*, ed. W.W. Hallo. Leiden: Brill, 168-71.
- Comstock, M.B., and C.C. Vermeule. 1976. *Sculpture in stone; the Greek, Roman and Etruscan collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Conovici, N. 1998. *Histria, 8; les timbres amphoriques, 2; Sinope*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Cook, J.M. 1983. *The Persian Empire*. New York: Schocken.
- Coulton, J.J. 1993. "North Lycia before the Romans," in *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-Symposions, 6-12 Mai 1990*, ed. J. Borchhardt and G. Dobesch. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 79-85.
- Counillon, P. 2004a. "Homère et l'hellénisation de la Paphlagonie," in *Historia y mito; el pasado legendario como fuente de autoridad; actas del simposio internacional celebrado en Servolla, Valverde del Camino y Huelva entre el 22 y el 25 de abril de 2003*, ed. J.M. Candau Morón, F.J. González Ponce, and G. Cruz Andreotti. Málaga: Centro de ediciones de la Disputación de Málaga, 109-22.
- . 2004b. *Pseudo-Skylax Le périple du Pont-Euxin; texte, traduction, commentaire philologique et historique*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Courtils, J. des, and B. Rémy. 1986. "Remarques sur l'implantation des colonies grecques au sud-est du pont-euxin," *EpigAnat* 8:53-64, pl. 3.
- Courtils, J. des, and A. Pariente. 1998. "Excavations in the Heracles Sanctuary at Thasos," in *Early Greek cult practice; proceedings of the fifth international symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June, 1986*, ed. R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, and G.C. Nordquist. Göteborg: Paul Åströms, 121-3.
- Crow, J. 1996. "Alexios Komnenos and Kastamon: castles and settlement in middle Byzantine Paphlagonia," in *Alexios I Komnenos, vol.1; papers*, ed. M. Mullett and D. Smythe. Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, School of Greek, Roman and Semitic Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, 12-36.
- Crow, J. and S. Hill. 1995. "The Byzantine fortifications of Amastris in Paphlagonia," *AnatSt* 45:251-65.
- Cuinet, V. 1894. *La Turquie d'Asie; géographie administrative, statistique descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie-Mineure, vol. 4; l'Anatolie occidentale Brousse et Castamouni*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Cummer, W.W. 1976. "Iron Age pottery from Akalan," *IstMitt* 26:31-39, pls. 6-9.



- Cumont, F. 1909. "Rapport sur un voyage d'exploration dans le Pont et en Cappadochie," *BCH* 33:41-147.
- Cumont, F., and E. Cumont. 1906. *Studia Pontica II; voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la petite Arménie*. Bruxelles: H. Lamertin.
- Curtius, E. 1895. "Zur Erinnerung an Gustav Hirschfeld," *Deutsche Rundschau* 84:377-84.
- Czichon, R.M. 2008a. "Die hethitische Kultur im Mittleren Schwarzmeergebiet unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Umgebung von Vezirköprü," in *Hattuša-Boğazköy; das Hethiterreich im Spannungsfeld des Alten Orients*, ed. G. Wilhelm. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 265-77.
- . 2008b. "Oymaağaç-Vezirköprü yüzey araştırması 2006," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 2007 25.1:187-96.
- . n.d. "Oymaağaç-Nerik Kazı Çalışma Raporu 2007," Oymaağaç-Nerik Forschungsprojekt  
[http://www.nerik.de/downloads/Oymaağaç\\_2007%20Nerik%20Kazi%20Projesi%202007%20Rapor.pdf](http://www.nerik.de/downloads/Oymaağaç_2007%20Nerik%20Kazi%20Projesi%202007%20Rapor.pdf) (accessed March 12, 2010).
- Czichon, R.M., M. Flender, and J. Klinger. 2006. "Interdisziplinäre Geländebegehung im Gebiet von Oymaağaç-Vezirköprü," *MDOG* 138:157-97.
- Dalley, S. 1987. "Near Eastern patron deities of mining and smelting in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages," *RDAC* 61-6, pl. 19.
- Damerji, M.S.B. 1999. *Gräber assyrischer Königinnen aus Nimrud*. Mainz: Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums.
- Dan, A. 2009. "Sinope, 'capitale' pontique, dans la géographie antique," in *L'Asie Mineure dans l'antiquité; échanges, populations et territoires, regards actuels sur une péninsule*, ed. H. Bru, F. Kirbihler, and S. Lebreton. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 67-131.
- Davesne, A., and F. Laroche-Traunecker. 1998. *Gülzar I; le site de Meydancikkale; recherches entreprises sous la direction d'Emmanuel Laroche (1971-1982)*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Davis, W. 2007. "Abducting the agency of art," in *Art's agency and art history*, ed. R. Osborne and J. Tanner. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 199-219.
- Dean, M. 1986. "Foucault's obsession with western modernity," *Thesis Eleven* 14:44-61.
- Debord, P. 1999. *L'asie mineure au I<sup>er</sup> siècle (412-323 a.C.); pouvoirs et jeux politiques*. Paris: De Boccard.

- De Grummond, N.T., ed. 1996. *An encyclopedia of the history of classical archaeology*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood.
- De Jesus, P.S. 1976. "Metallurgical practices in early Anatolia," *Bulletin of the Mineral Research and Exploration Institute of Turkey* 87:49-63.
- . 1978. "Metal resources in ancient Anatolia," *AnatSt* 28:97-102
- . 1980. *The development of prehistoric mining and metallurgy in Anatolia*. Oxford, U.K.: BAR.
- Del Monte, G.F., and J. Tischler. 1978. *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*, vol. 6; *die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert.
- Del Monte, G.F. 1992. *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*, vol. 6.2; *die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte Supplement*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert.
- Deltour-Levie, C. 1982. *Les piliers funéraires de Lycie*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut supérieur d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, Collège Érasme.
- Demir, T., İ. Yeşilnacar, and R. Westaway. 2004. "River terrace sequences in Turkey: sources of evidence for lateral variations in regional uplift," *Proceedings of the Geologists' Association* 115:289-311.
- Dengate, J.A. 1978. "A site survey along the south shore of the Black Sea," in *The proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, ed. E. Akurgal. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 245-58, pls. 65-68.
- Dentzer, J.-M. 1982. *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VII<sup>e</sup> au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.* Rome: École française de Rome.
- Dereli, F., and Y. Garlan. 1997. "Quelques nouvelles amphores timbrées de Sinope," *Anatolia Antiqua* 5:199-209.
- Derman, A.S., and A. Sayılı. 1995. "İnaltı formation: a key unit for regional geology," in *Geology of the Black Sea region; proceedings of the international symposium on the geology of the Black Sea region, September 7-11, 1992, Ankara, Turkey*, ed. A. Erler, et al. Ankara: General Directorate of Mineral Research and Exploration, 104-8.
- Descat, R. 1990. "Remarques sur les rapports entre les Perses et la mer Noire à l'époque achéménide," in *İkinci tarih boyunca Karadeniz kongresi bildirileri*, ed. M. Sağlam et al. Samsun: T.C. Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi, 539-48.

- Devreker, J., and F. Vermeulen. 1991. "Phrygians in the neighborhood of Pessinus (Turkey)," in *Studia archaeologica; liber amicorum Jacques A.E. Nenquin*, ed. H. Thoen et al. Gent: Seminarie voor Archeologie, Universiteit Gent, 109-17, pl. 1.2.
- DeVries, K. 1988. "Gordion and Phrygia in the sixth century B.C." *Source: Notes on the History of Art* 7.3-4:51-9.
- . 2000. "The nearly other: the Attic vision of Phrygians and Lydians," in *Not the classical ideal; Athens and the construction of the other in Greek art*, ed. B. Cohen. Leiden: Brill, 338-63.
- . 2005. "Greek pottery and Gordion chronology," in *The archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians; recent work at Gordion*, ed. L. Kealhofer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 36-55, pl. 2.
- . 2007. "The date of the destruction level at Gordion: imports and the local sequence," in *Anatolian Iron Ages 6; the proceedings of the sixth Anatolian Iron Ages colloquium, held at Eskişehir, 16-20 August 2004*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and A. Sagona. Leuven: Peeters, 79-101.
- DeVries, K., et al. 2003. "New dates for Iron Age Gordion," *Antiquity* 77, no. 296, June 2003, Project Gallery. <http://antiquity.ac.uk/projGall/devries/devries.html>.
- DeVries, K., G.K. Sams, and M.M. Voigt. 2005. "Gordion re-dating," in *Anatolian Iron Ages 5; proceedings of the fifth Anatolian Iron Ages colloquium, held at Van, 6-10 August 2001*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and G. Darbyshire. London: British Institute at Ankara, 45-6.
- Díaz-Andreu, M. 2007. *A world history of nineteenth-century archaeology; nationalism, colonialism, and the past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dietler, M., and B. Hayden. 2001. "Digesting the feast: good to eat, good to drink, good to think: an introduction," in *Feasts; archaeological and ethnographic perspectives on food, politics, and power*, ed. M. Dietler and B. Hayden. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1-20.
- Digard, J.-P. 1976. "Montagnards et nomades d'Iran: des «brigands» des Grecs aux «sauvages» d'aujourd'hui," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 2:263-73.
- Dijk, R. van, and E.A.B. van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal. 1999. "Introduction: the domestication of chieftaincy: the imposed and the imagined," in *African chieftaincy in a socio-political landscape*, ed. E.A.B. van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal and Rijk van Dijk. Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 1-20.
- Diller, A. 1952. *The tradition of the minor Greek geographers*. Philological Monographs 14. Lancaster, P.A.: American Philological Association.

- Dillery, J. 1995. *Xenophon and the history of his times*. New York: Routledge.
- Dirik, K. 1993. "Geological history of the northward arched segment of the North Anatolian Transform Fault Zone," *Geological Journal* 28:251-66.
- . 2004. "Kastamonu İli ve civarının depremselliği," *KASYÖ-DER (Kastamonu ve Yöresi Dayanışma Derneği)* 2.17:19-21.
- Dobres, M.-A., and J.E. Robb. 2000. "Agency in archaeology: paradigm or platitude?" in *Agency in archaeology*, ed. M.-A. Dobres and J.E. Robb. New York: Routledge, 3-17.
- Dökü, F.E. 2005. "Paflagonya kaya mezarları mimari ve ikonografi," in *İkinci Kastamonu kültür sempozyumu bildirileri, 18-20 Eylül 2003*, ed. A.A. Yetim et al. Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Basımevi, 43-56.
- . 2008a. "Paphlagonia bölgesi kaya mezarları ve kaya tapınakları," Ph.D. diss., Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Antalya.
- . 2008b. "Paphlagonia bölgesinde Pers izleri," in *III ve IV. Ulusal Arkeolojik Araştırmalar Sempozyumu*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, 77-92.
- Dökü, F.E., G. Dinç, and F. Şimşek. 2006. "Ahmet Gökoğlu not defterleri: Paphlagonia bölgesi ilk kültür envanteri," *Anadolu/Anatolia* 30:65-82.
- Donceel, R. 1983a. "Représentations archaïsantes de femmes assises sur des stèles de la région de Kastamonu," in *Archéologie et religions de l'Anatolie ancienne; mélanges en l'honneur du professeur Paul Naster*, ed. R. Donceel and R. Lebrun. Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre d'Histoire des Religions, 81-100, pl. 4.
- . 1983b. "Taureaux de pierre de la vallée du Gökırmak et de ses abords (Paphlagonie)," in *Archéologie et religions de l'Anatolie ancienne; mélanges en l'honneur du professeur Paul Naster*, ed. R. Donceel and R. Lebrun. Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre d'Histoire des Religions, 21-79, pls. 1-4, map.
- Donceel-Voûte, P. 1979. "Gökırmak valley, 1977 (Recent archaeological research in Turkey)," *AnatSt* 29:196-97.
- . 1983. "Un banquet funéraire perse en Paphlagonie," in *Archéologie et religions de l'Anatolie ancienne; mélanges en l'honneur du professeur Paul Naster*, ed. R. Donceel and R. Lebrun. Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre d'Histoire des Religions, 101-118, pl. 5.
- Dönmez, Ş. 1999. "Sinop-Samsun-Amasya illeri yüzey araştırması, 1997," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1998 16.2:513-36.

- . 2000. “Sinop-Samsun-Amasya İlleri 1998 yüzey araştırması,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1999* 17.2:229-44.
- . 2001a. “1997-1999 yılları yüzey araştırmalarında incelenen Samsun-Amasya illeri İ.Ö.2. binyılı yerleşmeleri,” *Belleten* 65:875-903, pls., figs.
- . 2001b. “Amasya Müzesi’nden boya bezekli iki çanak ışığında Kızılırmak Kavsi Geç Demir ve Hellenistik Çağları Çanak-Çömleğine yeni bir bakış,” *Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi* 4:89-99.
- . 2002a. “1997-1999 yılları yüzey araştırmalarında incelenen Amasya İli Demir Çağı yerleşmeleri,” *Belleten* 69:467-97, pls., figs.
- . 2002b. “The 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC settlements in Samsun and Amasya Provinces, central Black Sea region, Turkey,” *Ancient West & East* 1:243-93.
- . 2002c. “Samsun-Asarağaç Kalesi,” *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 16:133-44.
- . 2003a. “The early Iron Age problem in the central Black Sea region,” in *Identifying changes; the transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and its neighbouring regions; proceedings of the International Workshop, Istanbul, November 8-9, 2002*, ed. B. Fischer et al. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 213-28.
- . 2003b. “Yeni bulguların ışında orta Karadeniz bölgesi Demir Çağı çanak-çömleğine bir bakış,” *Anatolia* 24:1-17.
- . 2004a. “Akalan hakkında yeni gözlemler,” *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 17:67-91.
- . 2004b. “Boyabat-Kovuklukaya: a Bronze Age settlement in the central Black Sea region, Turkey,” *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 41:38-84.
- . 2004c. “Yeni arkeolojik bulguların ışığında İÖ 2. binyılda Sinop,” *Belleten* 68:1-31, pls., figs.
- . 2005a. “1997-1999 yılları yüzey araştırmalarında incelenen Amasya İli Demir Çağı yerleşmeleri,” *Belleten* 69:467-97, pls., figs.
- . 2005b. “Amasya province in the Iron Age,” in *Anatolian Iron Ages 5; proceedings of the fifth Anatolian Iron Ages colloquium, held at Van, 6-10 August 2001*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and G. Darbyshire. London: British Institute at Ankara, 65-74.
- . 2005c. “Sinop province in the second millennium BC,” *V. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi*, ed. A. Süel. Ankara, 259-86.

- . 2006. "Some observations on the socio-economic structure and ethnic make-up of the central Black Sea region of Turkey during the Iron Age in the light of new evidence," *Ancient West & East* 5:13-43.
- . 2007a. "The Achaemenid impact on the central Black Sea region," in *The Achaemenid impact on local populations and cultures in Anatolia (sixth-fourth centuries B.C.); papers presented at the international workshop, Istanbul 20-21 May 2005*, ed. İ. Delemen. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology, 107-16.
- . 2007b. "The central Black Sea region, Turkey, during the Iron Age: the local cultures and the Eurasian horse-riding nomads," in *Ancient Greek colonies in the Black Sea 2*, vol. 2, ed. D.V. Grammenos and E.K. Petropoulos. Oxford, U.K.: BAR, 1207-20.
- . 2007c. "Zindankaya: the largest known Iron Age settlement in the central Black Sea region, Turkey," *Eirene* 43:143-60.
- Dönmez, Ş., and E.E. Naza-Dönmez. 2007. "Geç Kalkolitik çağdan günümüze orta Karadeniz bölgesi kıyıları kırsal kesiminde geleneksel ahşap mimari," Belkıs Dinçol ve Ali Dinçol'a armağan, Vita, Festschrift in honor of Belkıs Dinçol and Ali Dinçol, ed. M. Alparslan, M. Doğan-Alparslan, and H. Peker. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 219-36.
- Donohue, A.A. 2005. *Greek sculpture and the problem of description*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Doonan, O.P. 2002. "Production in a Pontic landscape: the hinterland of Greek and Roman Sinope," in *Pont-Euxin et commerce; la genèse de la "route de la soie," actes du IX<sup>e</sup> symposium de Vani*, ed. M. Faudot, A. Frayssé, and É. Geny. Presses Universitaires Franc-Comtoises, 185-98.
- . 2003. "Sinope," in *Ancient Greek colonies in the Black Sea*, vol. 2, ed. D.V. Grammenos and E.K. Petropoulos. Thessaloniki: Archaeological Institute of Northern Greece, 1379-1402.
- . 2004a. "Sampling Sinop: putting together the pieces of a fragmented archaeological landscape," in *Mediterranean archaeological landscapes; current issues*, ed. L. Wandsnider and E.F. Athanassopoulos. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 37-54.
- . 2004b. *Sinop landscapes; exploring connection in a Black Sea hinterland*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- . 2007a. "Colony and conjuncture: the early Greek colony at Sinope," in *Frühes Ionien eine Bestandsaufnahme; Panionion-Symposion Güzelçamlı 26. September-1. Oktober 1999*, ed. J. Cobet et al. Mainz: von Zabern, 613-20, pl. 77.

- . 2007b. “New evidence for the emergence of a maritime Black Sea economy,” in *The Black Sea flood question; changes in coastline, climate and human settlement*, ed. V. Yanko-Hombach et al. Dordrecht: Springer, 697-710.
- . 2009. “Sacred landscapes and colonization of the Sinop Promontory,” in *Sacred landscapes in Anatolia and neighboring regions*, ed. C. Gates, J. Morin, and T. Zimmermann. Oxford, U.K.: BAR, 69-78.
- Doonan, O.P., A. Casson, and A. Gantos. 2008. “Sinop Province archaeological project: report on the 2006 field season,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2007* 25.2:133-50.
- Doonan, O.P., and A. Bauer. 2005. “Sinop Province archaeological project: report on the 2003 field season,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2004* 22.2:275-84.
- Doonan, O.P., et al. 1999. “Sinop İli yoğun alan araştırması, 1997,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1998* 16.2:359-71.
- . 2000. “Sinop bölgesel arkeoloji araştırması 1998: Karasu Vadi araştırması,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1999* 17.2:345-56.
- . 2001a. “Sinop regional archaeological survey 1998-1999: the Karasu Valley,” *Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi* 4:113-35.
- . 2001b. “Sinop ve çevresi arkeolojik yüzey araştırması 1999,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2000* 18.1:137-48.
- Dornan, J.L. 2002. “Agency and archaeology: past, present, and future directions,” *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 9: 303–29.
- Dörner, F.K. 1963. “Vorbericht über eine Reise in Bithynien und im bithynisch-paphlagonischen Grenzgebiet 1962,” *AnzWien* 100:132-9, pl. 1.
- Dougherty, C. 1993. *The poetics of colonization; from city to text in archaic Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Draycott, C. 2007. “Dynastic definitions: differentiating status claims in the archaic pillar tomb reliefs of Lycia,” in *Anatolian Iron Ages 6; the proceedings of the sixth Anatolian Iron Ages colloquium, held at Eskişehir, 16-20 August 2004*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and A. Sagona. Leuven: Peeters, 103-34.
- Drews, R. 1976. “The earliest Greek settlements on the Black Sea,” *JHS* 96:18-31.
- Dreyfus, H.L., and P. Rabinow. 1983. *Michel Foucault; beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

- Duran, A., and E. Hamzaoğlu. 2002. "Flora of Kazankaya Canyon (Yozgat-Corum)," *Turkish Journal of Botany* 26:351-69.
- Durbin, G.E.S. 1971. "Iron Age pottery from the provinces of Tokat and Sivas," *AnatSt* 21:99-124.
- Düring, B.S. 2008. "The Early Holocene occupation of north-central Anatolia between 10,000 and 6,000 BC cal: investigating an archaeological terra incognita," *AnatSt* 58:15-46.
- Düring, B., and C. Glatz. 2009. "The Cide Archaeological Project," *Anatolian Archaeology* 15:15-6.
- Durugönül, S. 1992. "Zwei Grabstelen einer Familie aus Amisos (Samsun)," *EpigAnat* 19:61-70, pls. 13-17.
- . 1994a. "Grabstele eines "Adligen" aus Paphlagonien der dritten Satrapie," in *Forschungen in Galatien*, ed. E. Schwertheim. Bonn: Habelt, 1-14, pls. 1-3.
- . 1994b. "The sculpture of a lion in the Amasya Museum," *AnatSt* 44:149-152, pls. 31-32.
- . 1994c. "Zwei Grabdenkmäler aus der Umgebung von Amaseia," *IstMitt* 44:79-88, pls. 16-17.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 1997a. "Satrapal Sardis: aspects of empire in an Achaemenid capital," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan.
- . 1997b. "Imperial style and constructed identity: a "Graeco-Persian" cylinder seal from Sardis," *Ars Orientalis* 27:99-129.
- . 1999. "Satrapal Sardis: Achaemenid bowls in an Achaemenid capital," *AJA* 103:73-102.
- . 2003. *Aspects of empire in Achaemenid Sardis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eagleton, T. 2007. *Ideology; an introduction*, new ed. London: Verso.
- Earle, T.K. 1977. "A reappraisal of redistribution: complex Hawaiian chiefdoms," in *Exchange systems in prehistory*, ed. T.K. Earle and J.E. Ericson. New York: Academic Press, 213-29.
- . 1987. "Chiefdoms in archaeological and ethnohistorical perspective," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 16:279-308.



- . 1997. *How chiefs come to power; the political economy in prehistory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Ehrhardt, N. 1983. *Milet und seine Kolonien; vergleichende Untersuchung der kultischen und politischen Einrichtungen*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- . 1995. "Ktistai in den *Argonautika* des Apollonios Rhodios. Beobachtungen zur Entwicklung von Gründungstraditionen in Kyzikos, Kios, Herakleia Pontike und Sinope," in *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien III*, ed. E. Winter. Bonn: Habelt, 23-46.
- Eisenstadt, S.N. 1963. *The political systems of empires*. London: Free Press of Glencoe.
- Emre, K., and A. Çınaroğlu. 1993. "A group of metal Hittite vessels from Kınık-Kastamonu," in *Aspects of art and iconography; Anatolia and its neighbors (Nimet Özgüç'e armağan/studies in honor of Nimet Özgüç)*, ed. M.J. Mellink, E. Porada, and T. Özgüç. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 675-713, pls. 126-44, C-D.
- Erciyas, D.B. 2003. "Heracleia Pontica – Amastris," in *Ancient Greek colonies in the Black Sea*, vol. 2, ed. D.V. Grammenos and E.K. Petropoulos. Thessaloniki: Archaeological Institute of Northern Greece, 1403-31.
- . 2006a. "Hellenistik dönem'de Karadeniz: yerleşimler, anıtlar ve sikkeler ışığında Pontos Krallığı/The Black Sea region in the Hellenistic period: the Pontic Kingdom, its settlements, monuments and coins," in *Black Sea studies symposium proceedings/Karadeniz araştırmaları sempozyum bildirileri*, ed. D.B. Erciyas and E. Koparal. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 203-230.
- . 2006b. *Wealth, aristocracy and royal propaganda under the Hellenistic kingdom of the Mithradatids in the central Black Sea region in Turkey*. Leiden: Brill.
- Erdal, Y.S. 2004. "Kovuklukaya (Boyabat, Sinop) insanların sağlık yapısı ve yaşam biçimleriyle ilişkisi," *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 17:169-96.
- . 2008. "Occlusal grooves in anterior dentition among Kovuklukaya inhabitants (Sinop, northern Anatolia, 10th century AD)," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 18:152-66.
- Erimtan, C. 2008. "Hittites, Ottomans and Turks: Ağaoğlu Ahmed Bey and the Kemalist construction of Turkish nationhood in Anatolia," *AnatSt* 58:141-71.
- Ertem, H. 1980. *Hitit devletinin iki eyaleti; Pala – Tum(m)ana ile yakın çevresindeki yerlerin lokalizasyonu üzerine yeni denemeler*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi.
- Ertuğrul, Ö., and S. Atasoy. 1998. "1996 Amisos kazısı," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1997 19.2:523-30.

- Erzen, A. 1956. "Sinop kazısı 1953 yılı çalışmaları," *TürkArkDerg* 6.1:69-72, pls. 28-31.
- . 1978. *Çavuştepe, I; M.Ö. 7.-6. yüzyıl Urartu mimarlık anıtları ve ortaçağ nekropolü*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Escobar, A. 2008. *Territories of difference; place movement, life, redes*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Eser, E. 2006. "Boyabat Kalesi," *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 30.2:187-211.
- Espouy, H. d'. 1981. *Fragments from Greek and Roman architecture*. New York: Norton
- Fabian, J. 1983. *Time and the other; how anthropology makes its object*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Faraone, C.A. 1992. *Talismans and Trojan horses; guardian statues in ancient Greek myth and ritual*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Faroghi, S. 1984. *Towns and townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia; trade, crafts, and food production in an urban setting, 1520-1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fedak, J. 1990. *Monumental tombs of the Hellenistic age; a study of selected tombs from the Pre-Classical to the early Imperial era*. Toronto: University of Toronto.
- Fedoseev, N.F. 1999. "Classification des timbres astynomiques de Sinope," in *Production et commerce des amphores anciennes en Mer Noire; colloque international organisé à Istanbul, 25-28 mai 1994*, ed. Y. Garlan. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 27-48.
- Feinman, G., and J. Neitzel. 1984. "Too many types: an overview of sedentary prestate societies in the Americas," in *Advances in archaeological method and theory*, vol. 7, ed. M.B. Schiffer. New York: Academic Press, 39-102.
- Felten, W. 1990. "Herakles IV B: Herakles and the Nemean lion," *LIMC* V:16-34.
- Feugère, M. 2007. "Techniques, productions, consommations: le sens des objets," *Facta; a journal of Roman material culture Studies* 1:21-30.
- Flannery, K.V. 1983. "Theoretical framework," in *The cloud people; divergent evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec civilizations*, ed. K.V. Flannery and J. Marcus. New York: Academic Press, 1-9.
- Fleischer, R. 2009. "The rock-tombs of the Pontic kings in Amaseia (Amasya)," in *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*, ed. J.M. Højte. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 109-20.

- Flottwell, H. von. 1895. *Aus dem Stromgebiet des Qyzyl-Yrmaq (Halys)*. Ergänzungsheft 114 zu Petermanns Mitteilungen. Gotha: Justus Perthes.
- Flower, M.A. 1994. *Theopompus of Chios; history and rhetoric in the fourth century B.C.* Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon.
- Forlanini, M. 1977. "L'Anatolia nordoccidentale nell'impero eteo," *SMEA* 18:197-225.
- Foss, C. 2000. "Map 86 Paphlagonia," in *Barrington atlas of the Greek and Roman world; map-by-map directory*, vol. 2, ed. R.J.A. Talbert. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Fossey, J.M., and D. Kassab Tezgör. 1999. "Quelques inscriptions de Sinop," *Anatolia Antiqua* 7:167-78.
- Foucault, M. 1972. *The archaeology of knowledge*. trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books.
- . 1977. "Nietzsche, genealogy, history," in *Language, counter-memory, practice; selected essays and interviews*, ed. and trans. D.F. Bouchard and S. Simon. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 139-64.
- . 1978. *The history of sexuality*, vol. 1; *an introduction*. trans. R. Hurley. New York: Vintage Books.
- . 1980. *Power/knowledge; selected interviews and other writings, 1972—1977*, ed. C. Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books.
- . 1983. "The subject and power," in *Michel Foucault; beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., ed. H.L. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 208-26.
- . 1986. "Of other spaces," trans. J. Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16:22-7.
- . 1988. "The art of telling the truth," in *Politics, philosophy, culture; interviews and other writings, 1977-1984*. trans. A. Sheridan et al., ed. L.D. Kritzman. New York: Routledge, 86-95.
- . 1991a. "Governmentality," in *The Foucault effect; studies in governmentality with two lectures by and an interview with Michel Foucault*, ed. G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 87-104.
- . 1991b. "Questions of method," in *The Foucault effect; studies in governmentality with two lectures by and an interview with Michel Foucault*, ed. G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 73-86.

- . 1994. *The order of things; an archaeology of the human sciences*. New York: Vintage Books.
- . 1995. *Discipline and punish; the birth of the prison*. trans. A. Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books.
- [Fourcade, P.-T.] 1811. “Mémoire sur Pompeïopolis ou Tasch-Kouprou, avec quelques remarques sur Tovata ou Voyavat,” *Annales des voyages, de la géographie et de l’histoire* 14:30-58.
- Francovich, G. de. 1990. *Santuari e tombe rupestri dell’antica Frigia e un’indagine sulle tombe della Licia*. Roma: «L’Erma» di Bretschneider.
- Frankfort, H. 1996. *The art and architecture of the ancient orient*. Pelican history of art. New Haven: Yale University.
- French, D. 1981-1988. *Roman roads and milestones of Asia Minor*. Oxford, U.K.: BAR.
- . 1982. “Mycenaeans in the Black Sea?” *Thracia Pontica* 1:19-30.
- . 1985. “Roman roads and milestones in Anatolia 1982,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1983 1:87-8.
- . 1986a. “Roma yolları ve mil taşları,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1984 2:122-9.
- . 1986b. “Stephane,” *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 10:483-502.
- . 1988. “Küçük Asya Roma yolları ve miltaşları 1986,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1987 5.1:191-204.
- . 1989. “1987 yılı Roma yolları ve miltaşları çalışması,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1988 6:273-81.
- . 1990a. “Amasian notes,” *EpigAnat* 15:135-38, pl. 24.
- . 1990b. “Sinopean notes 1,” *EpigAnat* 16:45-64, pls. 4-10.
- . 1991a. “The Iron Age on the southern Black Sea coast,” *Thracia Pontica* 4:237-40.
- . 1991b. “Roman roads and milestones of Asia Minor,” *AnatSt* 41:7-11.
- . 1991c. “Sinopean notes 2,” *EpigAnat* 18:141-56, pls. 6-9.
- . 1992. “Sinopean notes 3,” *EpigAnat* 19: 45-60, pls. 10-12.

- . 1994a. "Sinopean notes 4; cults and divinities: the epigraphic evidence," *EpigAnat* 23: 99-108, pl. 9.
- . 1994b. "Sinopean notes 5; two Justinianic boundary-stones," *EpigAnat* 23: 109-12.
- . 1998. "Pre- and early-Roman roads of Asia Minor: the Persian royal road," *Iran* 36:15-43.
- . 2004. *The inscriptions of Sinope*. Bonn: Habelt.
- Fuhrmann, M. 2002. "Visions of Germany in Turkey: legitimizing German imperialist penetration of the Ottoman Empire." Paper presented at the contours of legitimacy in Central Europe conference, Oxford, May 24, 2002. [http://users.ox.ac.uk/~oaces/conference/papers/Malte\\_Fuhrmann.pdf](http://users.ox.ac.uk/~oaces/conference/papers/Malte_Fuhrmann.pdf) (accessed November 1, 2009).
- Gabriel, A. 1965. *Phrygie, exploration archéologique faite de publiée sous la direction de M. Albert Gabriel*, vol. 4; *la cité de Midas, architecture*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Gale, N.H., Z.A. Stos-Gale, and G.R. Gilmore. 1985. "Alloy types and copper sources of Anatolian copper alloy artifacts," *AnatSt* 35:143-73.
- Galestin, M.C. 1997. "Romans and Frisians: analysis of the strategy of the Roman army in its connections across the frontier," in *Roman frontier studies 1995; proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, ed. W. Groenman-van Waateringe et al. Oxford, U.K.: Oxbow, 347-53.
- Garlan, Y. 1990. "Remarques sur les timbres amphoriques de Sinope," *CRAI* 490-507.
- Garlan, Y., and D. Kassab Tezgör. 1996. "Prospection d'ateliers d'amphores et de ceramiques de Sinope," *Anatolia Antiqua* 4:325-34.
- Garlan, Y., and İ. Tatlıcan. 1997a. "1994 ve 1995 Yılları Zeytinlik (Sinop) amphora atölyeleri kazısı," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1996 18.2:337-51.
- . 1997b. "Fouilles d'ateliers amphoriques à Zeytinlik (Sinope) en 1994 et 1995," *Anatolia Antiqua* 5:307-16.
- . 1998. "Fouilles d'ateliers amphoriques à Nisiköy et à Zeytinlik (Sinop) en 1996 et 1997," *Anatolia Antiqua* 6:407-22.
- Geiger, J. 1985. *Cornelius Nepos and ancient political biography*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Gell, A. 1998. *Art and agency; an anthropological theory*. Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon.

- Gellner, E. 1964. *Thought and change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2006. *Nations and nationalism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell.
- Genç, E. 2004. “Kastamonu-Kınık’ta bir Tunç Çağı yerleşimi,” *I.-II. ulusal arkeolojik araştırmalar sempozyumu*, ed. Z. Çizmeli-Öğün, T. Sipahi, and L. Keskin. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Arkeoloji Bölümü, 39-60.
- . 2008. “Kastamonu-Kınık kazıları ve yerleşimin çevre kültür bölgeleri ile ilişkileri,” in *Aykut Çınaroğlu’na armağan/Studies in honour of Aykut Çınaroğlu*, ed. E. Genç and D. Çelik. Ankara: Ekici Form Ofset, 105-33.
- Genz, H. 2003. “The Early Iron Age in central Anatolia,” in *Identifying changes; the transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and its neighbouring regions; proceedings of the International Workshop, Istanbul, November 8-9, 2002*, ed. B. Fischer et al. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 179-91.
- . 2004a. *Büyükkaya*, vol. 1; *die Keramik der Eisenzeit, Funde aus den Grabungskampagnen 1993 bis 1998*. Boğazköy-Hattuša 21. Mainz: von Zabern.
- . 2004b. “Erste Ansätze zu einer Chronologie der frühen Eisenzeit in Zentralanatolien,” in *Die Außenwirkung des späthethitischen Kulturraumes; Gütertausch - Kulturkontakt - Kulturtransfer; Akten der zweiten Forschungstagung des Graduiertenkollegs “Anatolien und seine Nachbarn” der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen (20. bis 22. November 2003)*, ed. M. Novák, F. Prayon, and A.-M. Wittke. Münster: Ugarit, 219-36.
- . 2005. “Thoughts on the origin of the Iron Age pottery traditions in central Anatolia,” in *Anatolian Iron Ages 5; proceedings of the fifth Anatolian Iron Ages colloquium, held at Van, 6-10 August 2001*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and G. Darbyshire. London: British Institute at Ankara, 75-84.
- Gerhard, E. 2004. “Archaeological theses,” trans. M. Tiews and N. Rokem, *Modernism/modernity* 11:173-7.
- Gezgin, İ. 2001. “Defensive systems in Aiolis and Ionia regions in the Achaemenid period,” in *Achaemenid Anatolia; proceedings of the first international symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid period, Bandırma, 15-18 August 1997*, ed. T. Bakır et al. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 181-8.
- Giddens, A. 1979. *Central problems in social theory; action, structure and contradiction in social analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1993. *New rules of sociological method; a positive critique of interpretative sociologies*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press

- Given, M. 2004. *The archaeology of the colonized*. New York: Routledge.
- Glatz, C., and R. Matthews. 2005. "Anthropology of a frontier zone: Hittite-Kaska relations in Late Bronze Age north-central Anatolia," *BASOR* 339:47-65.
- Glendinning, M. 2005. "A decorated roof at Gordion: what tiles are revealing about the Phrygian past," in *The archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians; recent work at Gordion*, ed. L. Kealhofer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 82-100, pl. 3.
- Gürsan-Salzman. 2005. "Ethnographic lessons for past agro-pastoral systems in the Sakarya-Porsuk Valleys," in *The archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians; recent work at Gordion*, ed. L. Kealhofer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 172-89.
- Gökoğlu, A. 1945. "Paflagonya'da Ambarkaya mezarı," *Arkitekt* 3rd series:223-4.
- . 1946. "Paflagonya'da Kale Kapı kaya mezarı," *Arkitekt* 4th series 15:82-6.
- . 1952. *Paphlagonia (Paflagonya); gayri menkul eski eserleri ve arkeolojisi*. Kastamonu: Doğrusöz.
- Goody, J. 2006. *The theft of history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gordon, E. I. 1967. "The meaning of the ideogram <sup>d</sup>KASKAL.KUR = "underground water-course" and its significance for Bronze Age historical geography," *JCS* 21:70-88.
- Gorny, R.L. 1996. "Viticulture and ancient Anatolia" in *The origins and ancient history of wine*, ed. P. McGovern, S.J. Fleming, and S.H. Katz. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 133-74.
- . 1997. "Zippalanda and Ankuwa: the geography of central Anatolia in the second millennium B.C.," review of *Zippalanda; ein Kultzentrum im hethitischen Kleinasien*, by M. Popko. *JAOS* 117:549-57.
- Graf, D.F. 1994. review of *The so-called "great satraps' revolt", 366-360 B.C.; concerning local instability in the Achaemenid far west*, by M.N. Weiskopf. *JAOS* 114:99-101.
- Grammenos, D.V., and E.K. Petropoulos, eds. 2003. *Ancient Greek colonies in the Black Sea*. Thessaloniki: Archaeological Institute of Northern Greece.
- . 2007. *Ancient Greek colonies in the Black Sea 2*. Oxford, U.K.: BAR.
- Gramsci, A. 2000. *The Gramsci reader; selected writings, 1916-1935*, ed. D. Forgacs. New York: New York University Press.

- Gray, V.J. 1981. "Dialogue in Xenophon's *Hellenica*," *CQ*, n.s., 31:321-34.
- . 1989. *The character of Xenophon's "Hellenica."* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Green, A. 1983. "Neo-Assyrian apotropaic figures: figurines, rituals and monumental art, with special reference to the figurines from the excavations of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq at Nimrud," *Iraq* 45:87–96, pls. 9-15.
- Groden, M., M. Kreiswirth, and I. Szeman, eds. 2005. *The Johns Hopkins guide to literary theory and criticism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Gropp, G. 2001. "Sassen die Skudra wirklich in Thrakien? Ein Problem der Satrapienverteilung in Kleinasien," in *Achaemenid Anatolia; proceedings of the first international symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid period, Bandırma, 15-18 August 1997*, ed. T. Bakır et al. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 37-42.
- Grose, D.F. 1989. *The Toledo Museum of Art early ancient glass; core-formed, rod-formed, and cast vessels and objects from the Late Bronze Age to the early Roman Empire, 1600 B.C. to A.D. 50*. New York: Hudson Hills Press.
- Gufler, B. 2002. "Orientalische Wurzeln griechischer Gorgo-Darstellungen," in *Grenzüberschreitungen; Formen des Kontakts zwischen Orient und Okzident im Altertum*, ed. M. Schuol, U. Hartmann, and A. Luther. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 61-81, pls. 5-10.
- Guillemin, A.-M. 1923. *Cornélius Népos; œuvres*. Paris: Les Belles lettres.
- Gurney, O.R. 1977. *Some aspects of Hittite religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1995. "The Hittite names of Kerkenes Dağ and Kuşaklı Höyük," *AnatSt* 45:69-71.
- Gürsan-Salzman. 2005. "Ethnographic lessons for past agro-pastoral systems in the Sakarya-Porsuk Valleys," in *The archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians; recent work at Gordion*, ed. L. Kealhofer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 172-89.
- Güterbock, H.G. 1960. "An outline of the Hittite AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival," *JNES* 19:80-9.
- Haas, V. 1994. *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*. Leiden: Brill.
- Hakyemez, H.Y., and İ. Papak. 2002. *Türkiye jeoloji haritası/Geological map of Turkey; Samsun (1:500,000)*. Ankara. Maden Tetkik ve Arama Genel Müdürlüğü.



- Hall, A.S. 1986. "R.E.C.A.M. notes and studies no. 9: the Milyadeis and their territory," *AnatSt* 36:137-57.
- Hamdy Bey, O., and T. Reinach. 1892. *Une nécropole royale a Sidon*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Hamilakis, Y. 1999. "La trahison des archéologues? Archaeological practice as intellectual activity in postmodernity," *JMA* 12:60-79.
- . 2002. "What future for the 'Minoan' past? Rethinking Minoan archaeology," in *Labyrinth revisited; rethinking 'Minoan' archaeology*, ed. Y. Hamilakis. Oxford, U.K.: Oxbow, 2-28.
- . 2007. *The nation and its ruins; antiquity, archaeology, and national imagination in Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hamilton, W.J. 1842. *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia with some account of their antiquities and geology*. London: J. Murray.
- Hannestad, L. 2007. "Timber as a trade resource of the Black Sea," in *The Black Sea in antiquity; regional and interregional economic exchanges*, ed. V. Gabrielsen and J. Lund. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 85-100.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1958. "Lydiaka," *HSCP* 63:65-88.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A., W.E. Mierse, and C. Foss, eds. 1983. *Sardis from prehistoric to Roman times; results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, 1958-1975*. Harvard University Press.
- Hansen, O. 1997a. "DINGIR.KASKAL.KUR., the Huwasi-Stone, and Carian Gerga," *Hermes* 125:231-2.
- . 1997b. "The Gyges legend and the <sup>d</sup>KASKAL.KUR. = underground water course," *Hermes* 125:506-7.
- Harden, D.B. 1981. *Catalogue of Greek and Roman glass in the British Museum*, vol. 1; *core- and rod-formed vessels and pendants and Mycenaean cast objects*. London: British Museum Publications.
- Hardt, M., and A. Negri. 2000. *Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Harmanşah, Ö. 2007. "Source of the Tigris: event, place and performance in the Assyrian landscapes of the Early Iron Age," *Archaeological Dialogues* 14:179-204.
- Harris, S. 1992. "U.E.A. speleological expedition, Turkey 1992." Unpublished report, University of East Anglia Fell and Cave Club, Norwich.
- . 1993. "FACC in Turkish delight," *Caves and caving* 62:24-7.

- Harrison, C.M. 1982. "Persian names on coins of northern Anatolia," *JNES* 41:181-94.
- Harrison, R.P. 1992. *Forests; the shadow of civilization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2003. *The dominion of the dead*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Haspels, C.H.E. 1971. *The highlands of Phrygia; sites and monuments*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Hauser, S.R. 2004. "German research on the Ancient Near East and its relation to political and economic interests from Kaiserreich to World War II," in *Germany and the Middle East, 1871–1945*, ed. W.G. Schwanitz. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 155-79.
- . 2005. "History, races, and orientalism: Eduard Meyer, the organization of oriental research, and Ernst Herzfeld's intellectual heritage," in *Ernst Herzfeld and the development of Near Eastern studies, 1900-1950*, ed. A.C. Gunter and S.R. Hauser. Leiden: Brill, 505-59.
- Hawkins, J.D. 1995. *The hieroglyphic inscription of the sacred pool complex at Hattusa (Südburg)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2000. *Corpus of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, vol. 1; inscriptions of the Iron Age*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Hawkins, S. 1996. "Disguising chiefs and god as history: questions on the acephalousness of LoDagaa politics and religion," *Africa* [Journal of the International African Institute] 66:202-47.
- . 2002. *Writing and colonialism in northern Ghana; the encounter between the LoDagaa and "the World on Paper"*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Hayden, B. 2001. "Richman, poorman, beggarman, chief: the dynamics of social inequality," in *Archaeology at the millennium; a sourcebook*, ed. G.M. Feinman and T.D. Price. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 231-72.
- Heidenreich, R. 1973. "Nachtrag zu den 'Treppentunneln,'" *AA* 1973:269-72
- Henkelman, W.F.M. 2003. "An Elamite memorial: the *šumar* of Cambyses and Hystaspes," in *A Persian perspective; essays in memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*, ed. W. Henkelman and A. Kuhrt. Achaemenid history, vol. 13. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 101-72.
- . 2006. "The birth of Gilgameš (Ael. NA XII.21). A case-study in literary receptivity," in *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum; die antike Welt diesseits und*

*jenseits der Levante; Festschrift für Peter W. Haider zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. R. Rollinger and B. Truschnegg. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 807-56.

- Henkelman, W.F.M., and M.W. Stolper. 2009. "Ethnic identity and ethnic labelling at Persepolis: the case of the Skudrians," in *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'empire achéménide*, ed. P. Briant and M. Chauveau. Paris: De Boccard, 271-329.
- Henrickson, R.C. 1993. "Politics, economics, and ceramic continuity at Gordion in the late second and first millennia B.C." in *Social and cultural change; contexts of new ceramic technologies*, ed. W.D. Kingery. Westerville, Ohio: American Ceramic Society, 89-176.
- . 1994. "Continuity and discontinuity in the ceramic tradition of Gordion during the Iron Age," in *Anatolian Iron Ages 3; the proceedings of the Third Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium held at Van, 6-12 August 1990*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and D.H. French. Ankara: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 95-129.
- Henrickson, R.C., and M.M. Voigt. 1998. "The Early Iron Age at Gordion: the evidence from the Yassihöyük stratigraphic sequence," in *Thracians and Phrygians; problems of parallelism; proceedings of an international symposium on the archaeology, history and ancient languages of Thrace and Phrygia, Ankara, 3-4 June 1995*, ed. N. Tuna, Z. Aktüre, and M. Lynch. Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 79-106.
- Hiebert, F., et al. 1997. "Survey of the hinterland of Sinop, Turkey," *AJA* 101:377.
- . 1998. "From mountain top to ocean bottom: a comprehensive approach to archaeological research," in *Ocean pulse*; 177-84
- Hill, S.J. 1990. "Preliminary survey at Amasra, Zonguldak," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1989 7:81-91.
- . 1991. "Survey work at Amasra, 1989," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1990 8:311-21.
- . 1995. "The first season of rescue excavation at Çiftlik (Sinop)," *AnatSt* 45:219-31.
- . 1998. "Rescue excavations at Çiftlik (Sinop)," in *Ancient Anatolia; fifty years' work by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara*, ed. R. Matthews. Ankara: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 285-300, pls. 43-4.
- Hill, S.J., and J. Crow. 1992. "Amasra yüzey araştırması Ağustos 1990," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1991 9:83-92.

- . 1993. “1991 yılı Amasra yüzey araştırması,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1992 10:19-25.
- Hind, J. 1995/96. “Traders and ports-of-trade (*emporoi* and *emporía*) in the Black sea in antiquity,” *Il Mar Nero* 2:113-26.
- Hirao, Y., and J. Enomoto. 1993. “Chemical study of copper objects excavated by the fifth (1990) excavation expedition of Kaman-Kalekhöyük (in Japanese),” *Anatolian Archaeological Studies* 2:33-59.
- Hirao, Y., et al. 1992. “Lead isotope ratio of copper objects excavated from Kaman-Kalekhöyük (in Japanese),” *Anatolian Archaeological Studies* 1:165-86.
- Hirao, Y., J. Enomoto, and H. Tachikawa. 1995. “Lead isotope ratios of copper, zinc and lead minerals in Turkey – in relation to the provenance study of artifacts,” in *Essays on Anatolian archaeology and its surrounding civilizations*, ed. H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 89-114.
- Hirschfeld, G. 1880. “Wandelungen und Wanderungen in Kleinasien,” *Deutsche Rundschau* 25:406-22.
- . 1882. “Bericht über die Ergebnisse einer Bereisung Paphlagoniens,” *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1882:1089-92.
- . 1883. “Notes of travel in Paphlagonia and Galatia,” *JHS* 4:275-80.
- . 1885. *Paphlagonische Felsengräber; ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte Kleinasiens*. Berlin: Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- . 1887a. *Die Felsenreliefs in Kleinasien und das Volk der Hittiter; zweiter Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte Kleinasiens*. Berlin: Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- . 1887b. review of *Dorische Polychromie*, by L. Fenger. *AJA* 3:119-23.
- . 1897. *Aus dem Orient*. Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur.
- Hobsbawm, E. 1992. “Introduction: inventing traditions,” in *The invention of tradition*, ed. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-14.
- Hodder, I. 1999. *The archaeological process; an introduction*. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell.
- Hodder, I., and S. Hutson. 2003. *Reading the past; current approaches to interpretation in archaeology*, 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hoepfner, W. 1966. *Herakleia Pontike-Ereğli; eine Baugeschichtliche Untersuchung*. Wien: Böhlau.
- . 1971. "Ein Kammergrab im bithynisch-paphlagonischen Grenzgebiet," *AM* 86:125-39, pls. 63-68, suppl. 6.
- Hogarth, D.G. 1914. *Carchemish; report on the excavations at Jerablus on behalf of the British Museum*, vol. 1; introductory. London: Trustees of the British Museum.
- Højte, J.M. 2009. "The death and burial of Mithridates VI," in *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*, ed. J.M. Højte. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 121-30.
- Hölscher, F. 1972. *Die Bedeutung archaischer Tierkampfgruppen*. Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch.
- Holtzmann, B. 1979. "Des mines d'or à Thasos?" in *Thasiaca*. Paris: De Boccard, 345-9.
- Horden, P., and N. Purcell. 2000. *The corrupting sea: a study of Mediterranean history*. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell.
- Hornblower, S. 1982. *Mausolus*. Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon.
- Hout, T.P.J. van den. 2004. "Pala, Palaer, Palaisch," *RLA* 10:191-2.
- Hunter, R.L. 1996. "Apollonius Rhodius," *OCD* 124-26.
- Hutter, M. 2006. "Die Kontinuität de palaischen Sonnengottes Tiyaş in Phrygien," in *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum; die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante; Festschrift für Peter W. Haider zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. R. Rollinger and B. Truschnegg. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 81-8.
- Huttner, U. 1997. *Die politische Rolle der Heraklesgestalt im griechischen Herrschertum*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Hvattum, M. 2004. *Gottfried Semper and the problem of historicism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ingold, T. 1993. "The temporality of the landscape," *WorldArch* 25:152-74.
- . 2007. *Lines; a brief history*. New York: Routledge.
- Işık, F. 1987a. "Eine unbekannte urartäische Burg und Beobachtungen zu den Felsdenkmälern eines schöpferischen Bergvolks Ostanatoliens," *Bellethen* 5:497-533, pls.
- . 1987b. "Zur Entstehung phrygischer Felsdenkmäler," *AnatSt* 37:163-78, pls. 26-36.

- . 1995. *Die offenen Felsheiligtümer Urartus und ihre Beziehungen zu denen der Hethiter und Phryger*. Roma: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale.
- . 2003. "Die Vergöttlichung der phrygischen Dynasten im Lichte ihrer Gräber," *IstMitt* 53:197-222.
- Işın, M.A. 1990. "Sinop bölgesi yüzey araştırması," in *İkinci tarih boyunca Karadeniz kongresi bildirileri*, ed. M. Sağlam et al. Samsun: T.C. Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi, 241-76.
- . 1991. "Kocagöz höyük'te bulunan tek kulplu kupalar," *TürkArkDerg* 29:177-91.
- . 1998. "Sinop region field survey," *Anatolia Antiqua* 6:95-139.
- Ivantchik, A.I. 1997. "Das Problem der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit der Kimmerier und die kimmerische archäologische Kultur," *PZ* 72:12-53.
- . 1998. "Die Gründung von Sinope und die Probleme der Anfangsphase der griechischen Kolonisation des Schwarzmeergebietes," in *The Greek colonisation of the Black Sea area*, ed. G.R. Tsetskhladze. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 297-330.
- Jacobs, B. 1987. *Griechische und persische Elemente in der Grabkunst Lykiens zur Zeit der Achämenidenherrschaft*. Jönsered: Paul Åström.
- . 1994. *Die Satrapienverwaltung im Perserreich zur Zeit Darius' III*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert.
- . 2003a. "Die altpersischen Länder-Listen und Herodots sogenannte Satrapienliste (Historien III 89-94): eine Gegenüberstellung und ein Überblick über die jüngere Forschung," in *Altertumswissenschaften im Dialog; Festschrift für Wolfram Nagel zur Vollendung seines 80. Lebensjahres*, ed. R. Dittmann, C. Eder, and B. Jacobs. Münster: Ugarit, 301-43.
- . 2003b. "Mechanismen der Konfliktbewältigung in der Verwaltungsorganisation Kleinasien zur Achämenidenzeit," in *A Persian perspective; essays in memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*, ed. W. Henkelman and A. Kuhrt. Achaemenid history, vol. 13. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 239-63.
- Jacopi, G. 1937. "Missione archeologica italiana in Anatolia relazione sulla prima campagna esplorativa," *Bollettino del Reale Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 7:3-26, pls. 1-30.
- . 1938. "Esplorazioni e studi in Paflagonia e Cappadocia," *Bollettino del Reale Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 8:3-43, pls. 1-38.
- Jamzadeh, P. 1982. "The winged ring with human bust in Achaemenid art as a dynastic symbol," *IrAnt* 17:91-9, pls. 1-2.

- . 1995. "Darius' thrones: temporal and eternal," *IrAnt* 30:1-21.
- . 1996. "The Achaemenid throne-leg design," *IrAnt* 31:101-46.
- Jenkins, I. 1992. *Archaeologists & aesthetes in the sculpture galleries of the British Museum 1800-1939*. London: British Museum Press.
- Jenkins, J. 2007. "Heimat art, modernism, modernity," in *Localism, landscape, and the ambiguities of place; German-speaking Central Europe, 1860-1930*, ed. D. Blackbourn and J. Retallack. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 60-75.
- Jerphanion, G. de. 1928. *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne; monuments préhelléniques, gréco-romains, byzantins et musulmans de Pont, de Cappadoce et de Galatie*. Beyrouth: Imprimerie catholique.
- Joffe, A.H. 2006. "The rise of secondary states in the Iron Age Levant: archaeological and historical considerations," in *Excavating Asian history; interdisciplinary studies in archaeology and history*, ed. N. Yoffee and B.L. Crowell. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 67-112.
- Johnson, M. 2007. *Ideas of landscape*. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell.
- Johnson, P. forthcoming. "Topographies of urbanization: survey in and around Pompeiopolis in 2009," in *Proceedings of the Pompeiopolis – die Metropolis Paphlagoniens; Formen römischer Urbanisierungsprozesse in Nordanatolien*, Kolloquium, Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, November 13-14, Munich, Germany.
- Jones, A.H.M. 1971. *The cities of the eastern Roman provinces*, rev. ed. Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon.
- Jones, C.P. 1988. "A monument from Sinope," *JHS* 108:193-94, pl. 6a.
- Jones, D.S. 2003, October. "Virgin soils revisited," *William and Mary Quarterly* 40 (2003). <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals.html> (21 November 2007).
- . 2004. *Rationalizing epidemics; meanings and uses of American Indian mortality since 1600*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Jones, S. 1997. *The archaeology of ethnicity; constructing identities in the past and present*. New York: Routledge.
- Kafadar, C. 2007. "A Rome of one's own: reflections on cultural geography and identity in the lands of Rum," *Muqarnas* 24:7-25.
- Kahl, G. 1995. "Pontica I," *Orbis Terrarum* 1:109-119.

- Kähler, H. 1949. *Das griechische Metopenbild*. München: Münchner.
- Kannenber, K. 1894. "Ein Forschungsritt durch das Stromgebiet des unteren Kisil Irmak (Halys)," *Globus illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 65:185-91.
- . 1895a. "Die "paphlagonischen" Felsengräber," *Globus illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 67:101-7, 120-5.
- . 1895b. "Besuch in einem anatolischen Dorfe," *Globus illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 68:57-64.
- . 1897. *Klein-Asiens Naturschätze; seine wichtigsten Tiere, Kulturpflanzen und Mineralschätze vom wirtschaftlichen und Kulturgesichtlichen Standpunkt*. Berlin: Gebrüder Borntraeger.
- Karagöz, Ş. 2007. "Neue Ansichten zu einem freistehenden Grabbau aus Daskyleion," in *The Achaemenid impact on local populations and cultures in Anatolia (sixth-fourth centuries B.C.); papers presented at the international workshop, Istanbul 20-21 May 2005*, ed. İ. Delemen. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology, 195-214.
- Karasalıhoğlu, M. 2005. "Kastamonu kent merkezinde yer alan dinsel kaya mimarisi üzerine bir inceleme," in *İkinci Kastamonu kültür sempozyumu bildirileri, 18-20 Eylül 2003*, ed. A.A. Yetim et al. Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Basımevi, 125-48.
- Karağuz, G. 2006. "2004 yılı Devrek (Zonguldak) yüzey araştırması," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2005* 23.1:69-82.
- . 2007. "2005 yılı Devrek-Gökçebey (Tefen) yüzey araştırması," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2006* 24.1:327-40.
- . 2008a. "Karadeniz Ereğlisi ve Amasra Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan bazı eserler hakkında," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2007* 25.1:55-64.
- . 2008b. "Zonguldak İli ve İlçeleri yüzey araştırması 2006," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2007* 25.1:43-54.
- . 2009. "Çaycuma, Gökçebey (Tefen) ve Devrek İlçeleri yüzey araştırması, 2007," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2008* 26.1:105-16.
- Karağuz, G., and H.İ. Kunt. 2006. "İvriz kaya anıtları ve çevresi üzerine bir araştırma," *Arkeoloji ve Sanat Dergisi/Journal of Archaeology and Art* 122:23-50.
- Kasper, S. 1976/77. "Der Tumulus von Belevi," *ÖJh* 51:127-80, pls.1-4.



- Kassab Tezgör, D. 1995. "Sinop'ta seramik ve anfora atölyelerinin incelenmesi," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1994 12:177-90.
- . 1996a. "Fouilles des ateliers d'amphores à Demirci près de Sinope en 1994 et 1995," *Anatolia Antiqua* 4:335-54.
- . 1996b. "Sinop-Demirci anfora atölyelerinin kazısı," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1995 17.2:277-91.
- . 1998. "Prospection sous-marine près de la côte sinopéenne: transport d'amphores depuis l'atelier et navigation en mer Noire," *Anatolia Antiqua* 6:443-49.
- Kassab Tezgör, D., and F. Dereli. 2001. "Rapport de la fouille de Demirci-Sinop, 2000," *Anatolia Antiqua* 9:215-25.
- . 2002. "Sinop-Demirci amphora atölyeleri 2000 kazısı," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 2001 23.2:235-42.
- Kassab Tezgör, D., and İ. Tatlıcan. 1997. "Sinop-Demirci anfora atölyelerinin 1995 kazısı," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1996 18.2:353-65.
- . 1998. "Fouilles des ateliers d'amphores à Demirci près Sinop en 1996 et 1997," *Anatolia Antiqua* 6:423-42.
- . 2000. "Sinop-Demirci malzemesi 1998 yılı araştırma dönemi," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1999 21.2:315-22.
- Kassab Tezgör, D., and M. Akkaya. 2000. "Les amphores "Pseudo-Colchidiennes" du musée de Samsun," *Anatolia Antiqua* 8:127-41.
- Kassel, R., and C. Austin, eds. 2001. *Poetae comici Graeci*, vol. 1; *Comoedia Dorica, Mimi, Phlyaces*. Berlin: de Gruyter
- Kassian, A., A. Korolëv, and A. Sidel'tsev. 2002. *Hittite funerary ritual "šalliš waštaiš."* Münster: Ugarit.
- Kassianidou, V., and A.B. Knapp. 2005. "Archaeometallurgy in the Mediterranean: the social context of mining, technology, and trade," in *The archaeology of Mediterranean prehistory*, ed. E. Blake and A.B. Knapp. Oxford: Blackwell, 215-51.
- Kaymakçı, N. 2000. *Tectono-stratigraphical evolution of the Çankırı Basin (Central Anatolia, Turkey)*. Utrecht: Geologica Ultraiectina.

- Kaymakçı, N., S.H. White, and P.M. Vandijk. 2003. "Kinematic and structural development of the Çankiri Basin (central Anatolia, Turkey): a paleostress inversion study," *Tectonophysics* 364:85-113.
- Kaygusuz, İ. 1983a. "Kimistene'den yazıtlar," *TürkArkDerg* 26.2:111-46.
- . 1983b. "Zwei neue Inschriften aus Ilgaz (Olgassys) und Kimiatene," *EpigAnat* 1:59-61, pl. 3.
- . 1984a. "Funerary epigram of Karzene (Paphlagonia): A girl raped by the Goths?" *EpigAnat* 4:61-62, pl. 7.
- . 1984b. "Ilgaz (Olgassys)dan iki yazıt ve Kimiatene," *Belleten* 47:47-66, pls.1-8.
- . 1984c. "Inscriptions of Karzene (Paphlagonia)," *EpigAnat* 4:63-68, pls. 8-10.
- . 1984d. "Inscriptions of Kimistene (Paphlagonia)," *EpigAnat* 4:69-72.
- Kealhofer, L. 2005. "Recent work at Gordion," in *The archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians; recent work at Gordion*, ed. L. Kealhofer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1-8.
- Keçer, M, et al. 2001. "Kastamonu Merkez İlçesi ve kentleşme alanlarının yerbilim verileri," unpublished report, Maden Tetkik ve Arama Genel Müdürlüğü, Jeoloji Etüdları Dairesi, derleme no. 10454, Ankara.
- Keen, A.G. 1992. "The dynastic tombs of Xanthos—who was buried where?" *AnatSt* 42:53-63.
- . 1998. *Dynastic Lycia; a political history of the Lycians and their relations with foreign powers, c. 545-362 B.C.* Leiden: Brill.
- . 2000. "The 'kings' of Lycia in the Achaemenid period," in *Alternatives to Athens; varieties of political organization and community in ancient Greece*, ed. R. Brock and S. Hodkinson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 269-79.
- Keleş, V. 2006. "Sikkeler ışığında Sinope'de Pers etkisi/Persian influence at Sinope based on the evidence of coins," in *Black Sea studies symposium proceedings/Karadeniz araştırmaları sempozyum bildirileri*, ed. D.B. Erciyas and E. Koparal. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 99-117.
- Kelp, U. 2008. "Das Phänomen der Türfassaden in Phrygien. Zu lokalen Identitäten anhand einiger Grabtypen römischer Zeit," in *Neue Funde und Forschungen in Phrygien*, ed. E. Schwertheim and E. Winter. Bonn: Habelt, 69-91, pls. 29-31.
- Kent, R.G. 1945. "Old Persian texts VI. Darius' Naqš-i-Rustam B inscription," *JNES* 4:39-52.

- . 1953. *Old Persian; grammar, texts, lexicon*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- Kinneir, J.M. 1818. *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan, in the years 1813 and 1814; with remarks on the marches of Alexander, and retreat of the ten thousand*. London: John Murray.
- Kirk, G.S. 1985. *The Iliad; a commentary, vol. 1; books 1-4*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- . 1990. *The Iliad; a commentary, vol. 2; books 5-8*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Kızıltan, Z. 1992. "Samsun bölgesi yüzey araştırmaları 1971-1977," *Belleten* 56:213-41.
- Kjeldsen, K., and J. Zahle. 1975. "Lykische Gräber: ein vorläufiger Bericht," *AA* 1975:312-350.
- Kleiss, W., and P. Calmeyer. 1975. "Das unvollendete achaemenidische Felsgrab bei Persepolis," *AMIran* 8:81-98, pls. 14-24.
- Klinkott, H. 2000. *Die Satrapienregister der Alexander- und Diadochenzeit*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- . 2005. *Der Satrap; ein achaimenidischer Amtsträger und seine Handlungsspielräume*. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Antike.
- Knapp, A.B. 1999. "The archaeology of mining: fieldwork perspectives from the Sydney Cyprus survey project (SCSP)," in *Metals in antiquity*, ed. S.M.M. Young et al. Oxford, U.K.: BAR, 98-109.
- Knapp, A.B., and W. Ashmore. 1999. "Archaeological landscapes: constructed, conceptualized, ideational," in *Archaeologies of landscape; contemporary perspectives*, ed. W. Ashmore and A.B. Knapp. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 1-30.
- Kohl, P.L., and G.R. Tsetschladze. 1994. "Nationalism, politics, and the practice of archaeology in the Caucasus," in *Nationalism, politics, and the practice of archaeology*, ed. P.L. Kohl and C. Fawcett. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 149-74.
- Koçak, Ö. 2006. "Eskiçağ'da orta Karadeniz bölümü madenciligi/Mining at the central Black Sea region in the ancient period," in *Black Sea studies symposium proceedings/Karadeniz araştırmaları sempozyum bildirileri*, ed. D.B. Erciyas and E. Koparal. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 1-61.
- Kökten, K., N. Özgüç, and T. Özgüç. 1945. "Türk Tarih Kurumu adına yapılan Samsun bölgesi kazıları hakkında ilk kısa rapor," *Belleten* 9:361-400, pls. 63-74.

- Koşay, H.Z. 1941. *Pazarlı hafriyatı raporu/Les fouilles de Pazarlı*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Köy Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü. 1993. *Kastamonu İli arazi varlığı*. Ankara: Köy Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları.
- Kryzhytskyy, S.D. 1998. "Five-pillar temples in the northern Black Sea territory," *Археология/Arkheolohiia* 4:89-96.
- Kryžickij, S.D., and N.A. Lejpuskaja. 2010. "Building remains and accompanying finds, 6<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC," in *The lower city of Olbia (sector NGS) in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD*, ed. N.A. Lejpuskaja et al. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 27-102, pls. 1-48.
- Kuhrt, A. 1989. "Conclusions," in *Le tribut dans l'empire perse; actes de la table ronde de Paris, 12-13 décembre 1986*, ed. P. Briant and C. Herrenschildt. Paris: Peeters, 217-22.
- . 2007a. "Cyrus the Great of Persia: images and realities," in *Representations of political power; case histories from times of change and dissolving order in the ancient Near East*, ed. M. Heinz and M. Feldman. H. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 169-91.
- . 2007b. *The Persian Empire; a corpus of sources from the Achaemenid period*. New York: Routledge.
- Kunest, U. 2009. Ergebnisse der Surveys in Taşköprü und Araç. Paper presented at the Pompeiopolis – die Metropolis Paphlagoniens; Formen römischer Urbanisierungsprozesse in Nordanatolien, Kolloquium, Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, November 13-14, Munich, Germany.
- Künzl, E. 1968. *Frühhellenistische Gruppen*. Köln: W. Kleikamp.
- Kuznetsov, V.D. 1999. "Early types of Greek dwelling houses in the north Black Sea," in *Ancient Greeks west and east*, ed. G.R. Tsetschladze. Leiden: Brill, 1999, 531-64.
- Kuzucuoglu, C., and A. Andrieu. 1998. "Les ateliers de Demirci (Sinop). Approche géomorphologique du site et premiers éléments de réponses analytiques," *Anatolia Antiqua* 6:451-56.
- Kuzucuoglu, C., and N. Roberts. 1997. "Évolution de l'environnement en Anatolie de 20000 à 6000 BP," *Paléorient* 23.2:7-24.
- Kuzucuoglu, C., et al. 1997. "Prospection archéologique franco-turque dans la région de Kastamonu (Mer Noire). Deuxième rapport préliminaire," *Anatolia Antiqua* 5:275-306.

- Laflı, E. n.d. "Field surveys at Kimistene," *The Paphlagonia Project* [http://web.deu.edu.tr/paphlagonia/text\\_03.html](http://web.deu.edu.tr/paphlagonia/text_03.html) (accessed July 6, 2010).
- . 2007. "A Roman rock-cut cult niche at Paphlagonian Hadrianoupolis," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 2006 24.2:43-66.
- . 2009. "Hadrianopolis-Eskipazar Paphlagonia Hadrianoupolis'i arkeolojik kazıları," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 2008 30.3:399-410.
- Laird, A.G. 1921. "The Persian army and tribute lists in Herodotus," *CP* 16:305-26.
- Lambert, W.G. 1987. "Gilgamesh in literature and art: the second and first millennia," in *Monsters and demons in the ancient and medieval worlds; papers presented in honor of Edith Porada*, ed. A.E. Farkas, P.O. Harper, and E.B. Harrison. Mainz: von Zabern, 37-52, pls. 7-11.
- Laroche-Traunecker, F. 1993. "Les édifices d'époque archaïque et gréco-perse de Meydancikkale (Gülnar)," in *Les grands ateliers d'architecture dans le monde égéen du VIe siècle av. J.-C.*, ed. J. des Courtils and J.-C. Moretti. Istanbul: Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes d'Istanbul, 13-28, pls. 2-4.
- Lasserre, F. 1978. "Strabon 12,3,14: deux mots inédits sur l'histoire d'Amisos," *MusHelv* 35:212-20.
- Lauer, M., and S. Aswani. 2009. "Indigenous ecological knowledge as situated practices: understanding fishers' knowledge in the Western Solomon Islands," *American Anthropologist* 111:317-29.
- Lauffer, S. 1979. *Die Bergwerkssklaven von Laureion*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Leaf, W. 1916. "The commerce of Sinope," *JHS* 36:1-15.
- Lecoq, P. 1997. *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide; traduit du vieux perse, de l'élamite, du babylonien et de l'araméen*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Lehnerdt, M. 1899. "Gustav Hirschfeld," *Biographisches Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde* 1899:65-90.
- Lenfant, D. 1999. "Peut-on se fier aux «fragments» d'historiens? L'exemple des citations d'Hérodote," in *Ktèma; civilisations de l'orient, de la Grèce et de Rome antiques* 24:103-21.
- Leonhard, R. 1902. "Die Paphlagonischen Felsengräber und ihre Beziehung zum griechischen Tempel," *Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Cultur IV. Abtheilung Philologische-archäologische Section* 84.4.a:1-28.

- . 1905. “Neue Funde aus dem nördlichen Kleinasien,” *AA* 1905:149-50.
- . 1906. “Paphlagonische Denkmäler,” *Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Cultur IV. Abtheilung Philologische-archäologische Section* 80.4.a:1-40.
- . 1915. *Paphlagonia; Reisen und Forschungen im nörlichen Kleinasien*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Leren, B.L.S., et al. 2007. “Late Cretaceous to early Eocene sedimentation in the Sinop-Boyabat Basin, north-central Turkey: a deep water turbiditic system evolving into littoral carbonate platform,” in *Sedimentary processes, environments and basins; a tribute to Peter Friend*, ed. G. Nichols, E. Williams, and C. Paola. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 401-56.
- Leschhorn, W. 1993. “Paphlagonien,” in *Antike Ären; Zeitrechnung, Politik und Geschichte im Schwarzmeerraum und in Kleinasien nördlich des Tauros*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 150-77.
- Lewis, D.M. 1977. *Sparta and Persia; lectures delivered at the University of Cincinnati, Autumn 1976 in memory of Donald W. Bradeen*. Leiden: Brill.
- Liddle, A. 2003. *Arrian; Periplus Ponti Euxini*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2003.
- Liebmann, M. 2008. “Introduction: the intersections of archaeology and postcolonial studies,” in *Archaeology and the postcolonial critique*, ed. M. Liebmann and U.Z. Rizvi. New York: Altamira, 1-20.
- Lifshitz, B. 1974. “Monuments et inscriptions de la Paphlagonie et du Pont,” *GrazBeitr* 2:97-104. [Review of G. Hind. 1964. *SovArch* 8.3:172-87.]
- Lincoln, B. 2007. *Religion, empire, and torture; the case of Achaemenian Persia with a postscript on Abu Ghraib*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Liverani, M. 2005. “Imperialism,” in *Archaeologies of the Middle East; critical perspectives*, ed. S. Pollock and R. Bernbeck. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 223-43.
- Long, T. 1986. *Barbarians in Greek comedy*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Lubotsky, A. 1989. “The syntax of the new Phrygian inscription no. 88,” *Kadmos* 28:146-55.
- Lucas, G. 2001. *Critical approaches to fieldwork; contemporary and historical archaeological practice*. New York: Routledge.

- Luckenbill, D.D. 1927. *Ancient records of Assyria and Babylonia*, vol. 2; *historical records of Assyria from Sargon to the end*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Luisier, P. 1998. "Présence des jésuites en Turquie au XIX<sup>e</sup> et au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle," *MEFRM* 110:783-94.
- Luschey, H. 1954. "Zur Wiederkehr archaischer Bildzeichen in der attischen Grabmalkunst des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," in *Neue Beiträge zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft; Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Bernhard Schweitzer*, ed. R. Lullies. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 243-55, pls. 52-4.
- Luttwak, E.N. 1976. *The grand strategy of the Roman Empire; from the first century A.D. to the third*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- L'vov-Basirov, O.P.V. 2001. "Achaemenian funerary practices in western Asia Minor," in *Achaemenid Anatolia; proceedings of the first international symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid period, Bandırma, 15-18 August 1997*, ed. T. Bakır et al. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 101-7.
- Macridy-Bey, T. 1907. "Une citadelle archaïque du Pont, fouilles du Musée Impérial Ottomans" *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 12.4:167-75, pls. 1-17.
- Maercker, G. 1899. "Beiträge zur Erforschung Klein-Asiens," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erkunde zu Berlin* 34:363-407.
- Magdalino, P. 1998. "Paphlagonians in Byzantine high society," in *Byzantine Asia Minor (6th-12th cent.)*, ed. S. Lampakes. Athens: Institute for Byzantine Research, 141-50.
- Makdisi, U. 2002. "Ottoman orientalism," *American Historical Review* 107:768-96.
- Malkin, I. 1987. *Religion and colonization in ancient Greece*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1994. *Myth and territory in the Spartan Mediterranean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1998. *The returns of Odysseus; colonization and ethnicity*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- . 2004. "Postcolonial concepts and ancient Greek colonization," *Modern Language Quarterly* 65:341-64.
- . 2005. "Herakles and Melqart: Greeks and Phoenicians in the Middle Ground," in *Cultural borrowings and ethnic appropriations in antiquity*, ed. E.S. Gruen. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 238-58.

- [Malte Brun, C.]. 1811. "Nouveaux dans l'Asie-Mineure, par un Consul général de France," *Annales des voyages, de la géographie et de l'histoire* 13:408-9.
- Mann, M. 1986. *The sources of social power*, vol. 1; *a history of power from the beginning to A.D. 1760*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marchand, S.L. 1996a. *Down from Olympus; archaeology and philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 1996b. "Orientalism as Kulturpolitik: German archaeology and cultural imperialism in Asia Minor," in *Volksgeist as method and ethic; essays on Boasian ethnography and the German anthropological tradition*, ed. G.W. Stocking, Jr. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 298-336.
- . 2009. *German orientalism in the age of empire; religion, race, and scholarship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Marcus, G.E. 1995. "Ethnography in/of the world system: the emergence of multi-sited ethnography," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:95-117.
- Marek, C. 1985. "Katalog der Inschriften im Museum von Amasra," *EpigAnat* 6:133-56, pls. 13-9.
- . 1989. "Amastris. Geschichte, Topographie, archäologische Reste," *IstMitt* 39:373-89, pl. 36.
- . 1993. *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia*. Tübingen: Wasmuth.
- . 2003. *Pontus et Bithynia; die römischen Provinzen im norden Kleinasien*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- . 2007. "Paphlagonia," in *New Pauly*, vol. 10. Leiden: Brill, 477-9.
- . 2008. "Vorbericht der 1. epigraphischen Kampagne 2008," available on Die Inschriften von Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonien. [www.hist.uzh.ch/ag/Kleinasienprojekt/Pompeiopolis/Vorbericht\\_2008.pdf](http://www.hist.uzh.ch/ag/Kleinasienprojekt/Pompeiopolis/Vorbericht_2008.pdf) (22 April 2009).
- . 2009a. "Hellenisation and Romanisation in Pontos-Bithynia: an overview," in *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*, ed. J.M. Højte. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 35-46.
- . 2009b. Inschriften. Paper presented at the Pompeiopolis – die Metropolis Paphlagoniens; Formen römischer Urbanisierungsprozesse in Nordanatolien, Kolloquium, Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, November 13-14, in Munich, Germany.



- Marksteiner, T. 1997. "Wohn- oder Sakralbauten: die Suche nach den hölzernen Vorbildern lykischer Felsgräber," *ÖJh* 62:87-94.
- Marro, C., A. Özdoğan, and A. Tibet. 1996. "Prospection archéologique franco-turque dans la région de Kastamonu (Mer Noire). Premier rapport préliminaire," *Anatolia Antiqua* 4:273-290.
- . 1998. "Prospection archéologique franco-turque dans la région de Kastamonu (Mer Noire). Troisième rapport préliminaire," *Anatolia Antiqua* 6:317-335.
- Marro, C. 2000. "Archaeological survey in the Kastamonu region, Turkey: remarks on the preclassical cultural geography of the southern Black Sea," in *Proceedings of the first international congress on the archaeology of the ancient Near East, Rome, May 18<sup>th</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup> 1998*, vol. 2., ed. P. Matthiae et al. Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza," 945-65.
- Marsh, B. 1999. "Alluvial burial of Gordion, an Iron-Age city in Anatolia," *JFA* 26:163-75.
- . 2005. "Physical geography, land use, and human impact at Gordion," in *The archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians; recent work at Gordion*, ed. L. Kealhofer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 160-71.
- . 2008. "Reconstructing Anatolian landscapes: understanding the effects of geomorphic degradation on archaeological sites." Paper presented at the conference Drawing on rocks, gathering by the water: archaeological fieldwork at rock reliefs, sacred springs and other places. Available on The Joukowsky Institute Workplace. <http://proteus.brown.edu/drawingonrocks/Home> (5 January 2009).
- Martin, M.E. 1998. "Some miscellaneous notes on the town and antiquities of Sinop, mainly from travellers' accounts," *AnatSt* 48:175-80.
- Massey, D. 2005. *For space*. London: Sage Publications.
- Matthews, R. 2000. "Time with the past in Paphlagonia," in *Proceedings of the first international congress on the archaeology of the ancient Near East, Rome, May 18<sup>th</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup> 1998*, vol. 2., ed. P. Matthiae et al. Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza," 1013-27.
- . 2004a. "Landscapes of terror and control: imperial impacts in Paphlagonia," *NEA* 67:200-11.
- . 2004b. "Salur North: an Early Bronze Age cemetery in north-central Anatolia," in *A view from the highlands; archaeological studies in honour of Charles Burney*, ed. A. Sagona. Leuven: Peeters, 55-66.

- . 2007. "An arena for cultural contact: Paphlagonia (north-central) Turkey through prehistory," *AnatSt* 57:25-34.
- Matthews, R., and C. Glatz, eds. 2009a. *At empires' edge; Project Paphlagonia, regional survey in north-central Turkey*. London: British Institute at Ankara.
- Matthews, R., and C. Glatz. 2009b. "The historical geography of north-central Anatolia in the Hittite period: texts and archaeology in concert," *AnatSt* 59:51-72.
- Matthews, R., T. Pollard, and M. Ramage. 1998. "Project Paphlagonia: regional survey in northern Anatolia," in *Ancient Anatolia; fifty years' work by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara*, ed. R. Matthews. Ankara: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 195-206, pls. 31-2.
- Mattingly, H.B. 1996. "Athens and the Black Sea in the fifth century BC," in *Sur les traces des argonautes*, ed. O. Lordkipanidzé and P. Lévêque. Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Franche-Comté, 151-7.
- Mayor, A. 2010. *The poison king; the life and legend of Mithradates, Rome's deadliest enemy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- McGing, B.C. 1986a. *The foreign policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus*. Mnemosyne supplementum 89. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1986b. "The kings of Pontus: some problems of identity and date," *RhM* 129:248-59.
- McGovern, P.E. 2003. *Ancient wine; the search for the origins of viniculture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- McLauchlin, B.K. 1985. "Lydian graves and burial customs," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- Meeker, M.E. 2002. *A nation of empire; the Ottoman legacy of Turkish modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Melchert, H.C. 2004. "Palaic," in *Cambridge encyclopedia of the world's ancient languages*, ed. R.D. Woodard. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 585-590.
- Mellink, M.J. 1956. "Archaeology in Asia Minor," *AJA* 60:369-84.
- . 1958. "Archaeology in Asia Minor," *AJA* 62:91-104.
- . 1966. "Anatolia: old and new perspectives," *PAPS* 110:111-29.
- . 1971. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1970," *AJA* 75:245-55, pls. 49-56.

- . 1972. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1971," *AJA* 76:257-69, pls. 55-60.
- . 1974a. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1973," *AJA* 78:351-9, pls. 65-70.
- . 1974b. "Notes on Anatolian wall paintings," in *Mansel'e armağan/Mélanges Mansel*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 537-47, pls. 163-70.
- . 1975. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1974," *AJA* 79:349-55, pls. 58-61.
- . 1976. "Excavations in the Elmalı area, Lycia, 1975," *AJA* 80:377-84.
- . 1983. "Comments on a cult relief of Kybele from Gordion," in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien; Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, eds. R.M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann. Mainz: von Zabern, 349-60, pls. 70-3.
- . 1988a. "The major regions of the empire; Anatolia," *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 4:211-33.
- . 1988b. "The painted tomb at Karaburun (Elmalı): problems of conservation and iconography," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1988 10.2:271-5.
- . 1991. "The tumulus of Nemrud Dağ and its place in the Anatolian tradition," in *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien; Friedrich Karl Dörner zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. A. Schütte. Bonn: Habelt, 7-10.
- . 1998. *Kızılbel; an Archaic painted tomb chamber in northern Lycia*. Philadelphia: University Museum.
- Mellink, M.J., and J.L. Angel. 1973. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1972," *AJA* 77:293-307, pls. 41-8. Karaburun 297-301, pls. 44-6.
- Mendel, G. 1900. "Inscriptions de Bithynie," *BCH* 24:361-426.
- . 1901. "Inscriptions de Bithynie," *BCH* 25:5-92.
- . 1903. "Inscriptions de Bithynie et de Paphlagonie," *BCH* 27:314-33.
- Mercklin, E. von. 1962. *Antike Figuralkapitelle*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Meskel, L., ed. 2009. *Cosmopolitan archaeologies*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Meyer, E. 1899. *Forschungen zur alten geschichte*, 2<sup>nd</sup> vol. Halle: Niemeyer.
- Miller, M.C. 1997. *Athens and Persia in the fifth century BC; a study in cultural receptivity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

- Mitchell, S. 1993. *Anatolia; land, men, and gods in Asia Minor*. Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon.
- Mitchell, S., and T.R.S. Broughton. 1996. "Paphlagonia," *OCD*<sup>3</sup>:1107-08.
- Mitchell, T. 1999. "Society, economy, and the state effect," in *State/culture; state-formation after the cultural turn*, ed. G. Steinmetz. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 76-97.
- Montag, W. 1995. "'The soul is the prison of the body': Althusser and Foucault, 1970-1975," *Yale French Studies* 88:53-77.
- Monachov, S.J. 1993. "Les amphores de Sinope," *Anatolia Antiqua* 2:107-32.
- Moorey, P.R.S. 1985. "Metalwork and glyptic," in *Cambridge history of Iran, 2; the Median and Achaemenid periods*, ed. I. Gershevitch. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 856-69, pls. 42-48.
- Mordtmann, A.D. 1859. "Sulla antichità della città di Castamuni in Paflagonia," *BdI* 201-5.
- . 1925. *Anatolien; Skizzen un Reisenbriefe aus Kleinasien (1850-1859)*. Hannover: Orientbuchhandlung Heinz Lafaire.
- Moreno, A. 2007a. "Athenian wheat-tsars: Black Sea grain and elite culture," in *The Black Sea in antiquity; regional and interregional economic exchanges*, ed. V. Gabrielsen and J. Lund. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 69-84.
- . 2007b. *Feeding the democracy; the Athenian grain supply in the fifth and fourth centuries BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mori, A. 2008 *The politics of Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morin, J. 2009. "The Greek expansion to the Black Sea," review of *Ancient Greek colonies in the Black Sea 2*, ed. by D.V. Grammenos and E.K. Petropoulos, and *Hellenic colonization in Euxenos Pontos; penetration, early establishment, and the problem of the "emporion" revisited*, by E.K. Petropoulos. *AJA* 113:129-33.
- Morris, I. 1994. "Archaeologies of Greece," in *Classical Greece; ancient histories and modern archaeologies*, ed. I. Morris. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 8-47.
- Munn, M. 2006. *The mother of the gods, Athens, and the tyranny of Asia; a study of sovereignty in ancient religion*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Munro, J.A.R. 1901. "Roads in Pontus, royal and Roman," *JHS* 21:52-66, pl. 4.

- Mourad, T.O. 2007. "An ethical archaeology in the Near East: confronting empire, war and colonization," in *Archaeology and capitalism; from ethics to politics*, ed. Y. Hamilakis and P. Duke. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, 151-67.
- Muller, A. 1979. "La mine de l'acropole de Thasos," in *Thasiaca*. Paris: De Boccard, 315-44.
- Müller, K.O. 1844. *Geschichten hellenischer Stämme und Städte*, vols. 2 and 4; *die Dorier*. Breslau: J. Mar und komp.
- Muscarella, O.W. 1977. "Unexcavated objects and ancient Near Eastern art," in *Mountains and lowlands; essays in the archaeology of greater Mesopotamia*, ed. L.D. Levine and T.C. Young, Jr. Malibu: Undena, 153-207.
- . 1980. "Excavated and unexcavated Achaemenian art," in *Ancient Persia; the art of an empire*, ed. D. Schmandt-Besserat. Malibu: Undena, 23-42.
- . 2003. "Museum constructions of the Oxus treasures: forgeries of provenience and ancient culture," *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 9:259-75.
- Nagy, G. 1995. "An evolutionary model for the making of Homeric poetry: comparative perspectives," in *The ages of Homer; a tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, ed. J.B. Carter and S.P. Morris. Austin: University of Texas, 163-79.
- . 1996a. *Homeric questions*. Austin: University of Texas.
- . 1996b. *Poetry as performance; Homer and beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2003. *Homeric responses*. Austin: University of Texas.
- . 2004. *Homer's text and language*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Nakamura, C. 2004. "Dedicating magic: Neo-Assyrian apotropaic figurines and the protection of Assur," *WorldArch* 36:11-25.
- . 2005. "Mastering matters: magical sense and apotropaic figurine worlds of Neo-Assyria," in *Archaeologies of materiality*, ed. L. Meskell. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 18-45.
- Naumann, F. 1983. *Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der phrygischen und der griechischen Kunst*. Tübingen: Wasmuth.
- Naumann, R. 1971. *Architektur Kleinasiens von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende der hethitischen Zeit*. Tübingen: Wasmuth.

- Newbury, C. 2003. *Patrons, clients, and empire; chieftaincy and over-rule in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nipperdey, K., and K. Witte, eds. 1967. *Cornelius Nepos*, 13<sup>th</sup> ed. Zürich: Weidmann.
- Nollé, M. 1992. *Denkmäler vom Satrapensitz Daskyleion; Studien zur graeco-persischen Kunst*. Berlin: Akademie.
- Ogden, D. 2008. *Perseus*. New York: Routledge.
- Olmstead, A.T. 1948. *History of the Persian empire, Achaemenid period*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Olshausen, E. 1978. "Pontus," *RE Suppl.* 15:396-442.
- . 1990. "Grabstele aus Samsun," *Listy filologické* 113:19-20, pls. 1-2.
- Olshausen, E., and J. Biller. 1984. *Historisch-geographische Aspekte der Geschichte des pontischen und armenischen Reiches, I; Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie von Pontos unter den Mithradatiden*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert.
- Omura, S. 1993. "1991 yılı İç Anadolu'da yürütülen yüzey araştırmaları," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1992 10:365-86.
- Orel, V. 1997. *The language of Phrygians; description and analysis*. Delmar: Caravan Books.
- Orthmann, W. 1971. *Untersuchungen zur späthetitischen Kunst*. Bonn: Habelt.
- Osten, H.H. von der. 1927. "Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor," *AJSL* 43:73-176.
- . 1929. *Explorations in Central Anatolia Season of 1926*. Oriental Institute Publications 5. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Otten, H. 1961. "Eine Beschwörung der Unterirdischen aus Boğazköy," *ZA* 54:114-57.
- Özbal, H., et al. 2000. "Samsun-Amasya-Tokat İlleri yüzey araştırmaları," *Arkeometri Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1999 15:47-54.
- Özbal, H., N. Pehlivan, and B. Earl. 2001. "Durağan ve Bakırçay arsenik cevherleşmelerinin jeolojik, mineralojik ve kimyasal incelenmesi," *Arkeometri Sonuçları Toplantısı* 2000 16:29-40.
- Özdoğan, A., C. Marro, and A. Tibet. 1997. "Kastamonu yüzey araştırması (1995)," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1996 14.2:303-30.

- . 1999. “Kastamonu yüzey araştırması 1997 yılı çalışmaları,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1998* 16.2:219-44.
- Özdoğan, A., et al. 1998. “Kastamonu yüzey araştırması 1996 yılı çalışmaları,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1997* 15.2:63-104.
- . 2000. “Kastamonu yüzey araştırması 1998 yılı çalışmaları,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1999* 17.2:41-56.
- Özdoğan, M. 1998. “Ideology and archaeology in Turkey,” *Archaeology under fire; nationalism, politics and heritage in the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. L. Meskell. New York: Routledge, 111-23.
- . 2003. “The Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara and Bronze Age archaeology: an archaeological predicament,” in *Troia and the Troad; scientific studies*, ed. G.A. Wagner, E. Pernicka, and H.-P. Uerpmann. Berlin: Springer, 105-20.
- . 2007. “Coastal changes of the Black Sea and Sea of Marmara in archaeological perspective,” in *The Black Sea flood question; changes in coastline, climate and human settlement*, ed. V. Yanko-Hombach et al. Dordrecht: Springer, 651-69.
- Özgen, E., and İ. Özgen, eds. 1992. *Antalya Museum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü.
- Özgen, İ., and J. Öztürk. 1996. *Heritage recovered; the Lydian treasure*. Ankara: Ministry of Culture, General Directorate of Monuments and Museums.
- Özsait, M. 1988. “1986 yılı Amasya-Ladik çevresi tarihöncesi araştırmaları,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1987* 5.2:239-56.
- . 1989. “1987 yılı Amasya-Suluova tarihöncesi araştırmaları,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1988* 6:287-300.
- . 1990a. “1988 yılı Gümüşhacıköy çevresi tarihöncesi araştırmaları,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1989* 7:367-79.
- . 1990b. “Orta Karadeniz bölgesinde yeni prehistorik yerleşmeler,” in *İkinci tarih boyunca Karadeniz kongresi bildirileri*, ed. M. Sağlam et al. Samsun: T.C. Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi, 124-31.
- . 1991. “1989 yılı Göynücek çevresi tarihöncesi araştırmaları,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1990* 8:45-54.
- . 1998. “1995 ve 1996 yıllarında Amasya-Merzifon ve Gümüşhacıköy yüzey araştırmaları,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1998* 15.2:143-61.

- . 2003a. “2001 yılı Samsun ve Amasya yüzey araştırmaları,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2002* 20.2:127-40.
- . 2003b. “Les céramiques du Fer Ancien dans les régions d’Amasya et de Samsun,” in *Identifying changes; the transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and its neighbouring regions; proceedings of the International Workshop, Istanbul, November 8-9, 2002*, ed. B. Fischer et al. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 199-212.
- . 2004. “2002 yılı Samsun-Amasya yüzey araştırmalarının ilk sonuçları,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2003* 21.2:273-84.
- Özsait, M., and A. Dünder. 1997. “1995 yılı Amasya-Gümüşhacıköy ve Hamamözü yüzey araştırmaları,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1996* 14.2:171-92.
- Özsait, M., and N. Özsait. 2002a. “Les céramiques du fer ancien (‘l’age obscur’) dans la region d’Amasya,” *Anatolia Antiqua* 10:79-95.
- . 2002b. “Gümüşhacıköy’den gaga ağızlı bir demir çağı testisi,” *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 24 no. 109-19:33-6.
- . 2003. “La ceramique dite ‘galate’ du bassin du Kızılırmak,” *Anatolia Antiqua* 11:323-42.
- Özsait, M., and Ö. Koçak. 1996. “1994 yılı Amasya-Taşova yüzey araştırmaları,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1995* 13.2:273-91.
- Özyar, A. 1998. “The use and abuse of re-use at Karkamish,” in *Light on top of the black hill; studies presented to Halet Çambel/Karatepe’deki ışık; Halet Çambel’e sunulan yazılar*, ed. G. Arsebük, M.J. Mellink, and W. Schirmer. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 633-40.
- Page, D.L., ed. 1968. *Lyrica graeca selecta*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Panaino, A. 2000. “The Mesopotamian heritage of Achaemenian kingship,” in *The heirs of Assyria; proceedings of the opening symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian intellectual heritage project held in Tvärminne, Finland, October 8-11, 1998*, ed. S. Aro and R.M. Whiting. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 35-49.
- Pancaroglu, O. 2005. “Caves, borderlands and configurations of sacred topography in medieval Anatolia,” *Mésogeios* 25-26:249-81.
- Parker, B.J. 2003. “Archaeological manifestations of empire: Assyria’s imprint on southeastern Anatolia,” *AJA* 107:525-57.



- Parker, H.N. 2008. "The linguistic case for the Aiolian migration reconsidered," *Hesperia* 77:431-64.
- Parpola, S. 1987. *The correspondence of Sargon II, part I; letters from Assyria and the west*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- Partsch, J. 1916. "Richard Leonhard," *Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt* 62:262, pl. 38.
- Paspalas, S.A. 2000. "A persianizing cup from Lydia," *OJA* 19:135-74.
- Pauketat, T.R. 2007. *Chieftdoms and other archaeological delusions*. New York: Altamira.
- Peebles, C.S., and S.M. Kus. 1977. "Some archaeological correlates of ranked societies," *AmerAnt* 42:421-48.
- Pelling, C. 2000. "Fun with fragments: Athenaeus and the historians," in *Athenaeus and his world; reading Greek culture in the Roman Empire*. eds. D. Braund and J. Wilkins. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 171-90.
- Petit, T. 1990. *Satrapes et satrapies dans l'empire achéménide de Cyrus le Grand à Xerxès I<sup>er</sup>*. Liège: Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège.
- Pernicka, E., et al. 1984. "Archäometallurgische Untersuchungen in Nordwestanatolien," *JRGZM* 31:533-99, pls. 88-96.
- . 1990. "On the composition and provenance of metal artefacts from Poliochni on Lemnos," *OJA* 9:263-98.
- Perrot, G., E. Guillaume, and J. Delbet. 1872, 1983 reprint. *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie; d'une partie de la Mysie, de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce et du Pont*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms.
- Perrot, G., and C. Chipiez. 1892. *History of art in Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, and Lycia*. New York: A.C. Armstrong and Son.
- Pianu, G. 1989. "Sinope, Datame e la Persia," *DialArch* 7.2:93-107.
- Pirart, É. 1995. "Les noms des Perses," *Journal Asiatique* 283:57-68.
- Pitarakis, B. 1998. "Mines anatoliennes exploitées par les Byzantins: recherches récentes," *RN* 6 no. 153:141-85.
- Polaschegg, A. 2005. *Der andere Orientalismus; Regeln deutsch-morgenländischer Imagination im 19. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

- Polat, G. 2001. "Das Grabdenkmal des Autophradates," in *Achaemenid Anatolia; proceedings of the first international symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid period, Bandırma, 15-18 August 1997*, ed. T. Bakır et al. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 123-33.
- . 2005a. "Bir Anadolu-Akhaemenid dönemi ölü kültü geleneği: tümülüs önünde steller ve seremoni alanları," *Olba* 11:1-23.
- . 2005b. "War der persische Satrap Autophradates von Sardeis der ursprüngliche Grabherr des Mausoleums in Belevi?" *EpigAnat* 38:57-72.
- Popko, M. 2000. "Zippalanda and Ankuwa once more," *JAOS* 120:445-8.
- Portnoff, A. 2008. "À la recherche du passé: le premier voyage en Asie Mineure de Charles Texier," *Res Antiquae* 5:389-404.
- Potts, D.T. 1999. *The archaeology of Elam; formation and transformation of an ancient Iranian state*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Powell, M.A. 1996. "Wine and vine in ancient Mesopotamia: the cuneiform evidence," in *The origins and ancient history of wine*, ed. P. McGovern, S.J. Fleming, and S.H. Katz. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 97-122.
- Pownall, F. 2004. *Lessons from the past; the moral use of history in fourth-century prose*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Praschniker, C., and M. Theuer. 1979. *Das Mausoleum von Belevi*. Forschungen in Ephesos 6.1. Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Prayon, F. 1987. *Phrygische Plastik; die früheisenzeitliche Bildkunst Zentral-Anatoliens und ihre Beziehungen zu Griechenland und zum Alten Orient*. Tübingen: Wasmuth.
- Preucel, R.W., and F.G. Matero. 2008. "Placemaking on the northern Rio Grande: a view from Kuaua Pueblo," in *Archaeologies of placemaking; monuments, memories, and engagement in native North America*, ed. P.E. Rubertone. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, 81-99.
- Preucel, R.W., and L. Meskell. 2004. "Knowledges," in *A companion to social archaeology*, ed. L. Meskell and R.W. Preucel. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 3-22.
- Price, M. 1993. *SNG 9.1; the British Museum, the Black Sea*. London: British Museum.
- Prittwitz und Gaffron, G. von. 1894. "Ein Forschungsritt durch das Stromgebiet des unteren Kisil Irmak (Halys), I," *Globus illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 65:123-30.

- Prutz, H. 1895. "Gustav Hirschfeld," *Altpreuussische Monatsschrift* 32:311-32.
- Ramsay, W.M. 1882. "Studies in Asia Minor," *JHS* 3:1-68.
- . 1888. "A study of Phrygian art," *JHS* 9:350-82.
- Ranger, T. 1992. "The invention of tradition in colonial Africa," in *The invention of tradition*, ed. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 211-62.
- . 1993. "The invention of tradition revisited: the case of colonial Africa," in *Legitimacy and the state in twentieth-century Africa; essays in honour of A.H.M. Kirk-Greene*, ed. T Ranger and O. Vaughan. London: Macmillan, 62-111.
- Redford, S. 2007. "'What have you done for Anatolia today?': Islamic archaeology in the early years of the Turkish Republic," *Muqarnas* 24:243-52.
- Rémy, B., and M. Akkaya. 1995. "Découverte à Samsun/Amisus d'une nouvelle borne milliaire de Trajan Dèce et du César Quintus Herennius Etruscus Messius," *Anatolia Antiqua* 3:109-12.
- Renfrew, C. 1973. "Monuments, mobilization and social organization in neolithic Wessex," in *The explanation of culture change; models in prehistory*, ed. C. Renfrew. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 539-58.
- Roaf, M. 1998. "Multiple rabbits on doors in Iron Age Assyria and western Iran," *Iranica Antiqua* 33:57-80.
- Robert, L. 1937a. "Documents de Tieion," in *Études anatoliennes; recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure*. Paris: De Boccard, 266-91.
- . 1937b. "Homère en Paphlagonie," in *Études anatoliennes; recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure*. Paris: De Boccard, 262-5.
- . 1963. *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine*. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve.
- . 1980. *À travers l'Asie Mineure; poètes et prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographie*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Robinson, D. M. 1906. "Ancient Sinope a historical account," *AJP* 27:125-333.
- Rodríguez Adrados, F. 2005. *A history of the Greek language; from its origins to the present*. trans. F. Rojas del Canto. Leiden: Brill.
- Rolfe, J.C., trans. 1984. *Cornelius Nepos*. Loeb classical library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Rolle, R., V.J. Murzin, and A.J. Alekseev. 1998. *Königskurgan Čertomlyk; ein skythischer Grabhügel des 4. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Roller, L.E. 1999. *In search of god the mother; the cult of Anatolian Cybele*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 2007a. “Frig dini ve kült uygulamaları/Phrygian religion and cult practice,” in *Friglerin gizemli uygarlığı/The mysterious civilization of the Phrygians*, ed. H. Sivas and T. Tüfekçi Sivas. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 141-7.
- . 2007b. “Towards the formation of a Phrygian iconography in the Iron Age,” in *Anatolian Iron Ages 6; the proceedings of the sixth Anatolian Iron Ages colloquium, held at Eskişehir, 16-20 August 2004*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and A. Sagona. Leuven: Peeters, 207-23.
- Rollinger, R. 2003a. “The western expansion of the Median “empire”: a re-examination,” in *Continuity of empire (?); Assyria, Media, Persia*, ed. G.B. Lanfranchi, M. Roaf, and R. Rollinger. Padova: S. a. r. g. o. n., 289-319.
- . 2003b. “Kerkenes Dağ and the Median “empire”,” in *Continuity of empire (?); Assyria, Media, Persia*, ed. G.B. Lanfranchi, M. Roaf, and R. Rollinger. Padova: S. a. r. g. o. n., 321-6.
- Roos, P. 1972a. *The rock-tombs of Caunus, I; the architecture*. Göteborg: Paul Åströms.
- . 1972b. *The rock-tombs of Caunus, II; the finds*. Göteborg: Paul Åströms.
- . 1985. *Survey of rock-cut chamber-tombs in Caria, I; south-eastern Caria and the Lyco-Carian borderland*. Göteborg: Paul Åströms.
- Roosevelt, C.H. 2006. “Symbolic door stelae and graveside monuments in western Anatolia,” *AJA* 110:65-91.
- Root, M.C. 1979. *The king and kingship in Achaemenid art; essays on the creation of an iconography of empire*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1990. “Circles of artistic programming: strategies for studying creative process at Persepolis,” in *Investigating artistic environments in the ancient Near East*, ed. A.C. Gunter. Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 115-39. , 1990.
- . 1991. “From the heart: powerful persianisms in the art of the western empire,” in *Asia Minor and Egypt; old cultures in a new empire; proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid history workshop*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt. Achaemenid history, vol. 6. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1-29.

- . 1994. "Lifting the veil: artistic transmission beyond the boundaries of historical periodisation," in *Continuity and change; proceedings of the last Achaemenid history workshop, April 6-8, 1990 – Ann Arbor, Michigan*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt, and M.C. Root. Achaemenid history, vol. 8. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 9-37.
- Rose, C.B. 2006. "Ilion," in *Stadtgrabungen und Stadtforschung im westlichen Kleinasien - Geplantes und Erreichtes; Internationales Symposium 6./7. August 2004 in Bergama (Türkei)*, ed. W. Radt. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 135-57.
- . 2007. "The tombs of the Granicus River Valley," in *The Achaemenid impact on local populations and cultures in Anatolia (sixth-fourth centuries B.C.); papers presented at the International Workshop, Istanbul, 20-21 May 2005*, ed. İ. Delemen et al. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology, 247-64.
- . 2008. "Separating fact from fiction in the Aiolian migration," *Hesperia* 77:399-430.
- Rose, C.B., B. Tekkök, and R. Körpe. 2007. "Granicus River Valley Survey Project, 2004-2005," in *Studia Troica*, vol. 17. Mainz: von Zabern, 65-150.
- Rotroff, S.I. 1982. *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 22; *Hellenistic pottery, Athenian and imported moldmade bowls*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- . 1997. *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 29; *Hellenistic pottery, Athenian and imported wheelmade table ware and related material*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- . 2006. *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 33; *Hellenistic pottery, the plain wares*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Rousseva, M. 2000. *Thracian cult architecture in Bulgaria*. trans. N. Panova. Jambol:Izdatelstvo.
- Routledge, B. 2004. *Moab in the Iron Age; hegemony, polity, archaeology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Rowlands, M. 1989. "A question of complexity," in *Domination and resistance*, ed. D. Miller, M. Rowlands, and C. Tilley. Lowdon: Unwin Hyman, 29-40.
- Ruge, W., and K. Bittel. 1949. "Paphlagonia," *RE* 18.4:2486-550.
- Rühl, F. 1905. "Gustav Hirschfeld," in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. 50. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 367-72.

- Rykwert, J. 1981. *On Adam's house in paradise; the idea of the primitive hut in architectural history*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Şahin, Ç. 1995. "Büyük Aslantaş: Frigya'da bir Hitit kaya mezarı/The Hittite lion tomb, Büyük Aslantaş, in Phrygia," *Anadolu Arşivleri/Archivum Anatolicum* 1:151-163.
- Şahin, N. 1994. "L'apotheose d'Herakles," *Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Arkeoloji Dergisi* 2:45-56, pls. 5-6.
- Said, E.W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- . 1986. "Foucault and the imagination of power," in *Foucault; a critical reader*, ed. D.C. Hoy. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 149-55.
- Salis, A. von. 1956. *Löwenkampfbilder des Lysipp*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Salvini, M. 2001. "The inscriptions of Ayanis (Rusahinili Eiduru-kai cuneiform and hieroglyphic," in *Ayanis I; ten years' excavations at Rusahinili Eiduru-kai, 1989-1998*. ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and M. Salvini. Rome: Istituto per gli studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici, 251-319.
- Sams, G.K. 1989. "Sculpted orthostates at Gordion," in *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East; studies in honor of Tahsin Özgüç*, ed. K. Emre et al. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 447-54, pls. 129-31.
- . 1994. *The Gordion excavations, 1950-1973; final reports*, vol. 4; *the early Phrygian pottery*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. 1987. "Decadence in the empire or decadence in the sources? From source to synthesis: Ctesias," in *Sources, structures and synthesis; proceedings of the Groningen 1983 Achaemenid history workshop*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg. Achaemenid history, vol. 1. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 33-45.
- . 1990. "The quest for an elusive empire," in *Centre and periphery; proceedings of the Groningen 1986 Achaemenid history workshop*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt. Achaemenid history, vol. 4. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 263-74.
- . 1994. "The orality of Herodotus' Medikos logos or: the Median empire revisited," in *Continuity and change; proceedings of the last Achaemenid history workshop, April 6-8, 1990 – Ann Arbor, Michigan*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt, and M.C. Root. Achaemenid history, vol. 8. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 39-55.

- . 2001a. “The problem of the Yauna,” in *Achaemenid Anatolia; proceedings of the first international symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid period, Bandırma, 15-18 August 1997*, ed. T. Bakır et al. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1-11.
- . 2001b. “Yaunā by the sea and across the sea,” in *Ancient perceptions of Greek ethnicity*, ed. I. Malkin. Washington, D.C.: Center for Hellenic studies, 323-46.
- Saprykin, S. 1991. “Пафлагоника,” *Thracia Pontica* 4:241-54.
- . 1997. *Heracleia Pontica and Tauric Chersonesus before Roman domination (VI-I centuries B.C.)*. Amsterdam: Hakkert.
- Şaroğlu, F., Ö. Emre, and İ. Kuşçu. 1992. *Türkiye diri fay haritası/Active fault map of Turkey*. Ankara: Maden Tetkik ve Arama Genel Müdürlüğü.
- Sayce, A.H. 1881. “The monuments of the Hittites,” *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 7:248-93.
- Sayre, E.V., et al. 2001. “Stable lead isotope studies of Black Sea Anatolian ore sources and related Bronze Age and Phrygian artefacts from nearby archaeological sites,” *Archaeometry* 43:77-115.
- Scham, S.A. 2009. “Time’s wheel runs back,” in *Cosmopolitan archaeologies*, ed. L. Meskell. Durham: Duke University Press, 166-83.
- Schede, M. 1930. “Archäologische Funde Türkei,” *AA* 1930:432-86.
- Schefold, K. 1968. *Der Alexander-Sarkophag*. Berlin: Propyläen.
- Schirmer, W. 1980. “Zur phrygischen Architektur,” *Koldewey-Gesellschaft Bericht* 30:43-6.
- Schirmer, W., et al. 1993. “Die Bauanlagen auf dem Göllüdag in Kappadokien,” *Architectura* 23:121-31.
- Schmeling, G., trans. 1971. *Cornelius Nepos; lives of famous men (de viris illustribus)*. Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado.
- Schmidt, E.F. 1953. *Persepolis, I; structures – reliefs – inscriptions*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- . 1957. *Persepolis, II; contents of the treasury and other discoveries*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- . 1970. *Persepolis, III; the royal tombs and other monuments*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

- Schmitt, R. 1972. "Die Achämenidische Satrapie Tayaiy Drayahyā," *Historia* 21:522-7.
- . 1996. "Datames," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 7. ed. E. Yarshater. Costa Mesa, California: Mazda, 115-7.
- Schmitt, R., and H. Luschey. 1990. "Bīsotūn," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 4. ed. E. Yarshater. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 289-305.
- Schnapp, A. 2004. "Eduard Gerhard: founder of classical archaeology?" trans. M. Tiewes, *Modernism/modernity* 11:169-71.
- Seel, O. 1956. *Pompei Trogi fragmenta*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Seeliger, T.C., et al. 1985. "Archäometallurgische Untersuchungen in Nord- und Ostanatolien," *JRGZM* 32:597-659, pls. 68-84.
- Sekunda, N.K. 1988a. "Persian settlement in Hellespontine Phrygia," in *Method and theory; proceedings of the London 1985 Achaemenid history workshop*, ed. A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg. Achaemenid history, vol. 3. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 175-96.
- . 1988b. "Some notes on the life of Datames," *Iran* 26:35-53.
- . 1991. "Achaemenid settlement in Caria, Lycia and greater Phrygia," in *Asia Minor and Egypt; old cultures in a new empire; proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid history workshop*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt. Achaemenid history, vol. 6. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 83-143.
- Şengör, A.M.C., et al. 2004. "The North Anatolian Fault: a new look," *Annual Review of Earth and Planetary Sciences* 22:1-75.
- Sensenig-Dabbous, E. 2004. "Will the real Almásy please stand up! Transporting Central European orientalism via *The English Patient*," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24:163-80.
- Service, E.R. 1971. *Primitive social organization; an evolutionary perspective*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Random House.
- Sevin, V. 1994. "Three Urartian rock-cut tombs from Palu," *TelAviv* 21:58-67.
- Shahbazi, A.S. 1974. "An Achaemenid symbol, 1. A farewell to Fravahr and Ahuramazda," *AMIran* 7:135-44.
- Shanks, M., and C. Tilley. 1987. *Social theory and archaeology*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.



- Shapiro, H.A. 1988. "The Marathonian bull on the Athenian akropolis," *AJA* 92:373-82.
- Shaw, B.D. 1990. "Bandit hghlands and lowland peace: the mountains of Isauria-Cilicia," *JESHO* 33:199-233.
- Shaw, W.M.K. 2003. *Possessors and possessed; museums, archaeology, and the visualization of history in the late Ottoman Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Shipley, D.R. 1997. *A commentary on Plutarch's "Life of Agesilaos;" response to sources in the presentation of character*. Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon.
- Shnirelman, V.A. 1996. "The faces of nationalist archaeology in Russia," in *Nationalism and archaeology in Europe*, ed. M. Díaz-Andreu and T. Champion. Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 218-42.
- Simpson, E. 1996. "Phrygian furniture from Gordion," in *The furniture of western Asia, ancient and traditional; papers of the conference held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28 to 30, 1993*, ed. G. Herrmann and N. Parker. Mainz: von Zabern, 187-209, pls. 58-63.
- Simpson, E., and K. Spirydowicz. 1999. *Gordion ahşap eserler/wooden furniture*. Ankara: Museum of Anatolian Civilizations.
- Singer, I., and S. Frankfurter. 1904. "Gustav Hirschfeld," in *The Jewish encyclopedia; a descriptive record of the history, religion, literature, and customs of the Jewish people from the earliest times to the present day*, vol. 6, ed. I. Singer. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 419-20.
- Sinopoli, C.M. 1994. "The archaeology of empires," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23:159-80.
- . 1995. "The archaeology of empires: a view from south Asia," *BASOR* 299/300:3-11.
- . 2001. "Empires," in *Archaeology at the millennium; a sourcebook*, ed. G.M. Feinman and T.D. Price. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 439-71.
- Sipahi, T. 2003. "2001 yılı Çorum ve Çankırı bölgeleri yüzey araştırması," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2000* 20.2:275-84.
- Sipahi, T., and T. Yıldırım. 1998. "1996 yılı Çorum bölgesi yüzey araştırmaları," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1997* 15.2:19-40.
- . 2000. "1998 yılı Çorum bölgesi yüzey araştırması," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1999* 17.2:31-40.

- . 2001. “1999 yılı Çorum yöresi yüzey araştırması,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2000* 18.2:101-112.
- . 2005. “2003 yılı Çorum ve Çankırı İlleri yüzey araştırması,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2004* 22.2:353-64.
- . 2008. “2006 yılı Çorum-Çankırı İlleri yüzey araştırması,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2007* 25.3:277-94.
- Skalnik, P. 2004. “Chieftdom: a universal political formation?” *Focaal – European Journal of Anthropology* 43:76-98.
- Smith, W.D. 1991. *Politics and the sciences of culture in Germany, 1840-1920*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Snodgrass, A. 1985. The New Archaeology and the classical archaeologist,” *AJA* 89:31-7.
- . 1987. *An archaeology of Greece: the present state and the future scope of a discipline*. The Sather Lectures (Berkeley and Los Angeles).
- Soja, E.W. 1996. *Thirdspace; journeys to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places*. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell.
- Solovyov, S.L. 1999. *Ancient Berezan; the architecture, history and culture of the first Greek colony in the northern Black Sea*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2007. “Archaic Berezan: results of recent archaeological investigations and its historical interpretation,” in *Frühes Ionien eine Bestandsaufnahme; Panionion-Symposion Güzelçamlı 26. September-1. Oktober 1999*, ed. J. Cobet et al. Mainz: von Zabern, 531-40, pls. 67-8.
- Sonel, N., et al. 1989. “Boyabat (Sinop) Havzası Ekinveren Fayının petrol aramalarındaki önemi,” *Türkiye Jeoloji Bülteni* 32:39-49.
- Sönmez, İ.F., and B. Öztürk. 2008. “Batı Karadeniz’de bir antik kent kazısı: Tios (Filyos),” *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 127:133-46.
- Spanos, P.Z. 1975. “Der Arslantaş in Phrygien,” *ZA* 65:133-54.
- Spencer, C.S. 1987. “Rethinking the chieftdom,” in *Chieftdoms in the Americas*, ed. R.D. Drennan and C.A. Uribe. New York: University Press of America, 369-90.
- Spivak, G.C. 1993. “More on power/knowledge,” in *Outside in the teaching machine*. New York: Routledge, 25-51.

- . 1999. *A critique of postcolonial reason; toward a history of the vanishing present*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Stadter, P.A. 1989. *A commentary on Plutarch's Pericles*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Starke, F. 1997. "Troia im Kontext des historisch-politischen und sprachlichen Umfeldes Kleinasiens im 2. Jahrtausend," in *Studia Troica*, vol. 7. Mainz: von Zabern, 447-87.
- . 2007. "Palaic," in *New Pauly*, vol. 10. Leiden: Brill, 381.
- Stephens, S.A. 2000. "Writing epic for the Ptolemaic court," in *Apollonius Rhodius*, ed. M.A. Harder, R.F. Regtuit, and G.C. Wakker. Leuven: Peeters, 195-215.
- Stevenson, R.B. 1987. "Lies and invention in Deinon's *Persica*," in *The Greek sources; proceedings of the Groningen 1984 Achaemenid history workshop*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt. Achaemenid history, vol. 2. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 27-35.
- . 1997. *Persica; Greek writing about Persia in the fourth century BC*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.
- Stöllner, T. 2008. "Montan-archaeology and research on old mining: just a contribution to economic history?" in *Anatolian Metal IV*, ed. Ü. Yalçın. Bochum: Deutsches Bergbau-Museum Bochum, 149-78.
- Stolper, M.W. 1985. *Entrepreneurs and empire; the Murašû firm, and Persian rule in Babylonia*. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut.
- Stoop, M.W. 1977/78. "Ancient Armene and its harbor," *Anatolica* 6:117-28, pls. 1-7.
- Stos-Gale, Z.A., N.H. Gale, and G.R. Gilmore. 1984. "Early Bronze Age Trojan metal sources and Anatolians in the Cyclades," *OJA* 3.3:23-43.
- Strobel, K. 1994. "Galatien und seine Grenzregionen: zu Fragen der historischen Geographie Galatiens," in *Forschungen in Galatien*, ed. E. Schwertheim. Bonn: Habelt, 29-65.
- . 2001. "Phryger-Lyder-Meder: politische, ethnische und kulturelle Größen Zentralanatoliens bei Errichtung der achaimenidischen Herrschaft," in *Achaemenid Anatolia; proceedings of the first international symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid period, Bandırma, 15-18 August 1997*, ed. T. Bakır et al. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 43-55.
- . 2004. "Neue Fragen zur Chronologie Gordions und Anatoliens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr." in *Die Außenwirkung des späthethitischen Kulturraumes*;

*Gütertausch - Kulturkontakt – Kulturtransfer; Akten der zweiten Forschungstagung des Graduiertenkollegs “Anatolien und seine Nachbarn” der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen (20. bis 22. November 2003)*, ed. M. Novák, F. Prayon, and A.-M. Wittke. Münster: Ugarit, 259-84.

- . 2005. “Aspekte eines neuen Bildes der Entwicklung Anatoliens in der Frühen Eisenzeit (A new understanding of the historical development of Anatolia in the Early Iron Age: the myth of the ‘Dark Ages’),” in *Anatolian Iron Ages 5; proceedings of the fifth Anatolian Iron Ages colloquium, held at Van, 6-10 August 2001*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and G. Darbyshire. London: British Institute at Ankara, 195-210.
- . 2008a. “Die kulturelle und religiöse Entwicklung Altphrygiens I: Kontinuitäten – Brüche – Einflüsse,” in *Neue Funde und Forschungen in Phrygien*, ed. E. Schwertheim and E. Winter. Bonn: Habelt, 123-42.
- . 2008b. “Die kulturelle und religiöse Entwicklung Altphrygiens II: von Hattuša nach Gorfion. Mit einem Anhang zum Kızıl Dağ,” in *Vom Euphrat bis zum Bosphorus; Kleinasien in der Antike; Festschrift für Elmar Schwertheim zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Winter. Bonn: Habelt, 639-71, pls. 78-9.
- Stronach, D. 1985. “Tepe Nush-i Jan: the Median settlement,” in *Cambridge history of Iran, 2; the Median and Achaemenid periods*, ed. I. Gershevitch. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 832-37, pls. 38-41.
- . 1996. “The imagery of the wine bowl: wine in Assyria in the early first millennium B.C.” in *The origins and ancient history of wine*, ed. P. McGovern, S.J. Fleming, and S.H. Katz. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 175-95.
- Stronach, D., and G.D. Summers. 2003. “The ashlar building at Kerkenes Dağ: an interim report,” *Anatolia Antiqua* 11:111-29.
- Stronach, D., and M. Roaf. 2007. *Nush-i Jan I; the major buildings of the Median settlement*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Süel, A. 2002. “Ortaköy-Şapinuwa,” in *Recent developments in Hittite archaeology and history; papers in memory of Hans G. Güterbock*, ed. K.A. Yener, H.A. Hoffner, and S. Dhesi. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 157-65.
- Summerer, L. 2003. “Achämenidische Silberfunde aus der Umgebung von Sinope,” *Ancient Civilizations* 9:17-42.
- . 2005a. “Achämeniden am Schwarzen Meer: Bemerkungen zum spätarchaischen Marmorkopf aus Herakleia Pontike,” *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 42:231-52.
- . 2005b. “Griechische Tondächer im kappadokischen Kontext: die Architekturterrakotten aus Akalan,” in *Bilder und Objekte als Träger kultureller*

*Identität und interkultureller Kommunikation im Schwarzmeergebiet; Kolloquium im Zschortau/Sachsen vom 13.2.-15.2.2003*, ed. F. Fless and M. Treister. Rahden: Marie Leidorf, 125-39, pls. 64-73.

- . 2006. "Die Göttin am Skylax. Ein monumentales hellenistisches Felsrelief in Nordanatolien," *AA* 2006:17-30.
- . 2007. "From Tatarlı to Munich: the recovery of a painted wooden tomb chamber in Phrygia," in *The Achaemenid impact on local populations and cultures in Anatolia (sixth-fourth centuries B.C.); papers presented at the international workshop, Istanbul 20-21 May 2005*, ed. İ. Delemen. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology, 131-58.
- . 2008. "Indigenous responses to encounters with the Greeks in northern Anatolia: the reception of architectural terracottas in the Iron Age settlements of the Halys Basin," in *Meetings of cultures; between conflicts and coexistence*, ed. P.G. Bilde and J.H. Petersen. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 263-86.
- . 2009. "Herakles in Paphlagonien," in *Zurück zum Gegenstand; Festschrift für Andreas E. Furtwängler*, ed. R. Einicke et al. Langenweißbach: Beier & Beran, 15-24.
- Summerer, L., and A. von Kienlin. In press. "Achaemenid impact in Paphlagonia: rupestral tombs in the Amnias Valley" in *Achaemenid impact in the Black Sea; communication of powers*, ed. J. Nieling. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Summers, D. 2003. *Real spaces; world art history and the rise of western modernism*. New York: Phaidon.
- Summers, G.D. 1993. "Archaeological evidence for the Achaemenid period in eastern Turkey," *AnatSt* 43:85-108.
- . 1994. "Grey ware and the eastern limits of Phrygia," in *Anatolian Iron Ages 3; the proceedings of the Third Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium held at Van, 6-12 August 1990*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and D.H. French. Ankara: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 241-52.
- . 1995. "Kerkenes Dağ 1993," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1994 12:567-82.
- . 1997. "The identification of the Iron Age city on Kerkenes Dağ in central Anatolia," *JNES* 56:81-94.
- . 1998. "The 1998 spring survey in the northern Yozgat Province," available on Kerkenes Homepage One (1993-2002). <http://www.kerkenes.metu.edu.tr/kerk1/11prelim/1998/regional/methodology.htm> (3 April 2009).

- . 2000. "The Median Empire reconsidered: a view from Kerkenes Dağ," *AnatSt* 50:55-73.
- . 2001. "Keykavus Kale and associated remains on the Kerkenes Dağ in Cappadocia, central Turkey," *Anatolia Antiqua* 9:39-60.
- . 2006a. "Architectural terracottas in greater Phrygia: problems of chronology and distribution," in *Hayat Erkanal'a armağan; kültürlerin yansıması/Studies in honor of Hayat Erkanal; cultural reflections*, ed. B. Avunç et al. Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 684-8.
- . 2006b. "Aspects of material culture at the Iron Age capital on the Kerkenes Dağ in central Anatolia," *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 43:164-202.
- . 2006c. "Phrygian expansion to the east: evidence of cult from Kerkenes Dağ," *BaM* 37:647-58.
- . 2007. "Public spaces and large halls at Kerkenes," in *Anatolian Iron Ages 6; the proceedings of the sixth Anatolian Iron Ages colloquium, held at Eskişehir, 16-20 August 2004*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and A. Sagona. Leuven: Peeters, 245-63.
- Summers, G.D., and F. Summers. 1996. "Kerkenes Dağ 1994," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1995* 13.1:99-122.
- . 1997. "Kerkenes Dağ 1995," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1996* 14.2:331-57.
- . 1998. "The Kerkenes Dağ Project," in *Ancient Anatolia; fifty years' work by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara*, ed. R. Matthews. Ankara: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 177-94, pls. 29-30.
- . 1999. "Kerkenes Dağı 1997," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1998* 16.2:121-51.
- . 2006. "Aspects of urban design at the Iron Age city on the Kerkenes Dağ as revealed by geophysical survey," *Anatolia Antiqua* 14:71-88.
- . 2008. "A preliminary interpretation of remote sensing and selective excavation at the palatial complex, Kerkenes," *Anatolia Antiqua* 16:53-76.
- Summers, G.D., F. Summers, and S. Branting. 2004. "Megarons and associated structures at Kerkenes Dağ: an interim report," *Anatolia Antiqua* 12:7-41.
- Summers, G.D., et al. 1996. "The Kerkenes Dağ Survey, an interim report," *AnatSt* 46:201-34, pls. 23-40.
- . 1998. "Kerkenes Dağı 1996," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 1997* 19.1:627-59.

- Surikov, I.E. 2001. "Historico-geographical questions connected with Pericles' Pontic expedition," *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 7:341-66.
- Syme, R. 1995. *Anatolica; studies in Strabo*. Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon.
- Tabor, R. 2004. *Regional perspectives in archaeology; from strategy to narrative*. Oxford, U.K.: BAR.
- Taeschner, F., and H. Louis. 1960. "Anadolu," in *The encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. 1, ed. H.A.R. Gibb et al. Leiden: Brill, 461-80.
- Talbert, R.J.A., ed. 2000. *Barrington atlas of the Greek and Roman world*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Tanner, J., and R. Osborne. 2007. "Introduction: *Art and agency* and art history," in *Art's agency and art history*, ed. R. Osborne and J. Tanner. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 1-27.
- Tanyeri-Erdemir, T. 2007. "Archaeology as a source of national pride in the early years of the Turkish Republic," *JFA* 31:381-93.
- Tarhan, M.T. 2007. "Median and Achaemenid periods at Tuşpa," in *The Achaemenid impact on local populations and cultures in Anatolia (sixth-fourth centuries B.C.); papers presented at the international workshop, Istanbul 20-21 May 2005*, ed. İ. Delemen. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology, 117-30.
- Tatlıcan, İ. 1996. "Sinop, 1994 Zeytinlik amphora atölyesi kurtarma kazısı," *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 1995 6:335-41.
- . 1997. "Sinop Çiftlik köyü mozaik kurtarma kazısı," *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 1996 7:333-56.
- Tatlıcan, İ., D. Kassab Tezgör, and F. Dereli. 1998. "Demirci-Sinop amphora atölyelerinin 1996 kazısı," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1997 19.2:465-81.
- . 1999. "Demirci-Sinop amphora atölyelerinin 1997 kazısı," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1998 20.2:447-56.
- Tatlıcan, İ., D. Kassab Tezgör, and H. Özdaş. 1999. "Sinop'ta sualtı çalışmaları," *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 1998 9:335-42.
- Taussig, M. 1993. *Mimesis and alterity; a particular history of the senses*. New York: Routledge.
- Taylor, T. 2001. "Believing the ancients: quantitative and qualitative dimensions of slavery and the slave trade in later prehistoric Eurasia," *WorldArch* 33:27-43.

- Terrace, E.L.B. 1963. "Two Achaemenian objects in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts," *AntK* 6:72-80, pls. 29-32.
- Texier, C. 1839. *Description de l'asie mineure*, vol. 1. Paris: Didot.
- . 1882. *Asie Mineure; description géographique, historique et archéologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnèse d'Asie*. Paris: Firmin-Didot.
- Thapar, R. 1981. "The state as empire," in *The study of the state*, ed. H.J.M. Claessen and P. Skalník. The Hague: Mouton, 409-26.
- Thiel, J.H. 1923. "De Dinone Colophonio Nepotis in Vita Datamis Auctore," *Mnemosyne* 51:412-4.
- Thomas, J. 2004. *Archaeology and modernity*. New York: Routledge.
- Thompson, F.H. 2003. *The archaeology of Greek and Roman slavery*. London: Duckworth.
- Tilley, C. 1994. *A phenomenology of landscape; places, paths and monuments*. Oxford, U.K.: Berg.
- Tomaschek, W. 1891. *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*. Wien: Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Trigger, B.G. 1984. "Alternative archaeologies: nationalist, colonialist, imperialist," *Man*, n.s., 19:355-370.
- . 1989. *A history of archaeological thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tschumi, B. 1996. "Spaces and events," in *Architecture and disjunction*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 140-52.
- Tsetskhladze, G.R. 1994. "Greek penetration of the Black Sea," in *The archaeology of Greek colonisation; essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, ed. G.R. Tsetskhladze and F. de Angelis. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 111-35.
- . 1997. "Plutarch, Pericles and Pontus: some thoughts," in *Plutarco y la historia; actas del V Simposio Español sobre Plutarco, Zaragoza, 20-22 de junio de 1996*, ed. C. Schrader, V. Ramón, and J. Vela. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 461-6.
- . 1998a. "Greek colonisation of the Black Sea area: stages, models, and native population," in *The Greek colonisation of the Black Sea area*, ed. G.R. Tsetskhladze. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 9-68.



- . 1998b. "Who built the Scythian and Thracian royal and elite tombs," *OJA* 17:55-92.
- . 1999. "Between west and east: Anatolian roots of local cultures of the Pontus," in *Ancient Greeks west and east*, ed. G.R. Tsetschladze. Leiden: Brill, 469-96.
- . 2004. "On the earliest Greek colonial architecture in the Pontus," in *Pontus and the outside world; studies in Black Sea history, historiography, and archaeology*, ed. C.J. Tuplin. Leiden: Brill, 225-78.
- . 2005. "Early Iron Age societies of the Black Sea region and Anatolia: some observations," in *Anatolian Iron Ages 5; proceedings of the fifth Anatolian Iron Ages colloquium, held at Van, 6-10 August 2001*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and G. Darbyshire. London: British Institute at Ankara, 211-6.
- . 2007. "Thracians versus Phrygians: about the origin of the Phrygians once again," in *Anatolian Iron Ages 6; the proceedings of the sixth Anatolian Iron Ages colloquium, held at Eskişehir, 16-20 August 2004*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and A. Sagona. Leuven: Peeters, 283-310.
- Tüfekçi Sivas, T. 2003. "Wine presses of western Phrygia," *Ancient West & East* 2:1-18.
- Tuna, C. 2008. *Orta Karadeniz bölgesi sahil kesiminde geleneksel mimari*. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- Tuna, N., Z. Aktüre, and M. Lynch, eds. 1998. *Thracians and Phrygians; problems of parallelism; proceedings of an international symposium on the archaeology, history and ancient languages of Thrace and Phrygia, Ankara, 3-4 June 1995*. Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press.
- Tuplin, C. 1988. "Persian garrisons in Xenophon and other sources," in *Method and theory; proceedings of the London 1985 Achaemenid history workshop*, ed. A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg. Achaemenid history, vol. 3. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 67-70.
- . 1993. *The failings of empire; a reading of Xenophon's "Hellenica" 2.3.11-7.5.27*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- . 2004. "Medes in Media, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia: empire, hegemony, domination or illusion?" *Ancient west and East* 3:223-51.
- . 2007. "A foreigner's perspective: Xenophon in Anatolia," in *The Achaemenid impact on local populations and cultures in Anatolia (sixth-fourth centuries B.C.); papers presented at the international workshop, Istanbul 20-21 May 2005*, ed. İ. Delemen. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology, 7-31.

- Turner, F.J. 1938. "The significance of history," in *The early writings of Frederick Jackson Turner*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 41-68.
- Tüysüz, O. 1999. "Geology of the Cretaceous sedimentary basins of the Western Pontides," *Geological Journal* 34:75-93.
- Tüysüz, O., and M.K. Erturaç. 2005. "Kuzey Anadolu Fayının Devrez Çayı ile Soruk Çayı arasındaki kesiminin özellikleri ve fayın morfolojik gelişimdeki etkileri," in *Turqua; Türkiye kuvaterner sempozyumu V*, ed. O. Tüysüz and M.K. Erturaç. Istanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Avrasya Yer Bilimleri Enstitüsü, 26-40.
- Uğuz, M.F., M. Sevin, and M. Duru. 2002. *Türkiye jeoloji haritası/Geological map of Turkey; Sinop (1:500,000)*. Ankara. Maden Tetkik ve Arama Genel Müdürlüğü.
- Ülkümen, O., et al. 1983. "Kastamonu bölgesi araştırmaları," *Delta (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Mağara Araştırma Kulübü Yayını)* 1:3-9.
- Umar, B. 2007. *Paphlagonia; bir tarihsel coğrafya araştırması ve gezi rehberi*. Istanbul: İnkikâp.
- Ünal, A. 1989. "Orta ve kuzey Anadolu'nun M.Ö. 2. binyılda iskân tarihiyle ilgili sorunlar," *Anadolu/Anatolia* 22:17-37.
- . 1999. "A Hittite Mycenaean type B sword from the vicinity of Kastamonu, northwest Turkey," in *Essays on ancient Anatolia*, ed. H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 207-226.
- Ünal, V. 1982. "Zwei Gräber eurasischer Reiternomaden im nördlichen Zentralanatolien," *Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie* 4:65-81.
- Ustaömer, T., and A. Robertson. 1993. "A Late Palaeozoic-Early Mesozoic marginal basin along the active southern continental margin of Eurasia: evidence from the Central Pontides (Turkey) and adjacent regions," *Geographical Journal* 28:219-38.
- . 1997. "Tectonic-sedimentary evolution of the North Tethyan margin in the Central Pontides of northern Turkey," in *Regional and petroleum geology of the Black Sea and surrounding region*, ed. A.G. Robertson. Tulsa, Oklahoma: American Association of Petroleum Geologists, 255-90.
- Uzun, A. 2004. "Koru polje and karst landform evolution in the middle part of the Kure Mountains, Northern Anatolia, Turkey," *Cave and Karst Science* 31:109-12.
- van de Mieroop, M. 2007. *A history of the Ancient Near East, ca. 3000-323 BC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell.

- van Gennep, A. 1960. *The rites of passage*. trans. M.B. Vizedom and G.L. Caffee. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Varkıvanç, B. 2007a. "Mezar mimarisi örtü sistemlerinde form ve teknik I: Denizli-Çambaşı tümülüsü örneği," in *Calbis; Baki Öğün'e armağan/Melanges offerts à Baki Öğün*, ed. C. Işık, Z. Çizmeli Öğün, and B. Varkıvanç. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 187-204, figs. 1-5.
- . 2007b. "Mezar mimarisi örtü sistemlerinde form ve teknik II: tüteklikli örtü," in *Calbis; Baki Öğün'e armağan/Melanges offerts à Baki Öğün*, ed. C. Işık, Z. Çizmeli Öğün, and B. Varkıvanç. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 205-17, figs. 1-8.
- Vassileva, M. 2001. "Further considerations on the cult of Kybele," *AnatSt* 51:51-63.
- Vismara, N. 2007. "Some reflections on iconographic motifs in Lycian coinage: the central Achaemenid Empire's powerful political presence in a border region," in *The Achaemenid impact on local populations and cultures in Anatolia (sixth-fourth centuries B.C.); papers presented at the international workshop, Istanbul 20-21 May 2005*, ed. İ. Delemen. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology, 59-67.
- Voigt, M.M. 1994. "Excavations at Gordion 1988-89: the Yassihöyük stratigraphic sequence," in *Anatolian Iron Ages 3; the proceedings of the Third Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium held at Van, 6-12 August 1990*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and D.H. French. Ankara: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 265-93.
- Voigt, M.M. and R.C. Henrickson. 2000a. "The early Iron Age at Gordion: the evidence from the Yassihöyük stratigraphic sequence," in *The sea peoples and their world; a reassessment*, ed. E.D. Oren. Philadelphia: University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, 327-60.
- . 2000b. "Formation of the Phrygian state: the Early Iron Age at Gordion," *AnatSt* 50:37-54.
- Voigt, M.M., and T.C. Young, jr. 1999. "From Phrygian capital to Achaemenid entrepot: Middle and Late Phrygian Gordion," *IrAnt* 34:191-241.
- Voigt, M.M., et al. 1997. "Fieldwork at Gordion: 1993-1995," *Anatolica* 23:1-59.
- Vollkommer, R. 1988. *Herakles in the art of classical Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- von Gall, H. 1966a. *Die paphlagonischen Felsgräber; eine Studie zur kleinasiatischen Kunstgeschichte*. Tübingen: Wasmuth.

- . 1966b. “Zu den ‘medischen’ Felsgräbern in Nordwestiran und Iraqi Kurdistan,” *AA* 1966:19-43.
- . 1967a. “Felsgräber der Perserzeit im pontischen Kleinasien (Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin 1966 Sitzung am 8. Februar 1966)” *AA* 1967:585-95.
- . 1967b. “Zu den kleinasiatischen Treppentunneln,” *AA* 1967:504-27.
- . 1974. “Die Kopfbedeckung des persischen Ornats bei den Achämeniden,” *AMIran* 7:145-61, pls. 31-6.
- . 1989a. “Das achämenidische Königgrab neue Überlegungen und Beobachtungen,” in *Archaeologia iranica et orientalis; miscellanea in honorem Louis Vanden Berghe*, vol. 1, ed. L. de Meyer and E. Haerinck. Gent: Peeters, 503-23.
- . 1989b. “Zum Bildgehalt der graeco-persischen Grabstelen,” *Anadolu/Anatolia* 22:143-65, pls. 1-3, figs. 1-3.
- . 1999. “Der achaimenidische Löwengreif in Kleinasien. Bemerkungen zu dem sog. ‘Zerbrochenen Löwengrab’ bei Hayranvelisultan in Phrygian,” *AMIran* 31:149-60.
- . 2001. “Die Löwenbilder des Büyük Arslan Taş und des zerbrochenen Löwengrabes (Yılantaş) in Phrygien,” in *Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu için yazıları/Essays in honour of Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu*, ed. C. Özgünel et al. Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 257-66.
- von Graeve, V. 1970. *Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt*. Berlin: Mann.
- von Moltke, H. 1917. *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren 1835 bis 1839*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed., ed. G. Hirschfeld. Berlin: E.S. Mittler und Sohn.
- Waelkens, M. 1980. “Das Totenhaus in Kleinasien,” *AntW* 11.4:3-12.
- . 1982. “Hausähnliche Gräber in Anatolien vom 3. Jht. v. Chr. bis in die Römerzeit,” in *Palast und Hütte; Beiträge zum Bauen und Wohnen im Altertum von Archäologen, Vor- und Frühgeschichtlern; Tagungsbeiträge eines Symposiums der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung Bonn-Bad Godesberg veranstaltet vom 25.-30. November 1979 in Berlin*, ed. D. Papenfuss and V.M. Strocka. , 421-45.
- . 1986. *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine; typologische und epigraphische Untersuchungen der kleinasiatischen Grabreliefs mit Scheintür*. Mainz: von Zabern.

- Wagner, G.A., and Ö. Öztunalı. 2000. "Prehistoric copper sources in Turkey," in *Anatolian metal I*, ed. Ü. Yalçın. Bochum: Deutsches Bergbau-Museum, 31-67.
- Wagner, G.A., et al. 1986. "Geochemische und isotopische Charakteristika früher Rohstoffquellen für Kupfer, Blei, Silber und Gold in der Türkei" *JRGZM* 33:723-52.
- Warner, J.L. 1994. *Elmalı-Karataş II; the early Bronze Age village of Karataş*. Bryn Mawr: Bryn Mawr College.
- Weber, M. 1978. *Economy and society; an outline of interpretive sociology*, ed. G. Roth and C. Wittich. trans. E. Fischhoff et al. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Weiskopf, M.N. 1982. "Achaemenid systems of governing in Anatolia," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- . 1989. *The so-called "great satraps' revolt", 366-360 B.C.; concerning local instability in the Achaemenid far west*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- . 2000. review of *L'asie mineure au I<sup>er</sup> siècle (412-323 a.C.); pouvoirs et jeux politiques*, by P. Debord. *Topoi* 10:451-8.
- Wescoat, B.D. 1995. "Wining and dining on the Temple of Athena at Assos" in *The art of interpreting*, ed. S.C. Scott. University Park, Pennsylvania: Department of Art History, Pennsylvania State University, 292-320.
- Wesenberg, B. 1971. *Kapitelle und Basen; Beobachtungen zur Entstehung der griechischen Säulenformen*. Düsseldorf: Rheinland.
- West, M.L. 2002. 'Eumelos': a Corinthian epic cycle?" *JHS* 122:109-33.
- White, D.S. 1996. "Regionalism and particularism," in *Imperial Germany; a historiographical companion*, ed. R. Chickering. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- Whitley, J. 2001. *The archaeology of ancient Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wiggermann, F.A.M. 1992. *Mesopotamian protective spirits; the ritual texts*. Groningen: Styx & PP Publications.
- . 2007. "Nergal," *RLA* 9:215-26.
- Wilson, D.R. 1960. "The historical geography of Bithynia, Paphlagonia and Pontus in the Greek and Roman periods; a new survey with particular reference to surface remains still visible," M.A. diss., Oxford University.

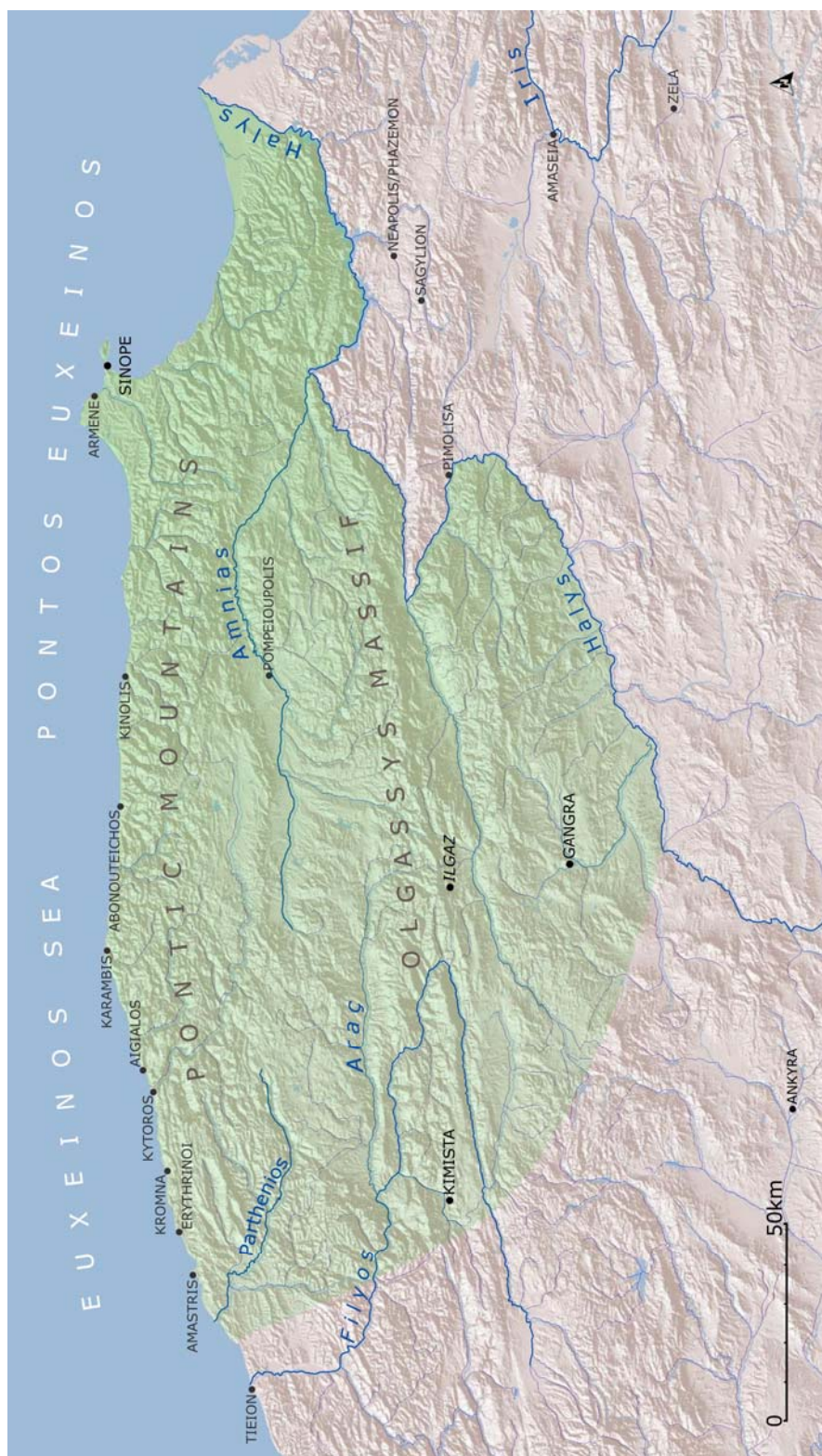
- . 1976a. “Amastris,” *PECS* 47.
- . 1976b. “Amisos,” *PECS* 49.
- Winfield, D. 1977. “The northern routes across Anatolia,” *AnatSt* 27:151-66.
- Winter, N. 1993. *Greek architectural terracottas from the prehistoric to the end of the archaic period*. Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon.
- Wittfogel, K.A. 1957. *Oriental despotism; a comparative study of total power*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Wittke, A.-M. 2004. *Mušker und Phryger; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Anatoliens vom 12. bis zum 7. Jh. v. Chr.* Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert.
- . 2007. “Remarks on the early history of Phrygia (twelfth to eighth century BC),” in *Anatolian Iron Ages 6; the proceedings of the sixth Anatolian Iron Ages colloquium, held at Eskişehir, 16-20 August 2004*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and A. Sagona. Leuven: Peeters, 335-47.
- Wolf, E.R. 1997. *Europe and the people without history; with a new preface*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Woolley, L., sir. 1921. *From Kastamuni to Kodos; being a record of experiences of prisoners of war in Turkey, 1916-1918*. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell.
- Woolley, L., sir, and R.D. Barnett. 1952. *Carchemish; report on the excavations at Jerablus on behalf of the British Museum*, vol. 3; the excavations in the inner town and the Hittite inscriptions. London: Trustees of the British Museum.
- Yakar, J. 2000. *Ethnoarchaeology of Anatolia; rural socio-economy in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. [Tel Aviv]: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology.
- Yaman, T.M. 1935. *Kastamonu tarihi; XV inci asrın sonlarına kadar*. [Istanbul]: Ahmed İhsan Matbaası.
- Yaman, Z. 1991. “Kastamonu İli Taşköprü İlçesi Pompeiopolis (Zımbıllı tepesi höyüğü) 1984 yılı kurtarma kazısı,” *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri 1990* 1:63-111.
- Yiğitbaş, E., A. Elmas, and Y. Yılmaz. 1999. “Pre-Cenozoic tectono-stratigraphic components of the Western Pontides and their geological evolution,” *Geological Journal* 34:55-74.
- Yıldırım, B., and M.-H. Gates. 2007. “Archaeology in Turkey, 2004-2005,” *AJA* 111:275-356.

- Yıldırım, T., and T. Sipahi. 1999. "1997 yılı Çorum bölgesi yüzey araştırmaları," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1998* 16.1:433-50.
- . 2004. "2002 yılı Çorum ve Çankırı İlleri yüzey araştırmaları," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2003* 21.2:305-14.
- . 2007. "2005 yılı Çorum, Çankırı İlleri yüzey araştırması," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2006* 24.2:335-50.
- . 2009. "2007 yılı Çorum ve Çankırı İlleri yüzey araştırması," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2008* 26.3:91-106.
- Yılmaz, C. 2005. "Kızılırmak Deltasında meydana gelen erozyonun coğrafi analizi," in *Turqua; Türkiye kuvaterner sempozyumu V*, ed. O. Tüysüz and M.K. Erturaç. Istanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Avrasya Yer Bilimleri Enstitüsü, 227-34.
- Yılmaz, O. 1980. "Daday-Devrekani Masifi kuzeydoğu kesimi litostratigrafi birimleri ve tektoniği," *Yerbilimleri* 5-6:101-35.
- Yılmaz, O., and M.S. Kırıkoğlu. 1985. "Çangal metaofiyoliti Karadere metabazitindeki Cu, Co, Zn, Cr ve Ni anomalileri," *Türkiye Jeoloji Kurumu Bülteni* 28:159-66.
- Yoffee, N. 1993. "Too many chiefs? (or, safe texts for the '90s)," in *Archaeological theory; who sets the agenda?* ed. N. Yoffee and A. Sherratt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 60-78.
- . 2005. *Myths of the archaic state; evolution of the earliest citites, states, and civilizations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Young, T.C., Jr. 1988a. "The early history of the Medes and the Persians and the Achaemenid Empire to the death of Cambyses," *CAH<sup>2</sup>* 4:1-52.
- . 1988b. "The consolidation of the empire and its limits of growth under Darius and Xerxes," *CAH<sup>2</sup>* 4:53-111.
- Zahle, J. 1991. "Achaemenid influences in Lycia (coinage, sculpture, architecture). Evidence for political changes during the 5th century B.C." in *Asia Minor and Egypt; old cultures in a new empire; proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid history workshop*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt. Achaemenid history, vol. 6. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 145-60.
- Zgusta, L. 1964. *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*. Prag: Tschechoslowakische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- . 1982. "Weiteres zum Namen der Kybele," *Die Sprache* 28:171-2.

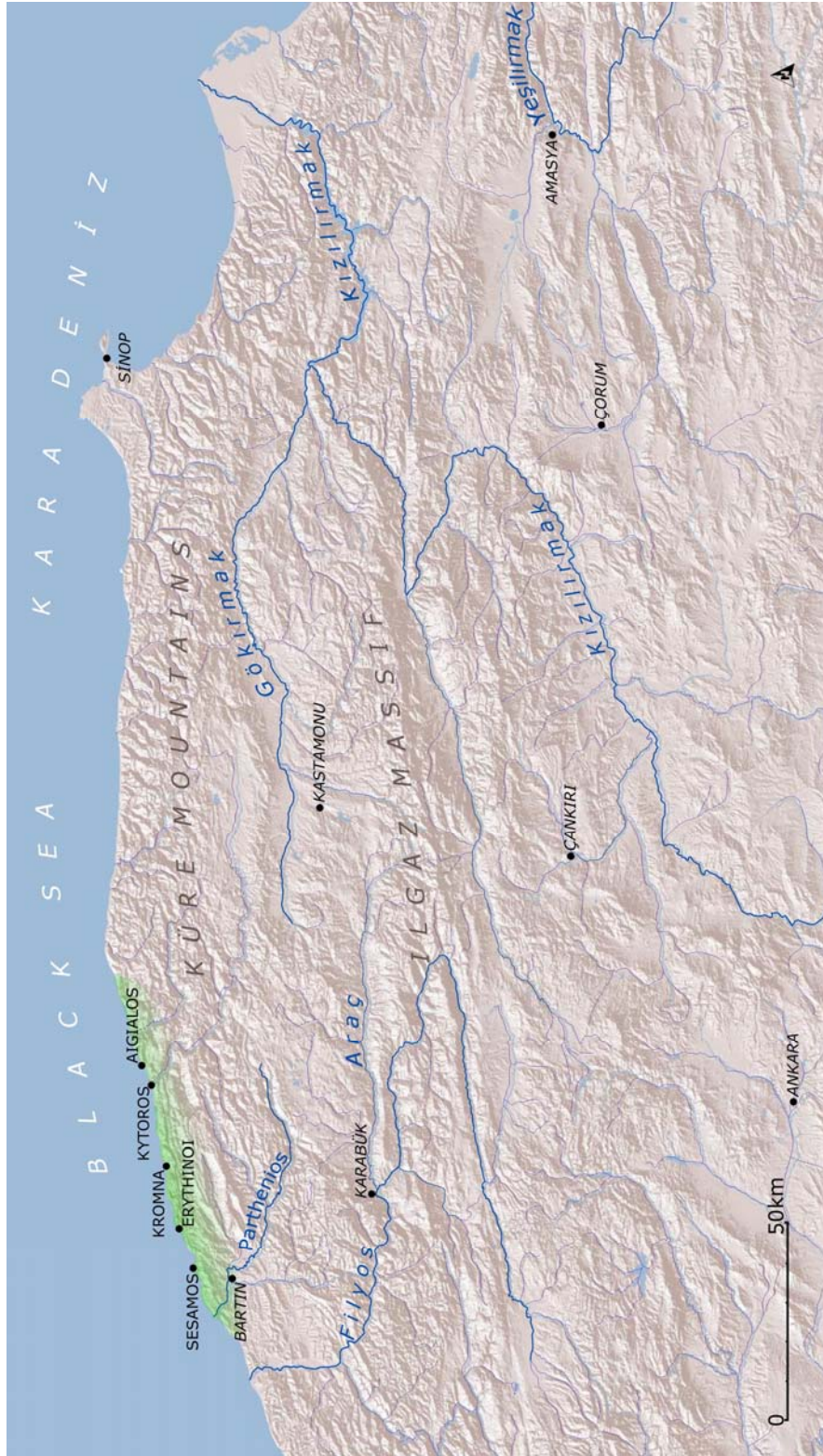
———. 1984. *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Zoroğlu, L. 1981. “Kultepe’de bulunan Hellenistik çağa ait bir amphora,” *Selçuk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 1:239-52, figs. 1-5.





**Fig. 1.** Map of Paphlagonia (roman toponyms from Strabo, contemporary toponyms in italics, extent of Paphlagonia in green).

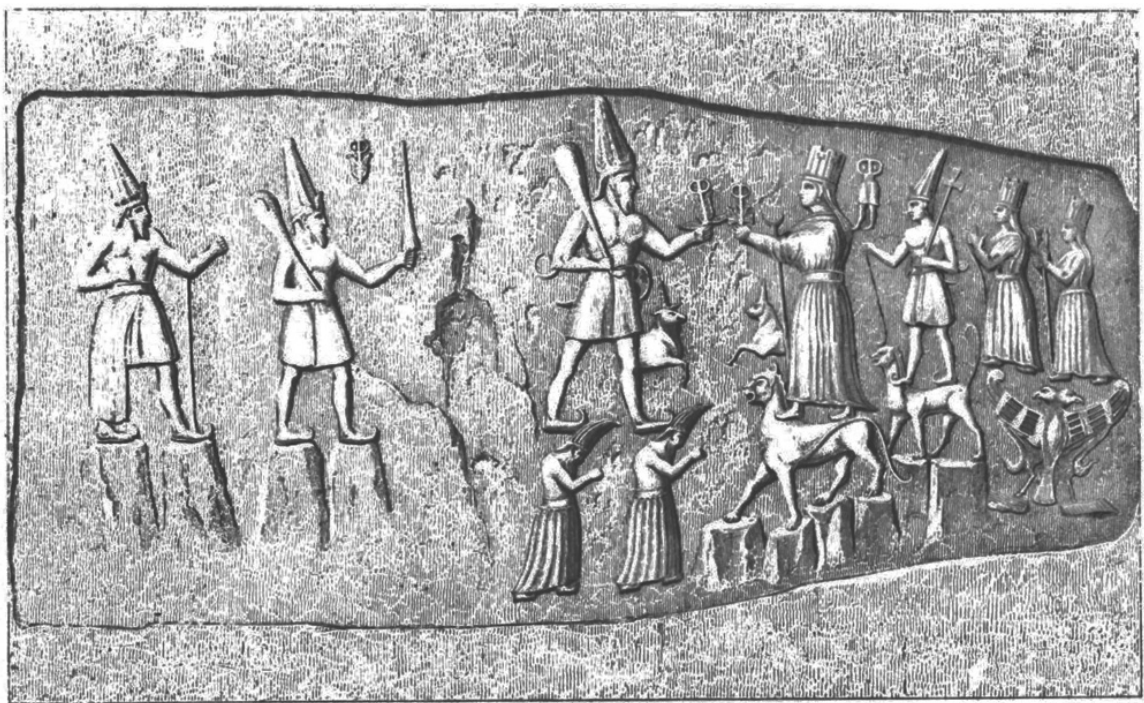


**Fig. 2.** Map of Homer's Paphlagonia (roman toponyms from Homer, contemporary toponyms in italics, extent of Paphlagonia in green).

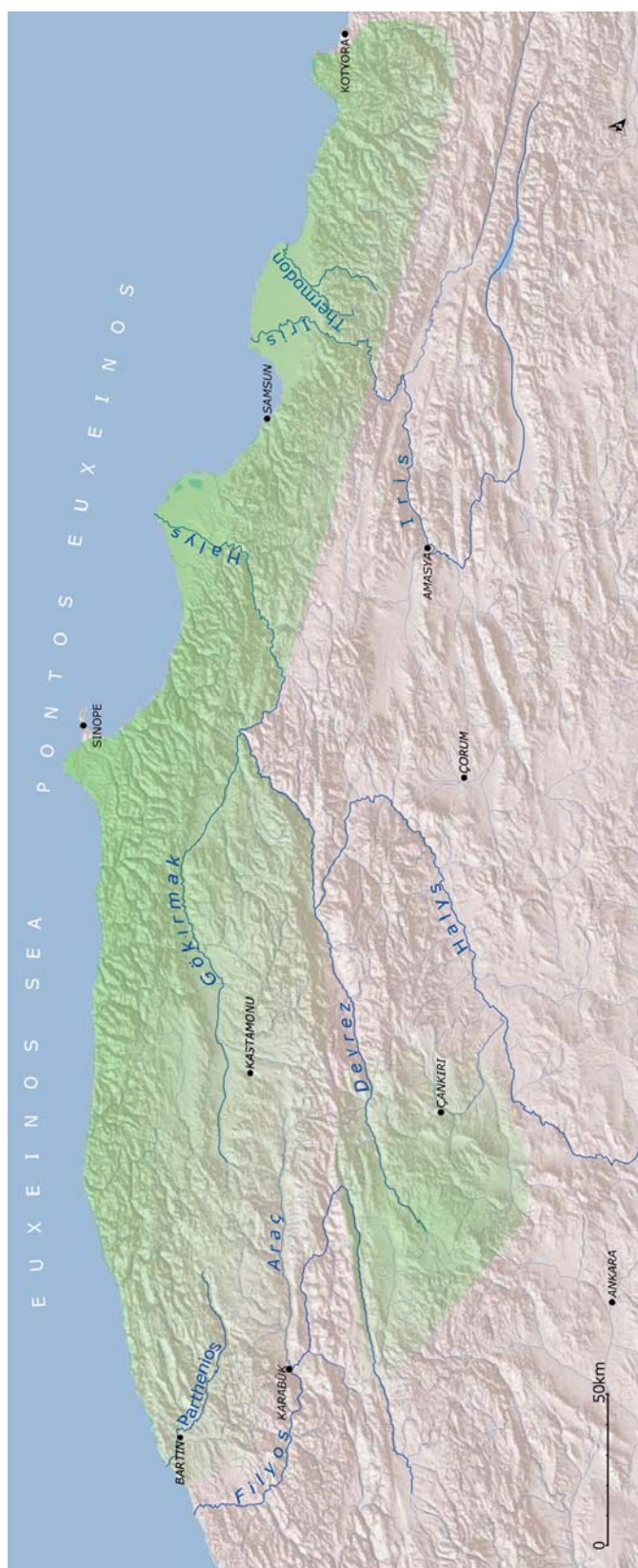




**Fig. 3.** Map of Herodotus' Paphlagonia (roman toponyms from Herodotus, contemporary toponyms in italics, extent of Paphlagonia in green).

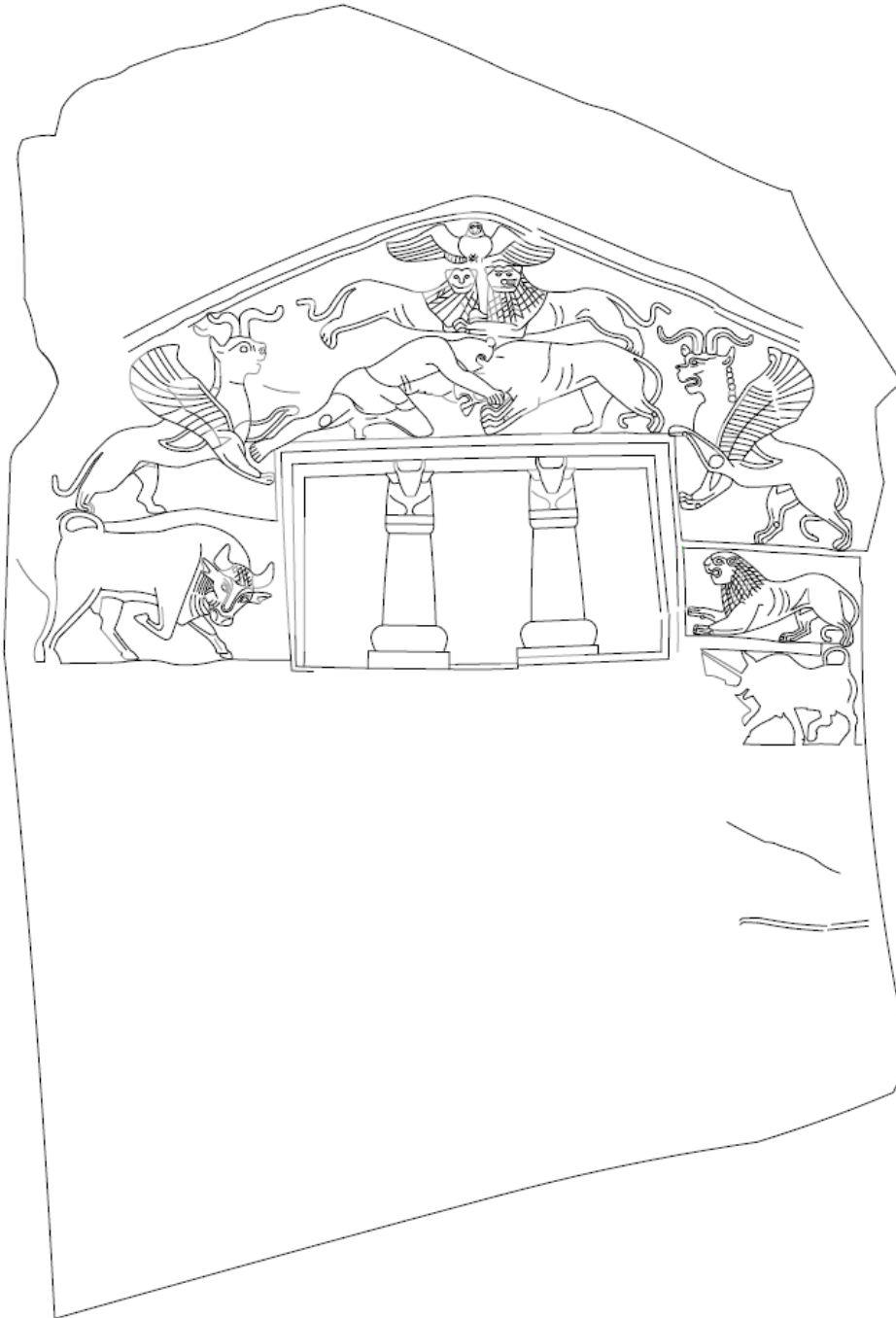


**Fig. 4.** Texier's representation of the Paphlagonian king meeting the Amazon queen, Yazılıkaya, Boğazköy (Texier 1839:pl. 78).

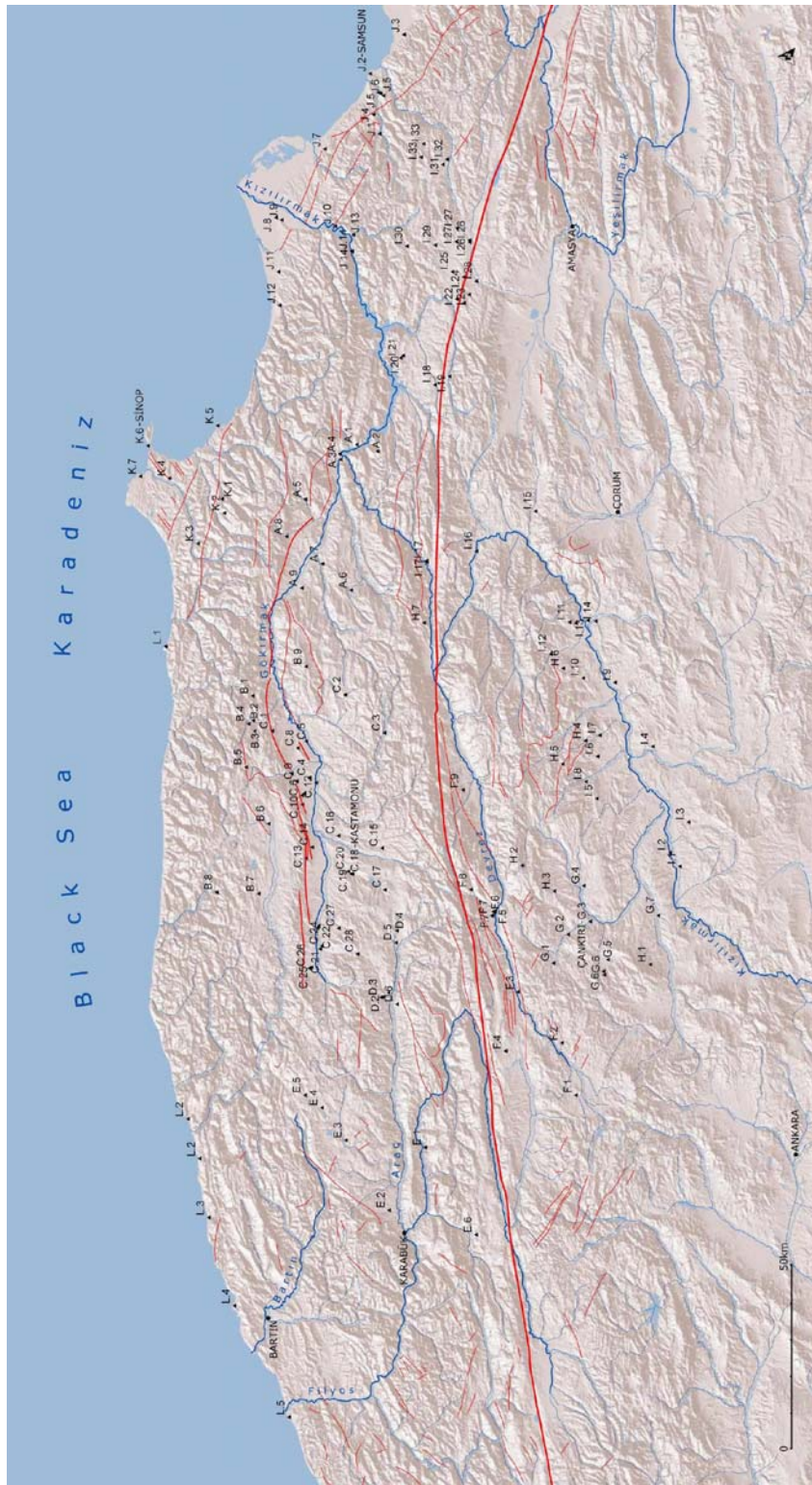


**Fig. 5.** Map of Xenophon's Paphlagonia (roman toponyms from Xenophon, contemporary toponyms in *italics*, extent of Paphlagonia in green).

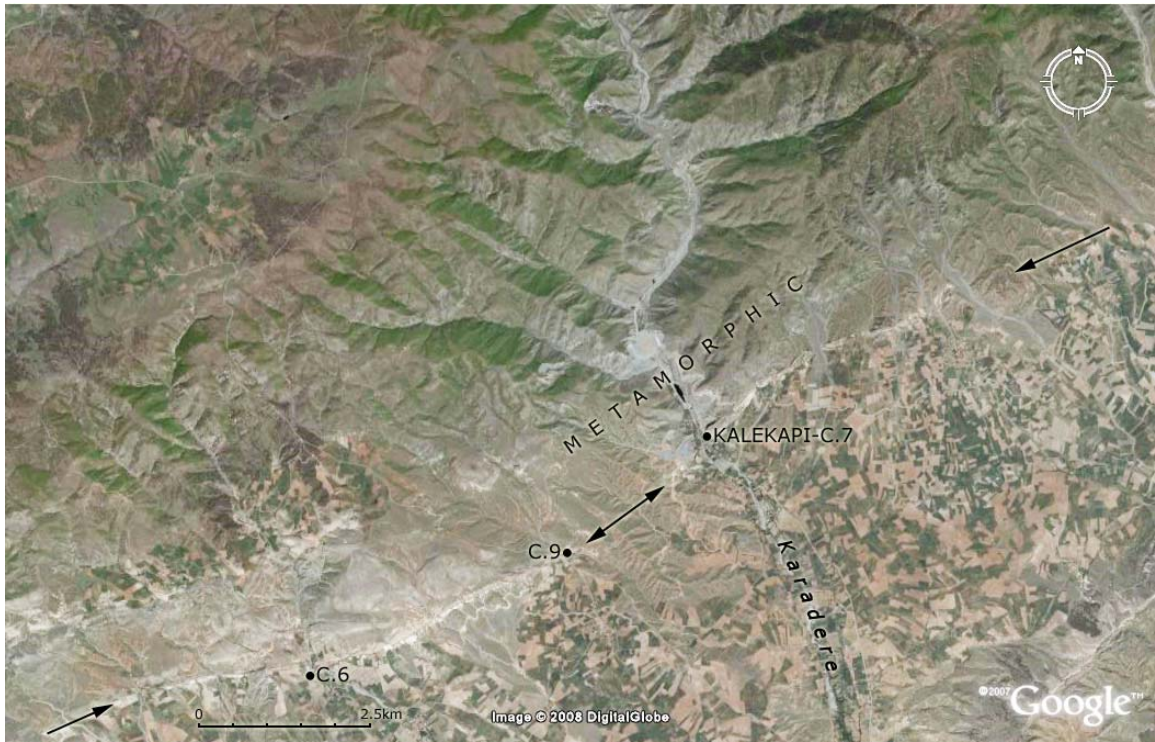




**Fig. 6.** Measured drawing of the reliefs and columnar porch of the Kalekapı rockcut tomb (C.7). Height of columns: 3.36 m.

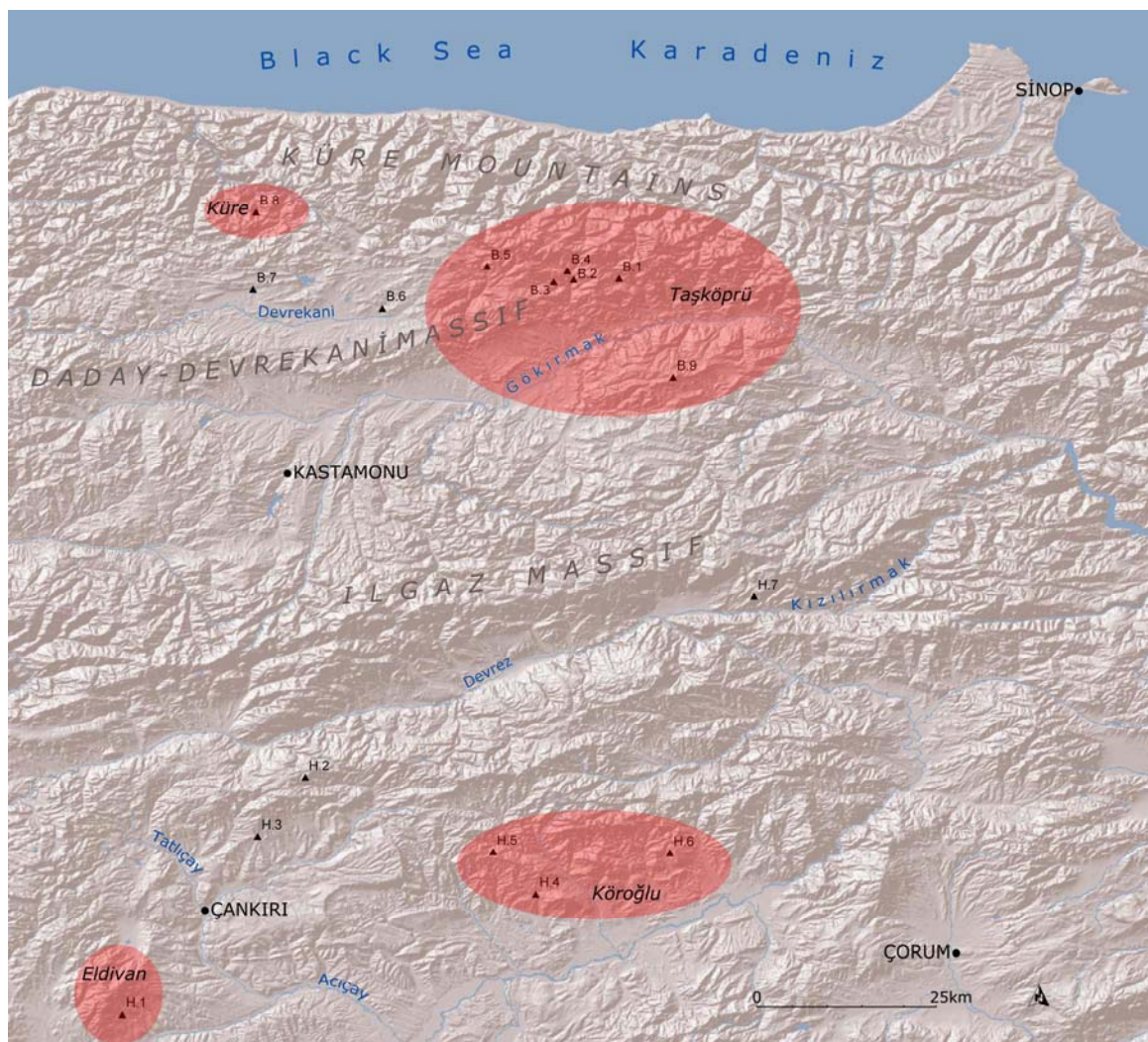


**Fig. 7.** Map of the North Anatolian Fault Zone (fault lines digitized from Aksay et al. 2002; Hakyemez and Papak 2002; and Uğuz, Sevin and Duru 2002).



**Fig. 8.** Ekinveren Fault Zone and İnaltı limestone (between arrows).



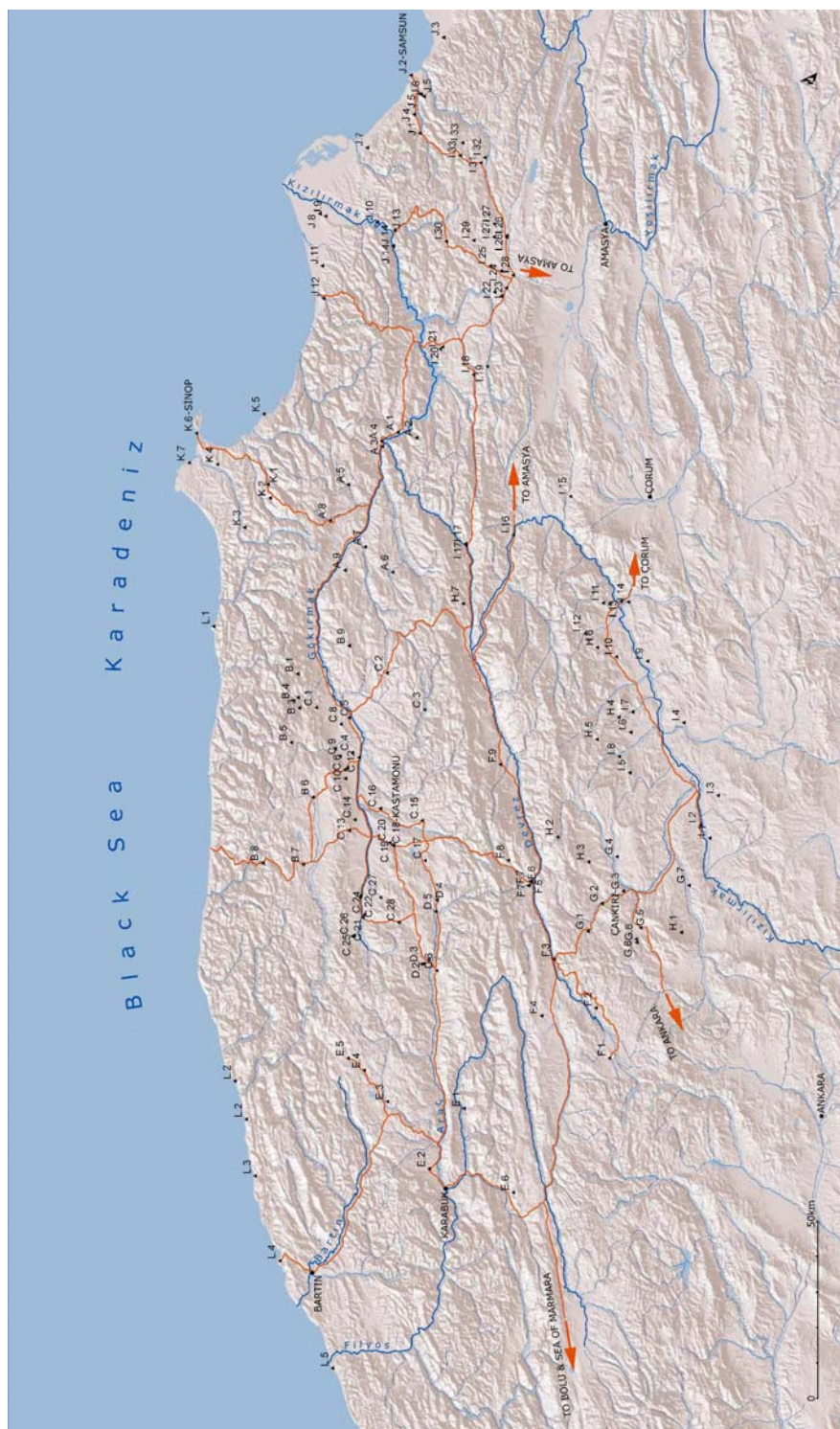


**Fig. 9.** Map of sites associated with mining and copper ore deposits.

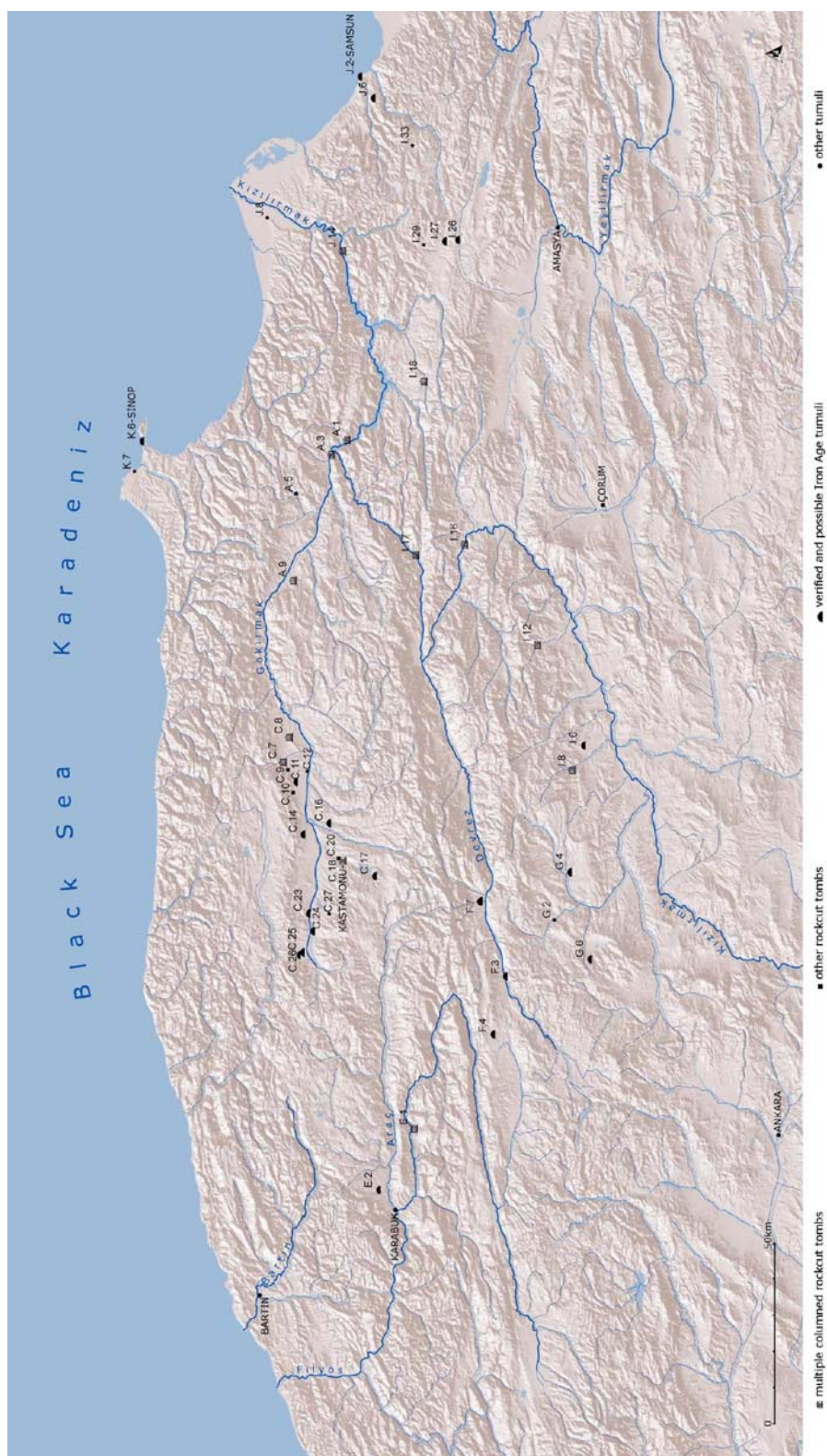


**Fig. 10.** Map of zones of inferred natural forest vegetation: deciduous in pale green, montane in dark green, mixed woodlands in blue, and woodlands & anthropogenic steppe in orange (zones digitized from Atalay and Efe 2010:66 fig. 1).



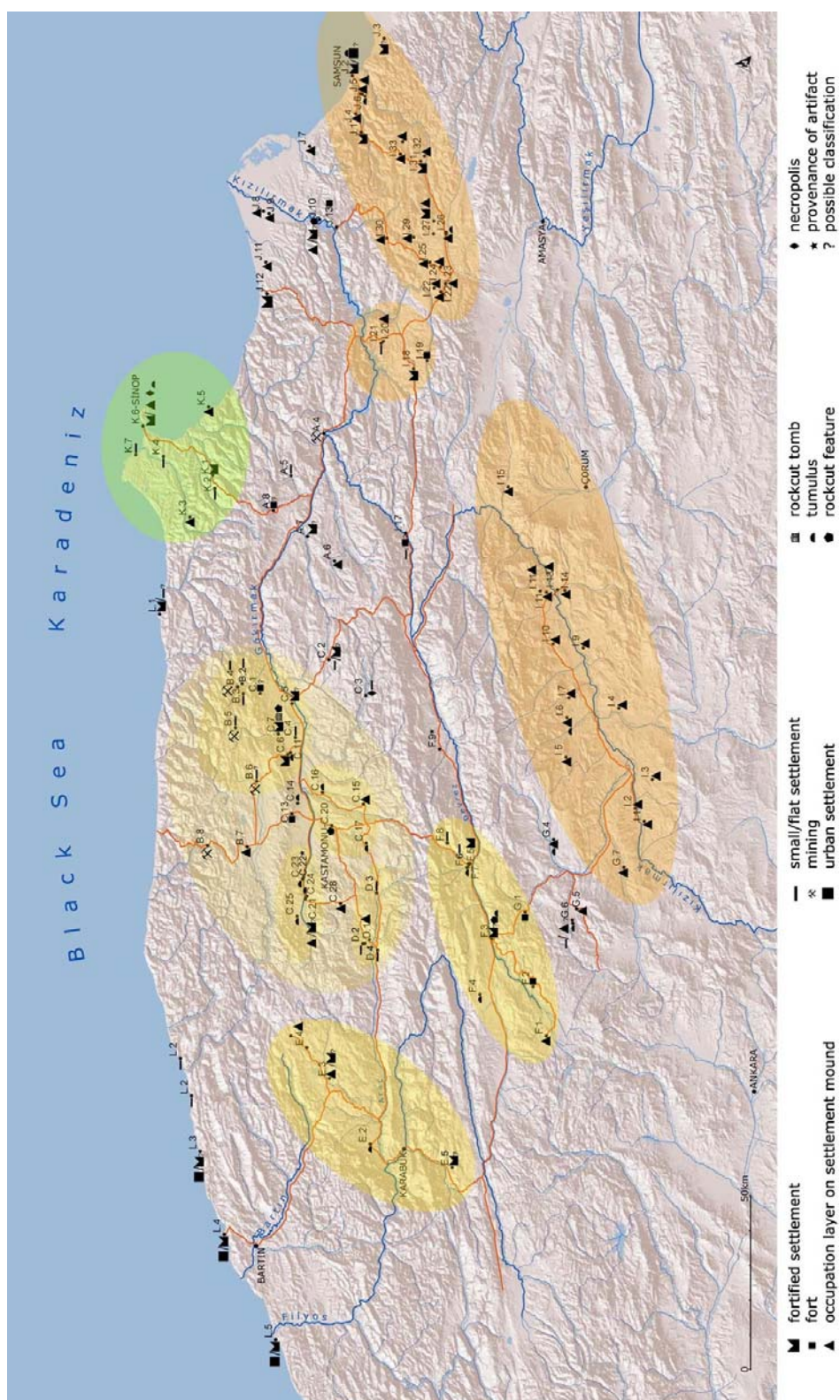


**Fig. 11.** Map of probable and possible routes in northern central Turkey in the Achaemenid period.

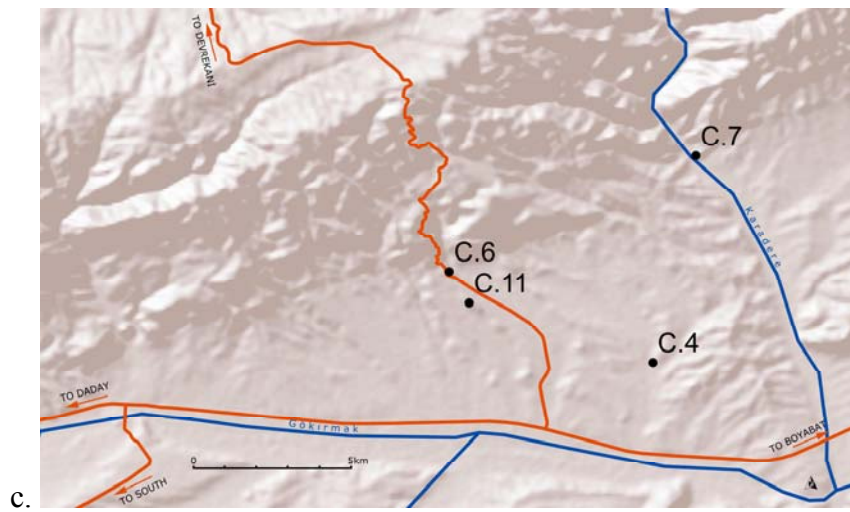
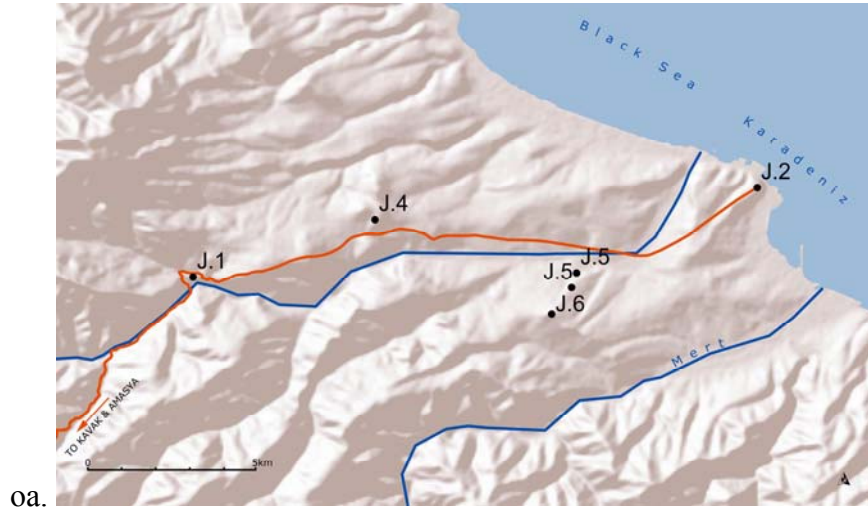


**Fig. 12.** Map of the distribution of tombs and tumuli discussed in catalog.





**Fig. 13.** Map of the Iron Age settlement pattern.

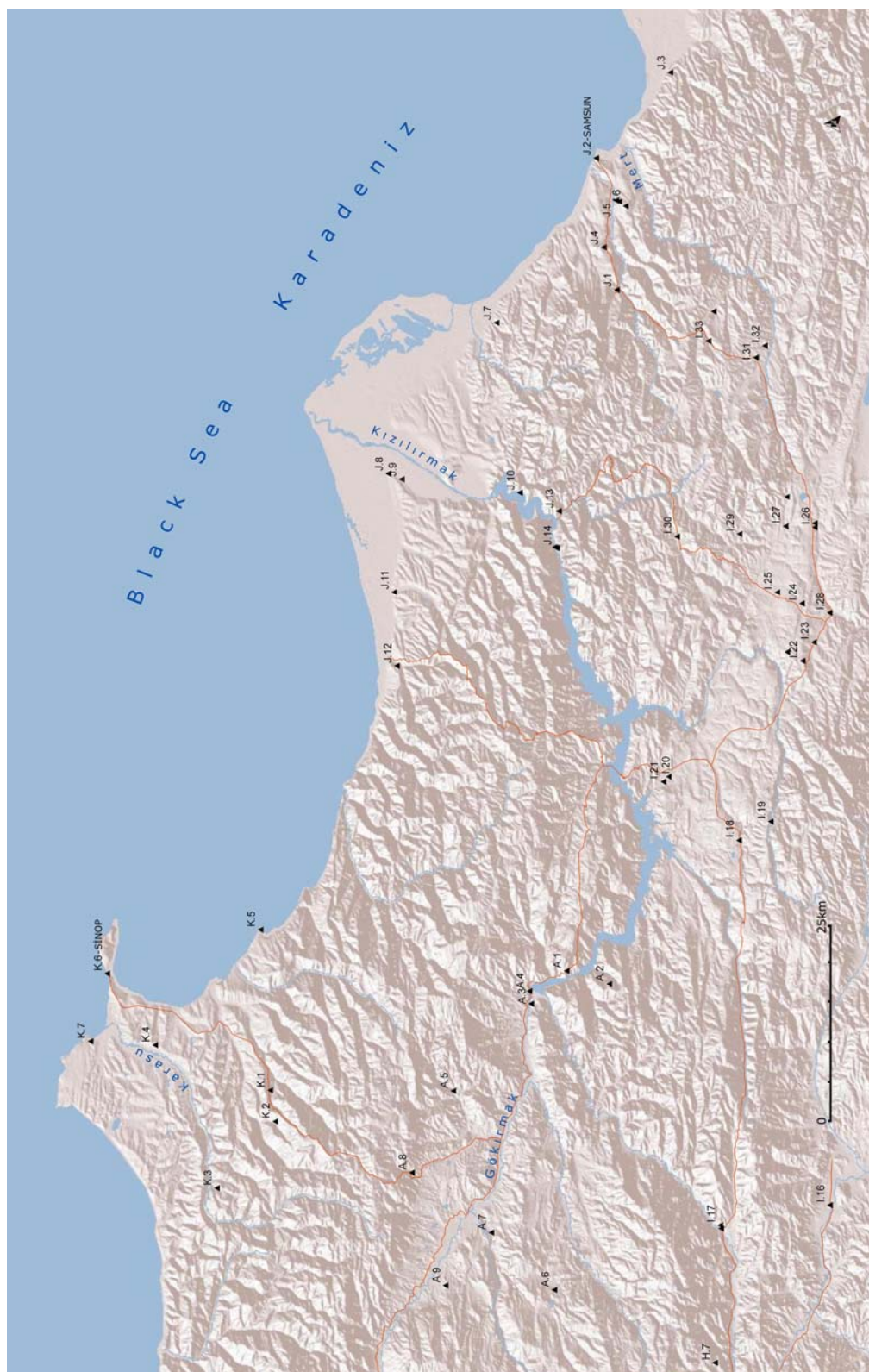


**Fig. 14.** Maps of proposed Iron Age pathways at: a. Akalan (**J.1**), b. Tıngıroğlu Tepesi (**K.1**), and c. Yüklütepe (**C.6**).



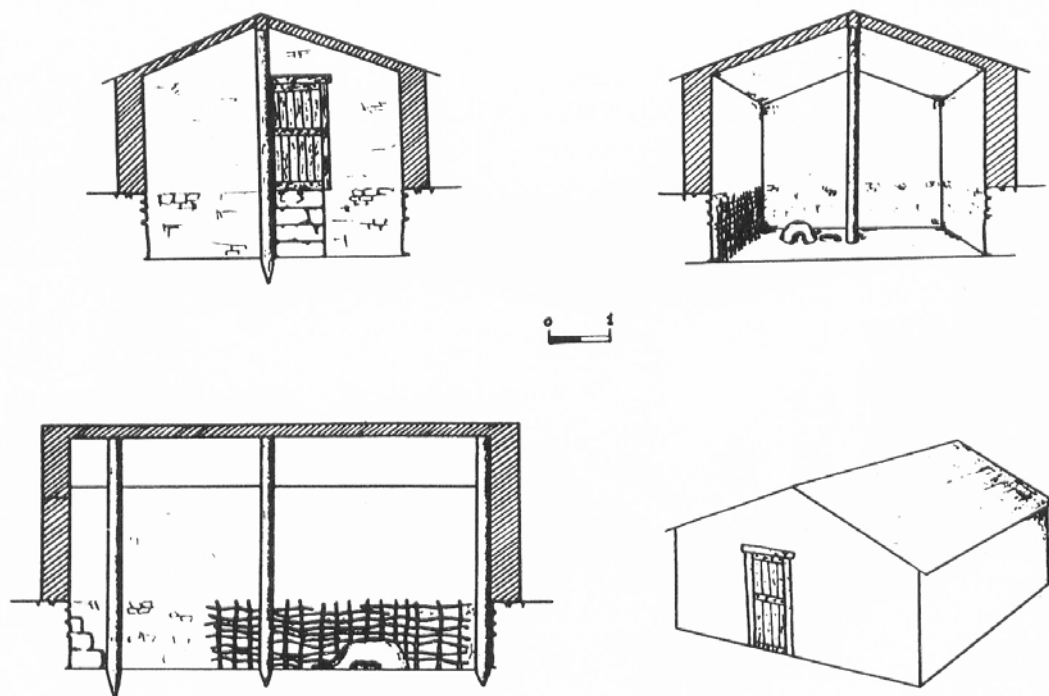
**Fig. 15.** Sinopean drachma dating from the last decade of the fifth century to the middle of the fourth century. On the obverse is the head of the nymph Sinope facing left and on the reverse are the eagle and dolphin in profile over ΣΙΝΟ (Price 1993:pl. 53 no. 1439).



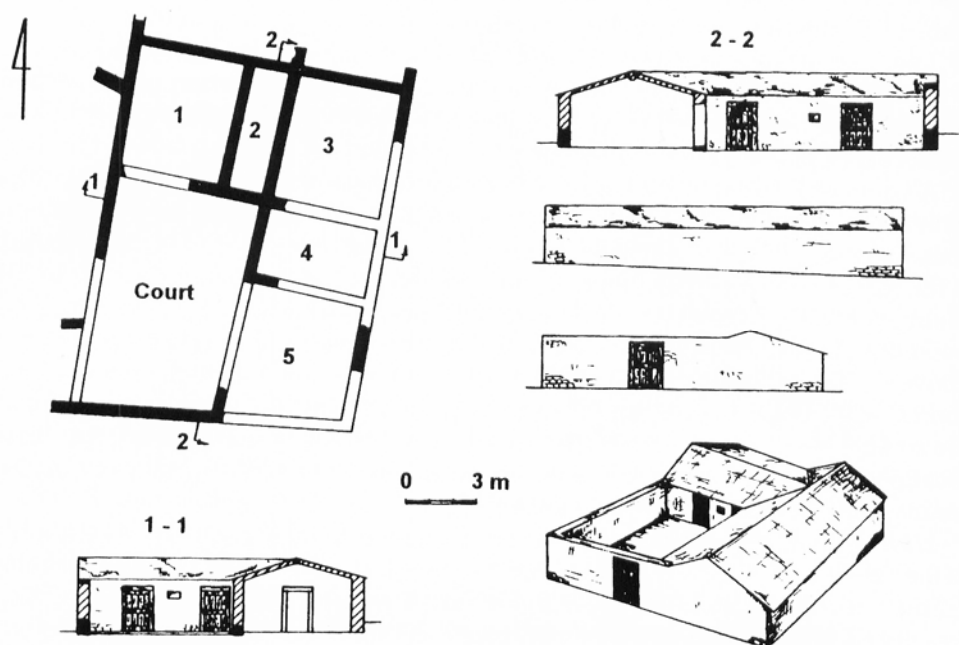


**Fig. 16.** Map of Sinop Promontory, Kızılırmak Delta, and valleys around Samsun.

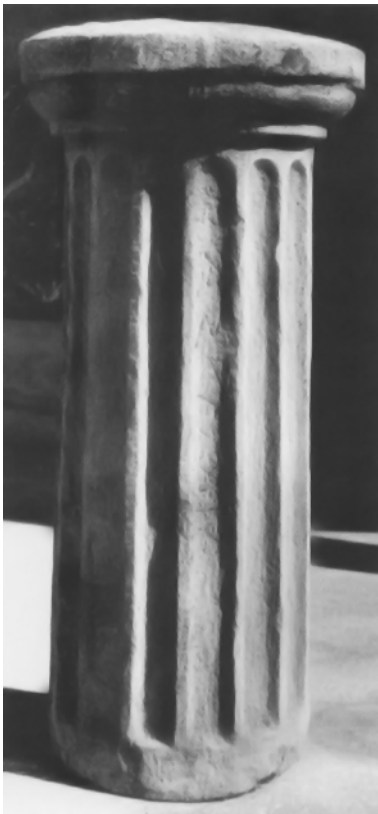




**Fig. 17.** Dugout building 41 dating to the middle of the sixth century, northwest sector, Berezan (Solovyov 1999:62 fig. 46).



**Fig. 18.** House 4 built at the end of the sixth century, northwest sector, Berezan (Solovyov 1999:74 fig. 53).



**Fig. 19.** Fluted Doric column burial marker of Bas, the son of Kallias, dating to the fifth or fourth century. Height of marker: 0.64 m, Sinop Arkeoloji Müzesi inv. no. 13.48.70. (French 2004:pl. 4 no. 12)



**Fig. 20.** Sinopean drachma dating from the second quarter of the fourth century. On the obverse is the head of the nymph Sinope facing left, and on the reverse are the eagle and dolphin in profile over  $\Delta$ ATAMA (Price 1993:pl. 53 no. 1447).



**Fig. 21.** Silver amphora with ibex handles. Height: 0.29 m. (Amandry 1959:pl. 24.)



**Fig. 22.** Gilt silver phiale. Diameter: 0.19 m, Boston Museum of Fine Arts acc. no. 60.535. (Terrace 1963:pls. 29.3, 30.1.)



**Fig. 23.** Measured drawing of the reliefs within the gable of the Kalekapı rockcut tomb (C.7). Outer width of rabbets 6.90 m.



**Fig. 24.** Measured drawing of the finished bull relief of the Kalekapı rockcut tomb (C.7).  
Width of bull 3.97 m.

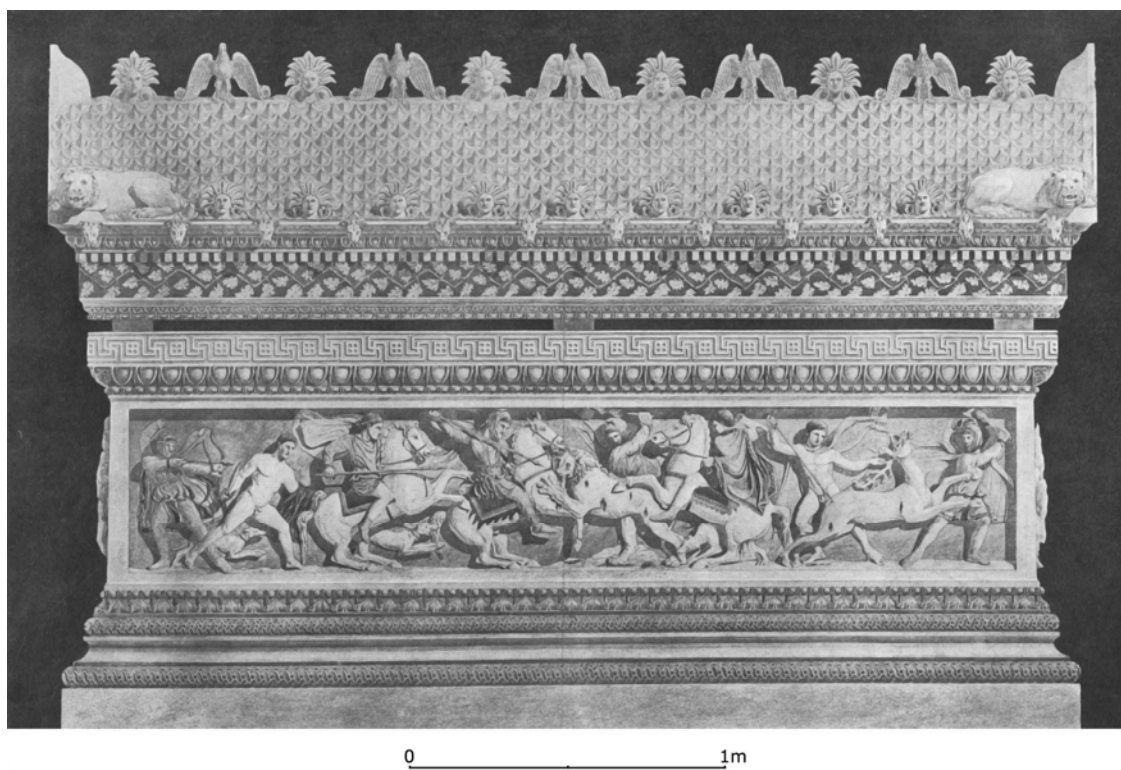




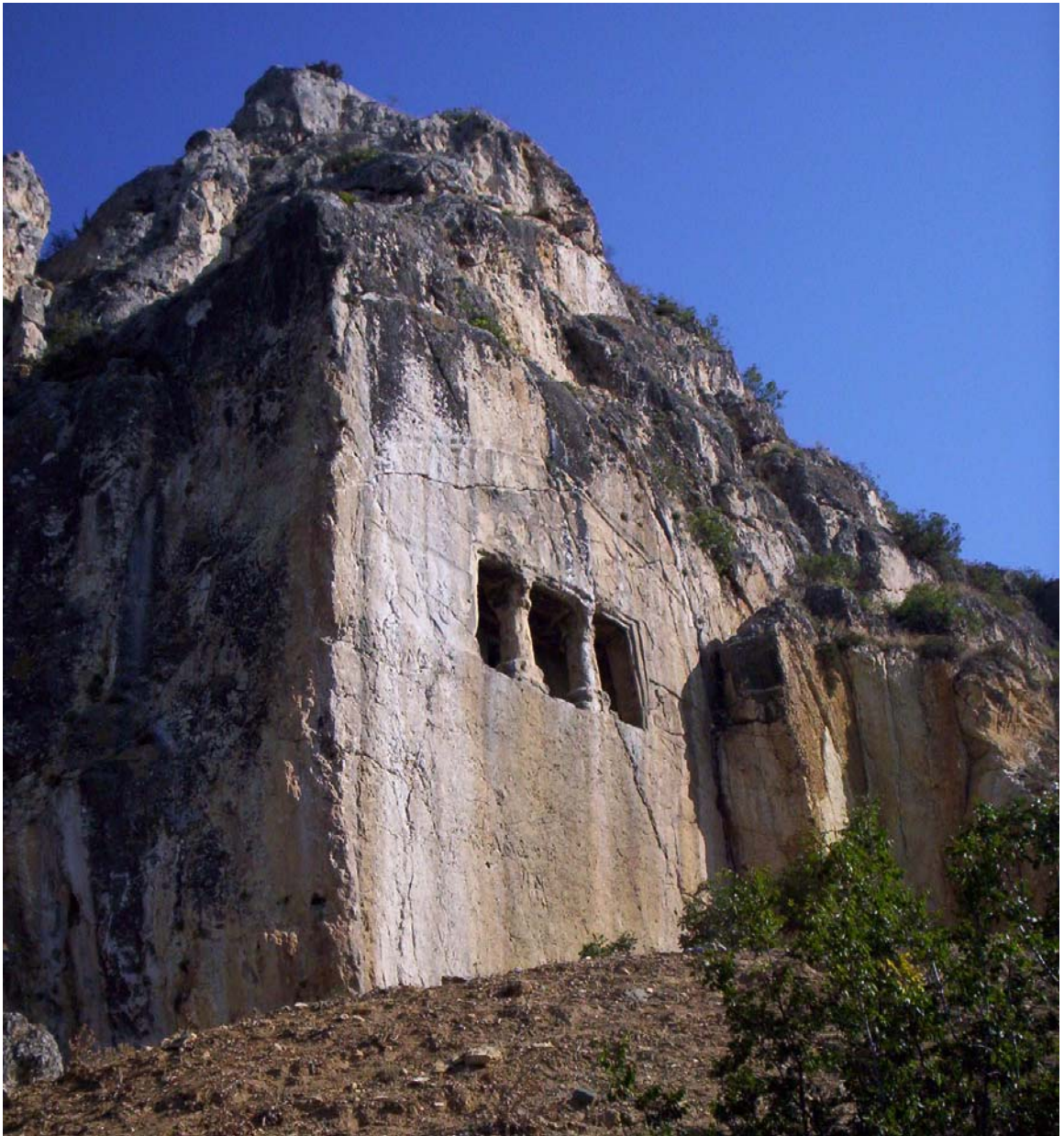
**Fig. 25.** Central acroterion of the Alexander sarcophagus, royal necropolis, Sidon (von Graeve 1970:pl. 4.1).



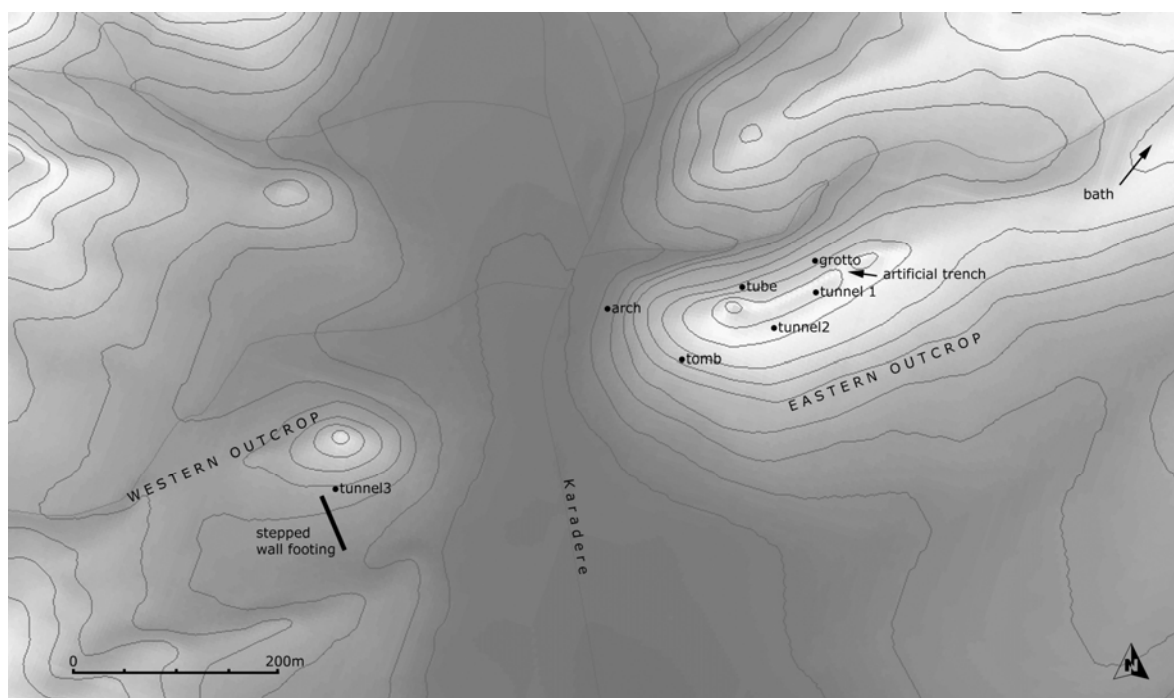
**Fig. 26.** Corner acroterion of the Alexander sarcophagus, royal necropolis, Sidon (von Graeve 1970:pl. 6.2).



**Fig. 27.** Elevation of the Alexander sarcophagus, royal necropolis, Sidon (Espouy 1981:pl. 98).



**Fig. 28.** Kalekapı as photographed from the SSW (C.7).



**Fig. 29.** Map of the rockcut features of the Kalekapı site (C.7).

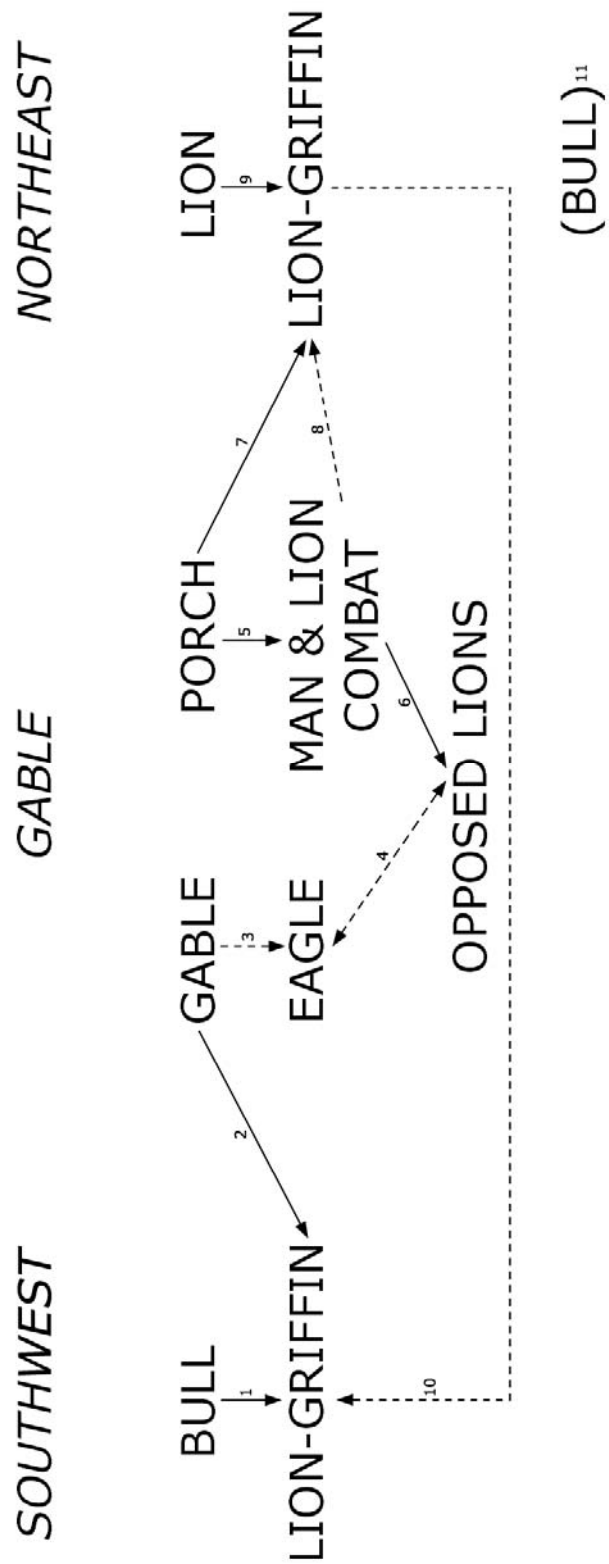




**Fig. 30.** Northeastern artificial trench and precipitous northwestern cliff of the eastern section of the ridge at Kalekapı (C.7).



**Fig. 31.** Stepped wall footing that climbs to near the opening of a tunnel on the top of the western outcrop of Kalekapı (C.7).



**Fig. 32.** The sequence of carving Kalekapı rockcut tomb.



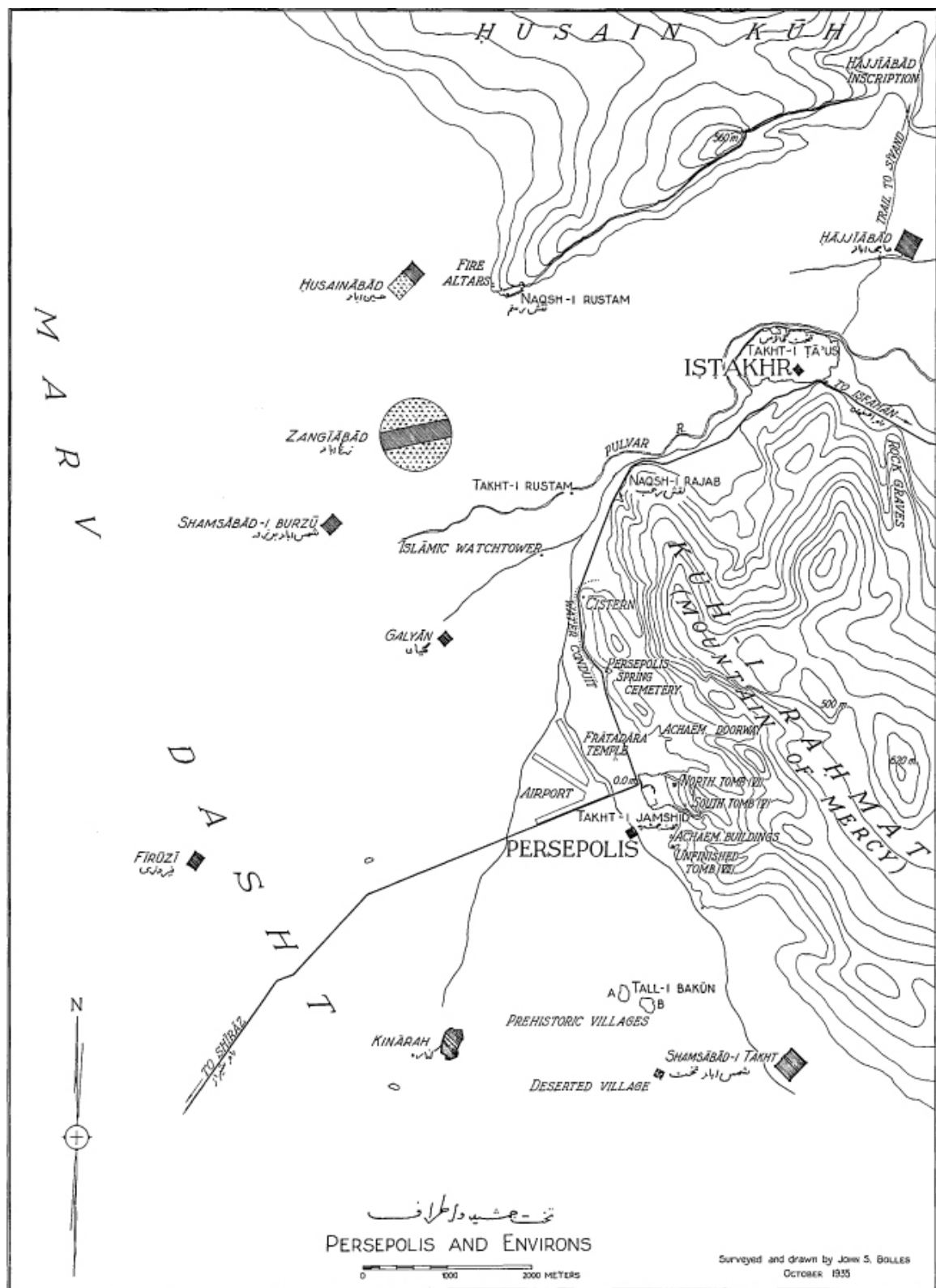


Fig. 33. Map of the Persepolis environs (Schmidt 1970:7 fig. 1).



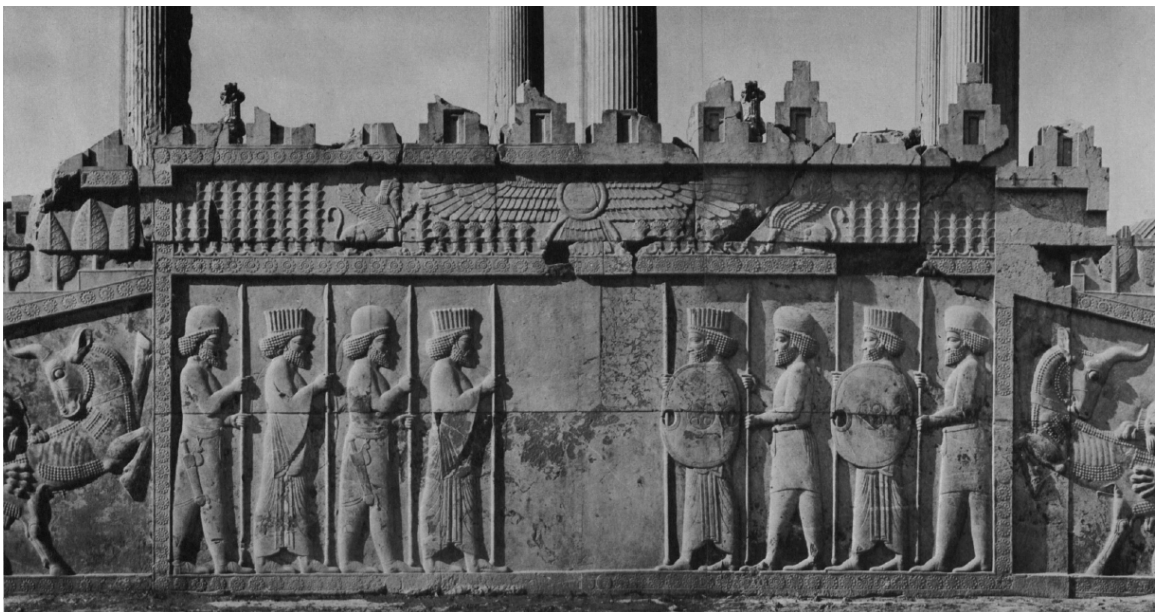
**Fig. 34.** Persepolis environs (GE 10 April 2008, scale 2 km).



**Fig. 35.** Tomb of Darius I, Naqsh-I Rustam (Schmidt 1970:frontispiece).

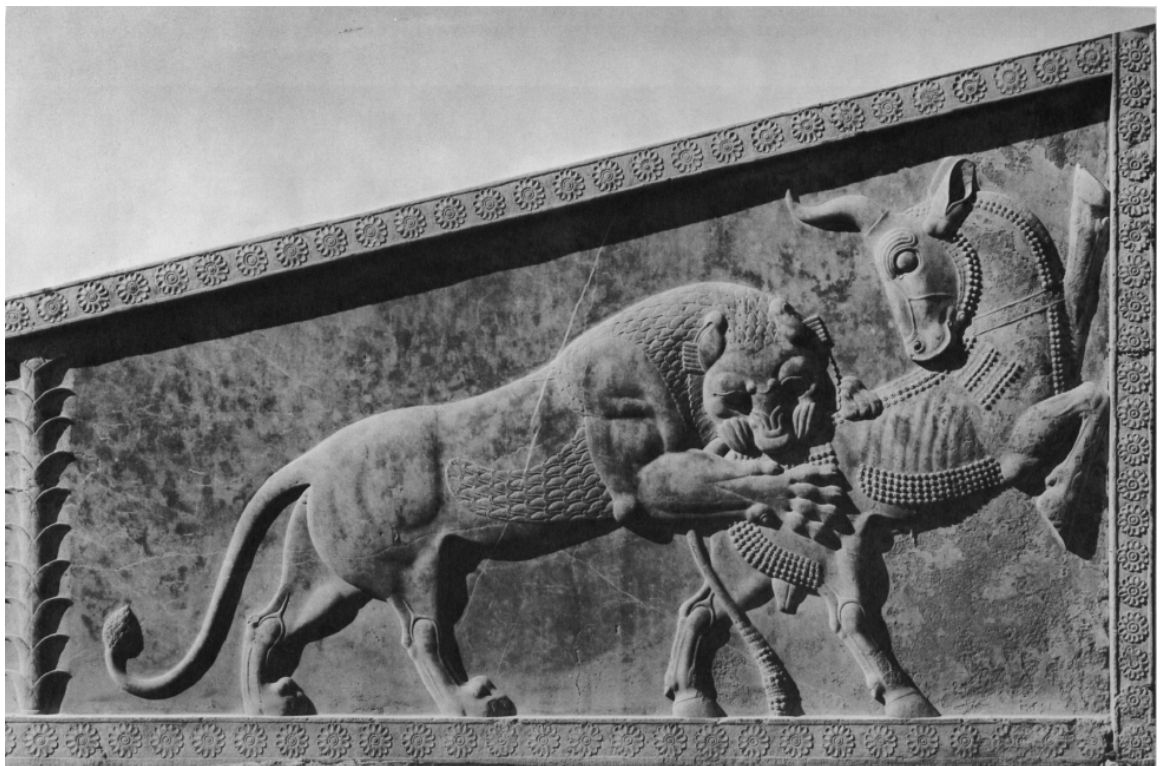


**Fig. 36.** Royal hero in combat with lion griffin, south jam of the northern doorway in the columned hall's east wall, Persepolis (Schmidt 1953:pl. 116a).

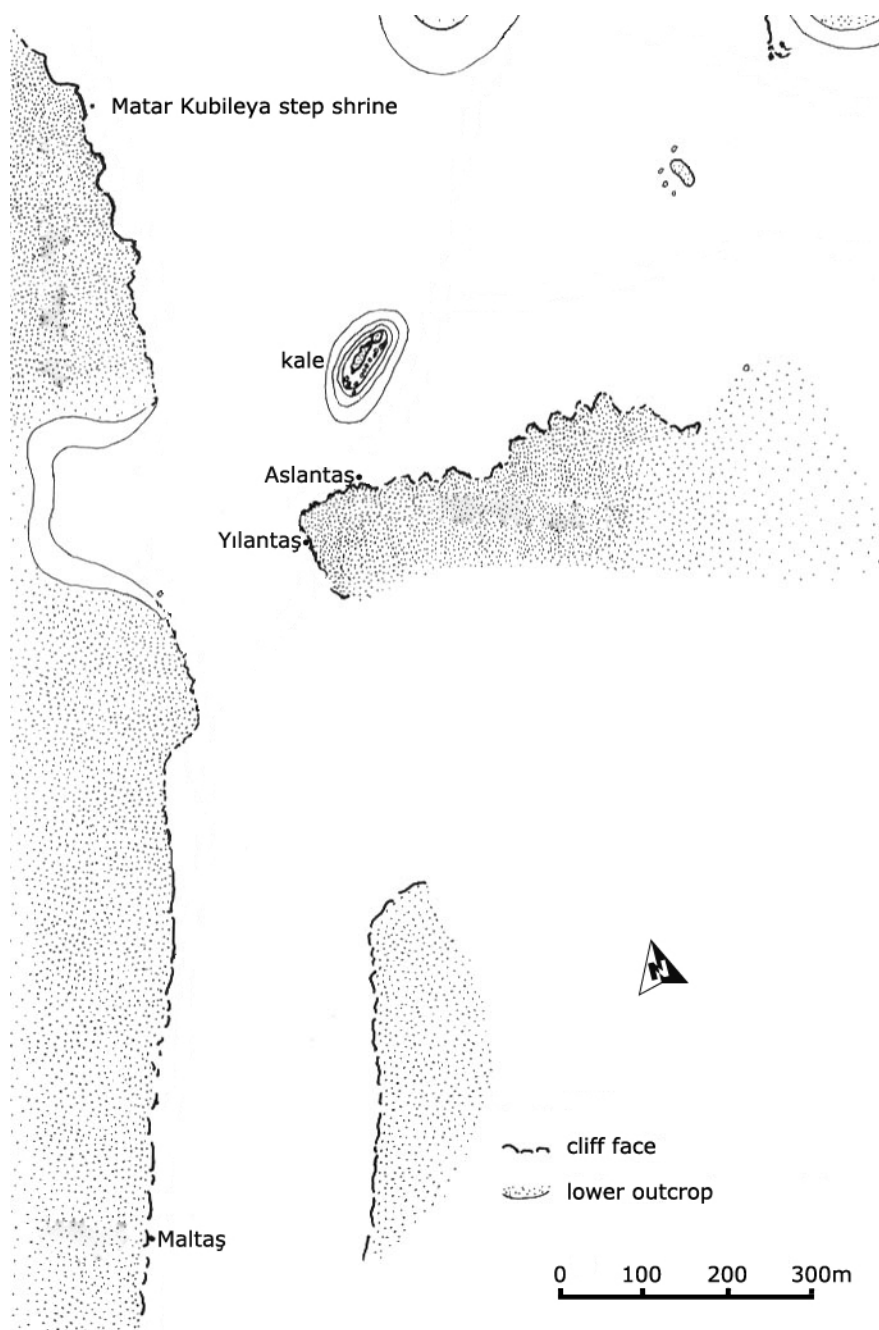


**Fig. 37.** Center of eastern stairway of Apadana, Persepolis (Schmidt 1953:pl. 22).





**Fig. 38.** Lion and bull combat of southern section of central façade of eastern stairway of Apadana, Persepolis (Schmidt 1953:pl. 20).

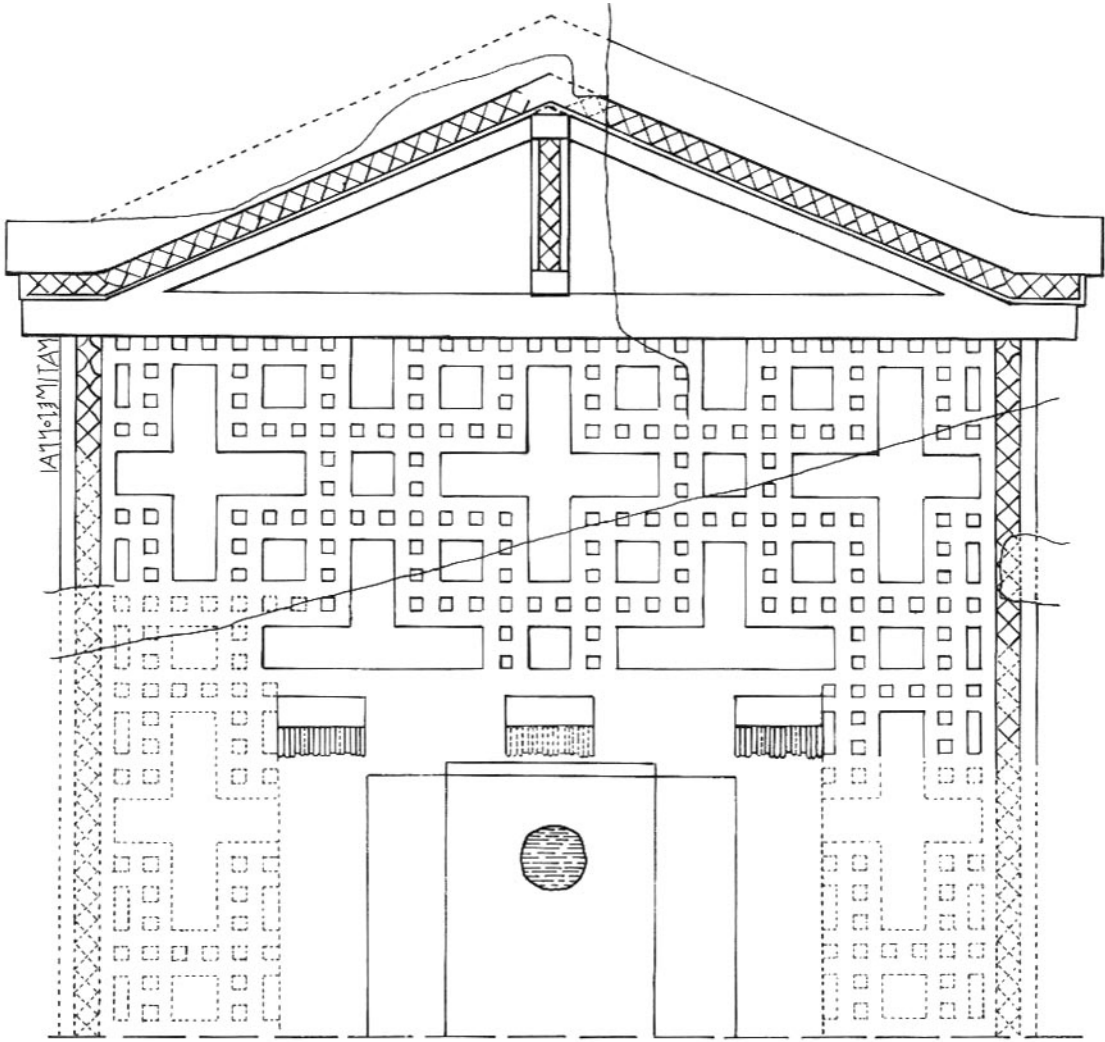


**Fig. 39.** Map of Göynüş Valley, Afyon (based on Berndt-Ersöz 2006:317 fig. 5).



**Fig. 40.** Aslantaş, Göynüş Valley, Afyon (Akurgal 1961:pl. 51).

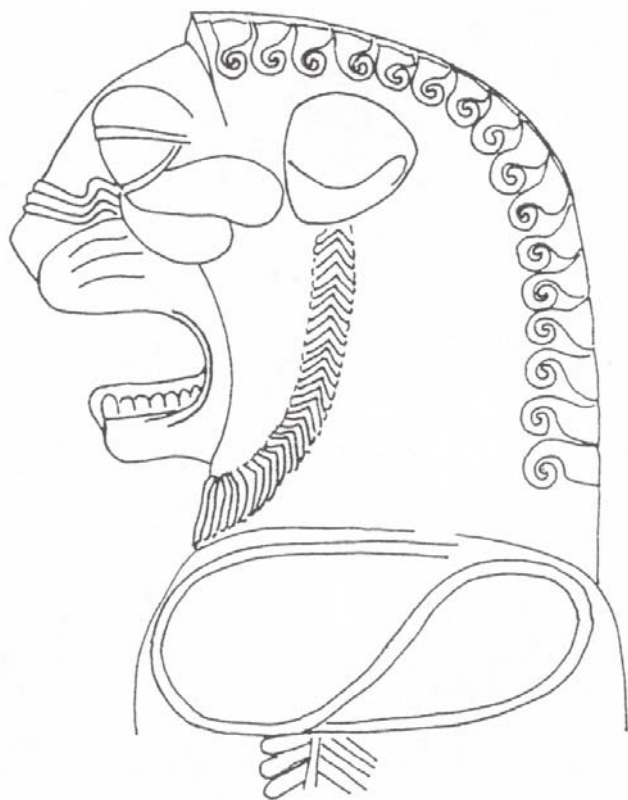




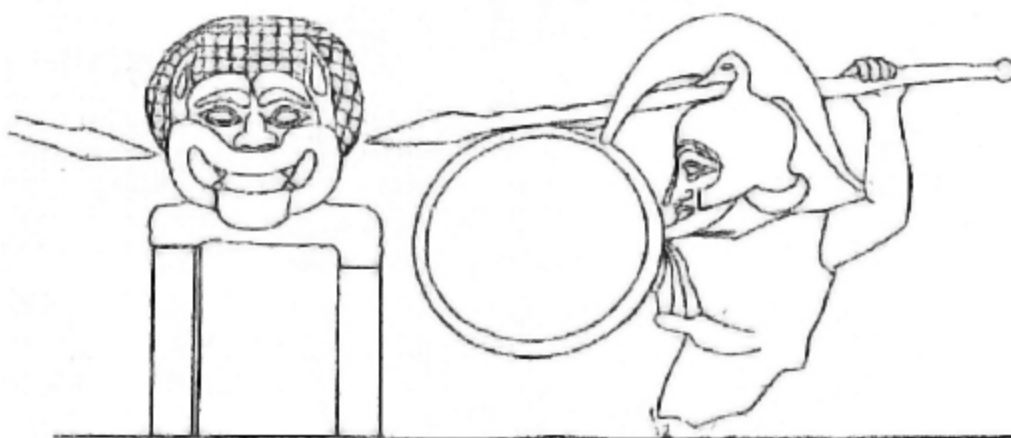
**Fig. 41.** Maltaş ritual façade, Göynüş Valley, Afyon (Berndt-Ersöz 2006:338 fig. 33).



**Fig. 42.** Yılantaş rockcut tomb, Göynüş Valley, Afyon.

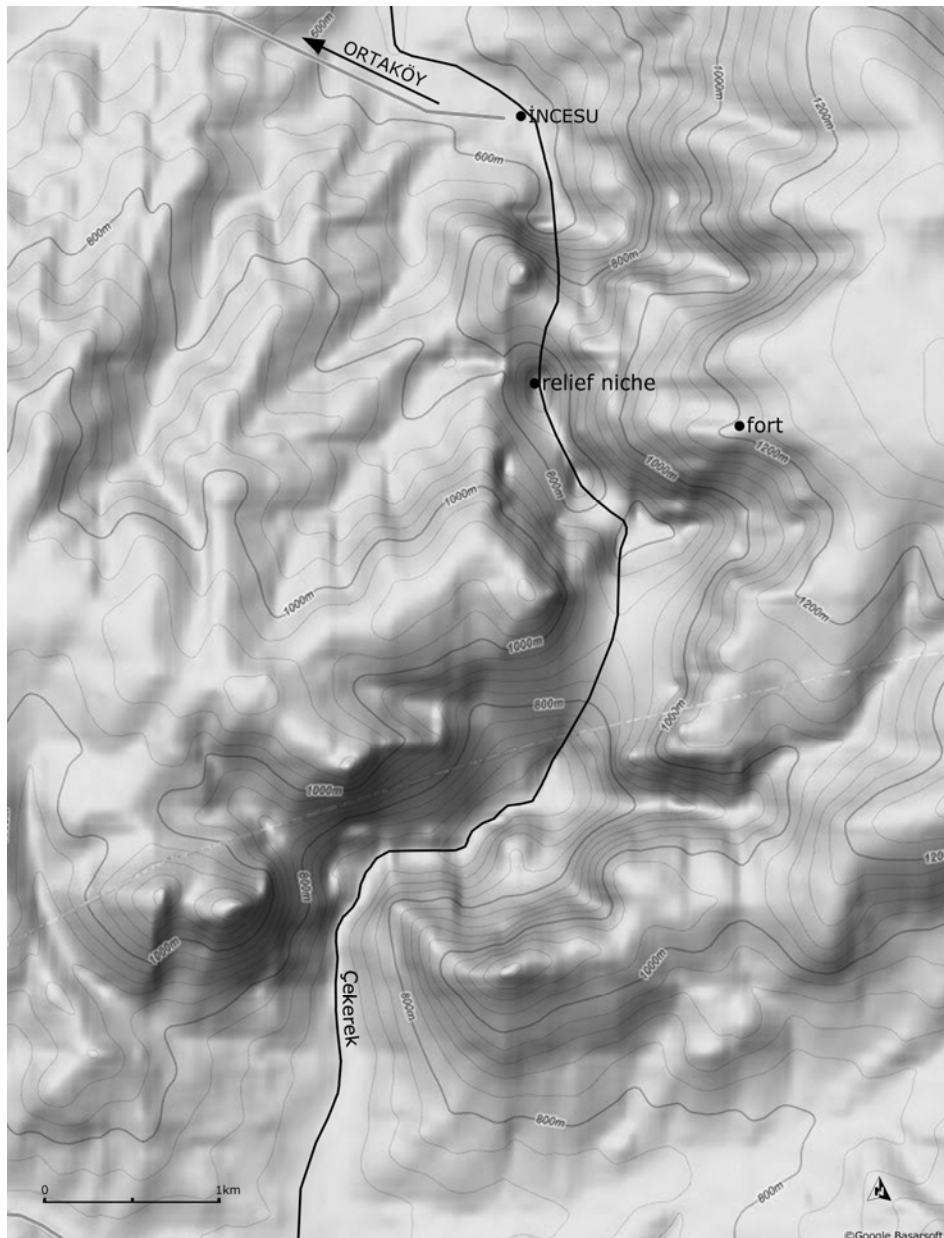


a.

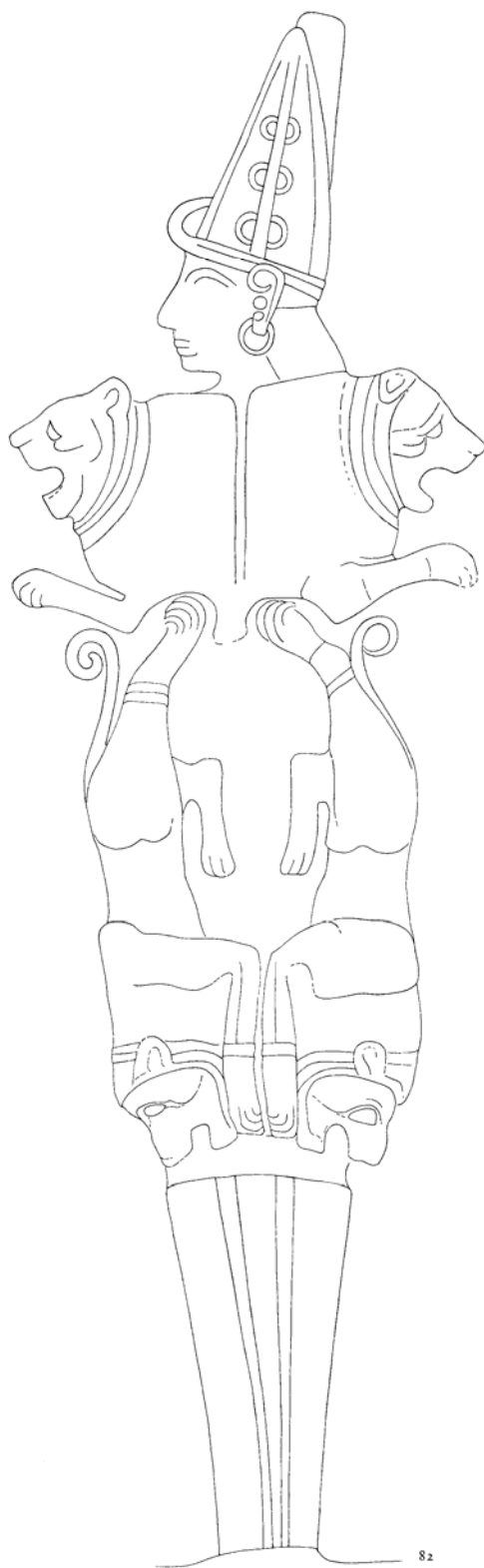


b.

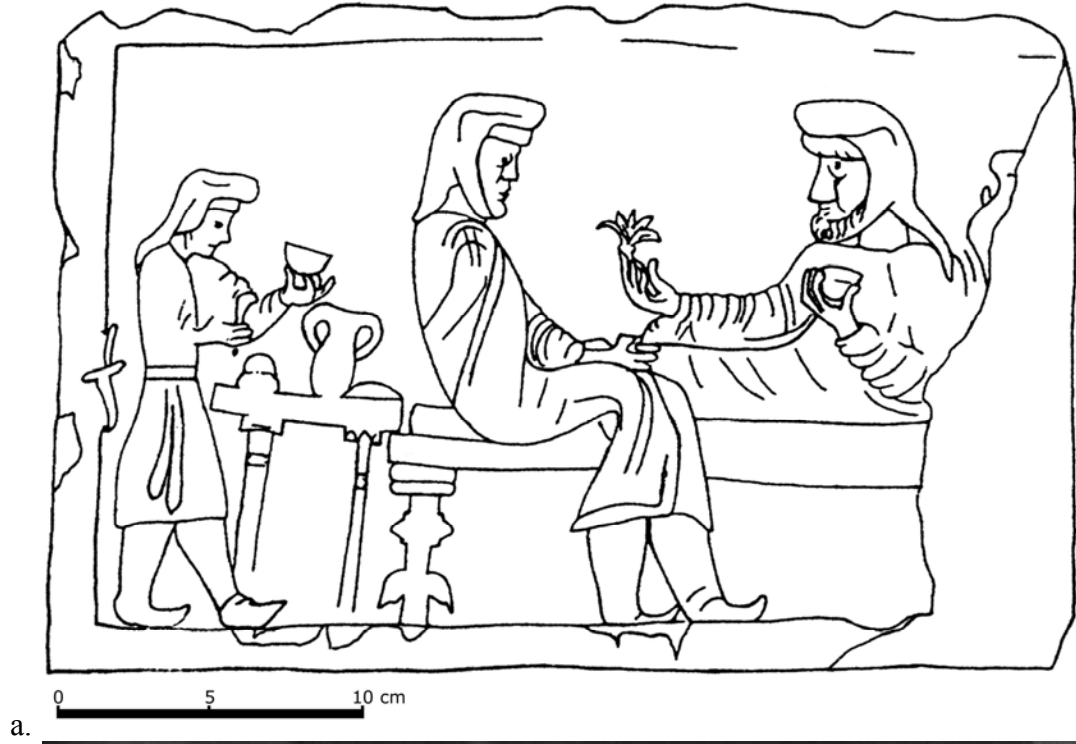
**Fig. 43.** Drawings of the lion (a) and gorgoneion (b), Yılantaş rockcut tomb, Göynüş Valley, Afyon (von Gall 1999:152 fig. 3, Akurgal 1965:473 fig. 6).



**Fig. 44.** Map of the Kazankaya Canyon, Yozgat and Çorum Provinces.



**Fig. 45.** Sword god of the Underworld, Yazılıkaya. Height: 3.43 m. (Bittel et al. 1975:pl. 62.)



**Fig. 46.** Relief block with funerary banquet scene, Afirözü, Daday, Kastamonu (C.22). Face: 27 × 43 cm, depth: 43 cm; Kastamonu Müzesi inv. no. 438. (Donceel-Voûte 1983:pl. 5 fig.4.)





a.



b.

**Fig. 47.** Paphlagonian rockcut tombs: a. Kargı Ambarkaya (**I.17**), b. İskilip tomb 4 (**I.12**, Hirschfeld 1885:pls. 2, 4).

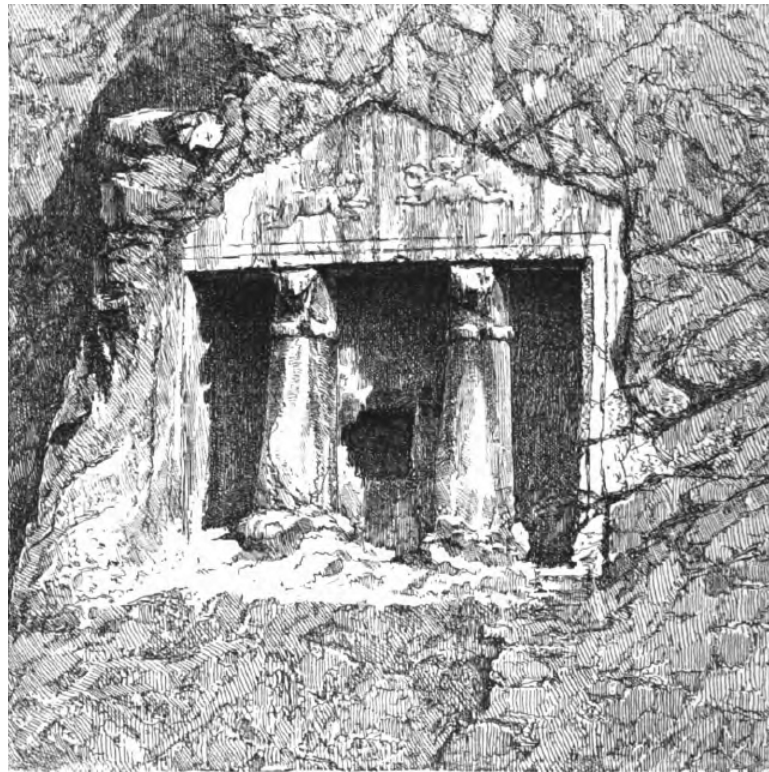


Fig. 48. Hirschfeld's distribution of rockcut monuments in Asia Minor (1885:3).



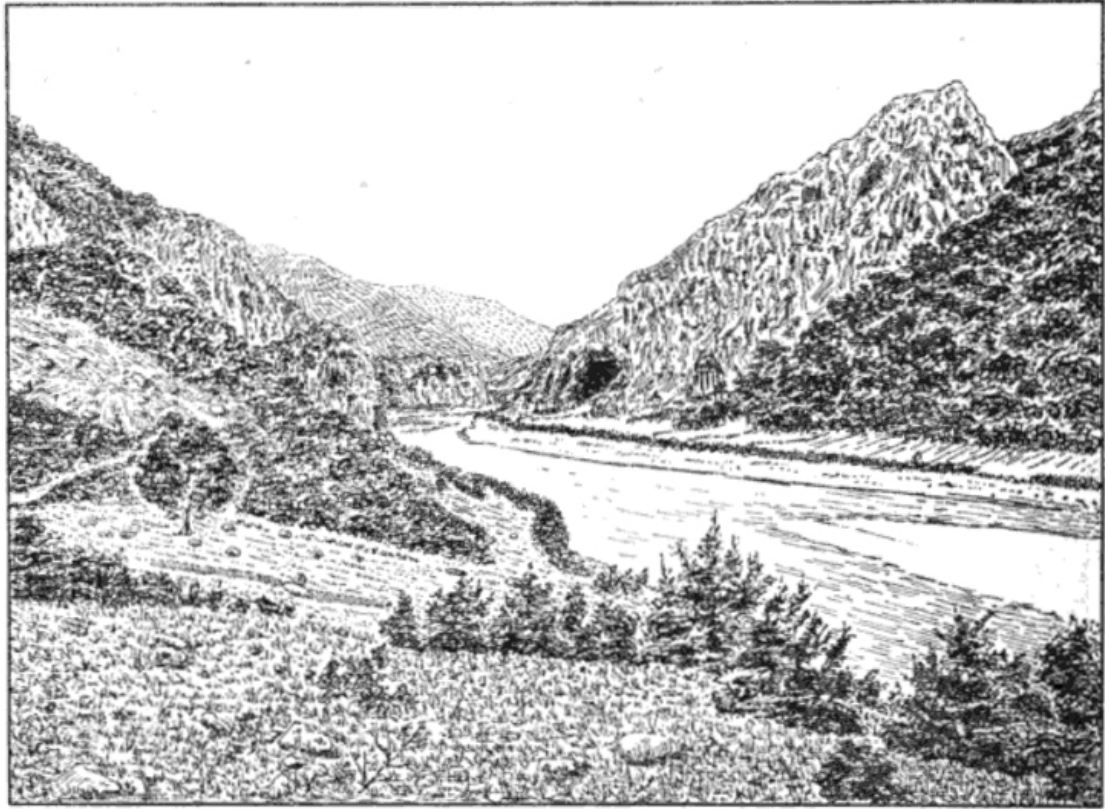


a.



b.

**Fig. 49.** Paphlagonian rockcut tombs: a. Kargı Ambarkaya (**I.17**), b. İskilip tomb 4 (**I.12**; Perrot and Chipiez 1892:200 fig. 139, 206 fig. 149; after Hirschfeld 1885:pls. 2, 4).



a.



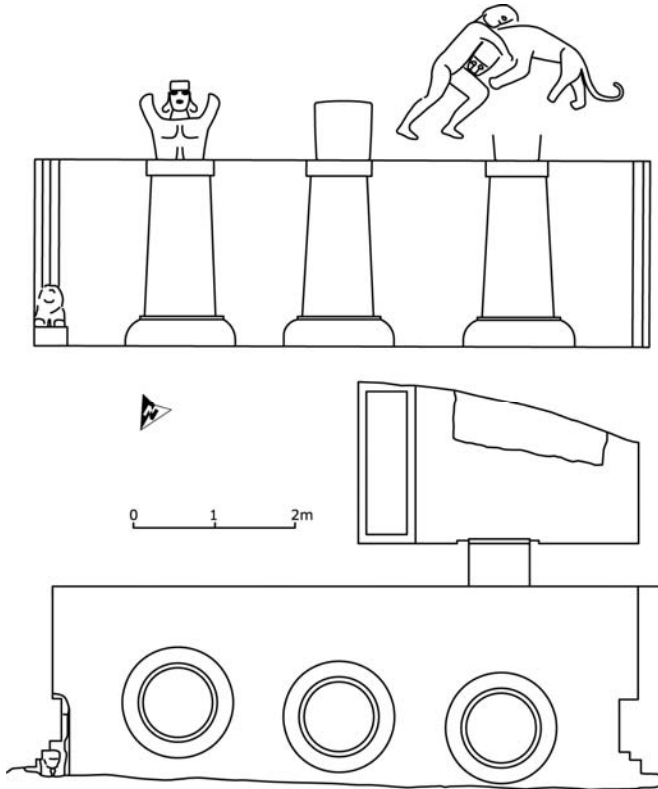
b.

**Fig. 50.** Sketchs of the Kızılırmak gorge and columnar rockcut tomb at Asarkale (**J.14**), looking upstream: a. Prittwitz (1894:126), b. Flottwell (1895:pl. 4, detail).





a.



b.

**Fig. 51.** Terelikkayası columnar rockcut tomb (A.1): a. photograph of the outcrop (S. Sabri), b. elevation and plan (adapted from von Gall 1966a:83-4 figs. 11a, 10).



a.



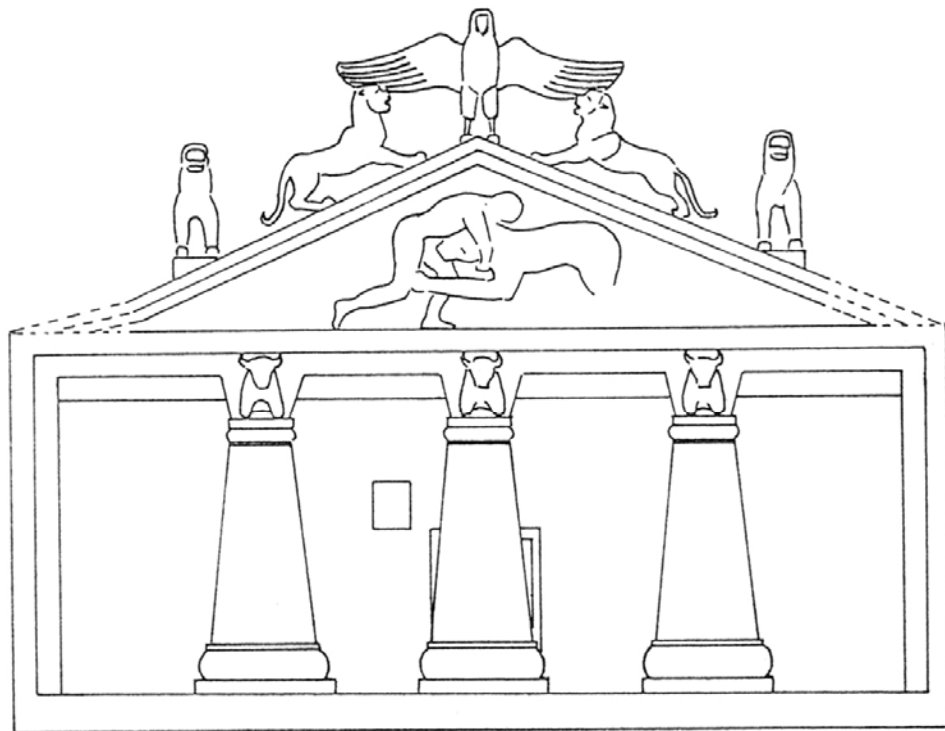
b.

**Fig. 52.** Terelikkayası columnar rockcut tomb (A.1): a. photograph of the tomb (S. Sabri), b. sphinx capital (Dökü 2008:resim 66).

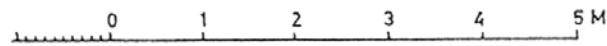




a.



b.



**Fig. 53.** Salarköy columnar rockcut tomb (A.9): a. photograph of the outcrop, b. elevation (von Gall 1966a:57 fig. 3).



a.



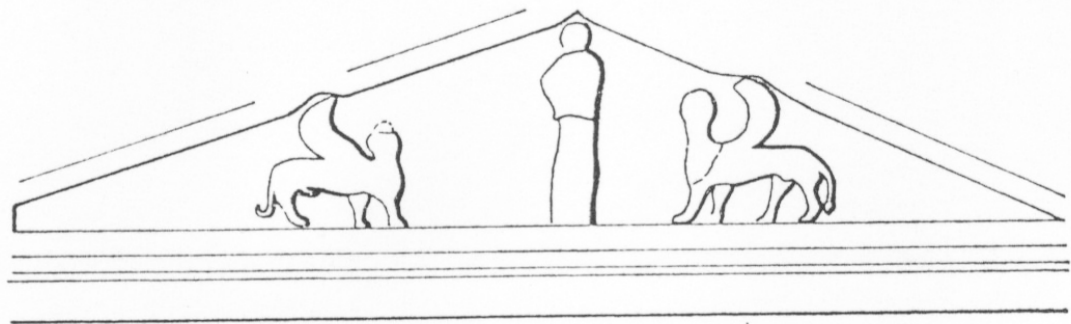
b.

**Fig. 54.** Winged bull capital, Salarköy columnar rockcut tomb (A.9): a. frontal photograph, b. oblique photograph.





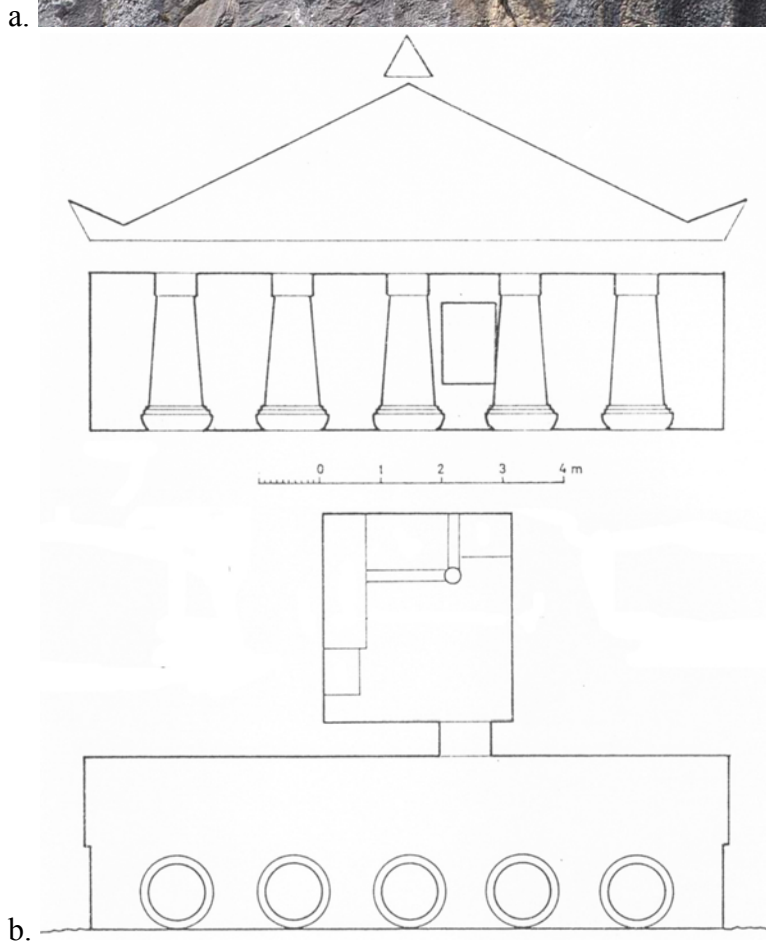
a.



b.



**Fig. 55.** Gable of Evkayası columnar rockcut tomb 1 (C.18): a. photograph of the gable, b. elevation (von Gall 1966a:67 fig. 7).

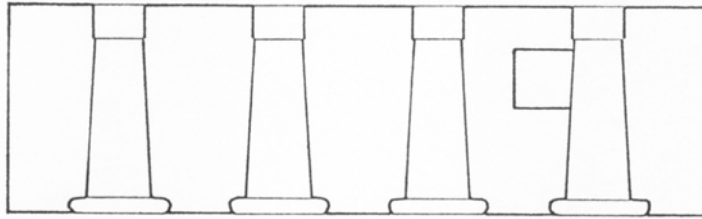


**Fig. 56.** Asarkale columnar rockcut tomb in fort cliff (**J.14**): a. photograph, b. elevation and plan (von Gall 1966a:99 fig. 21).

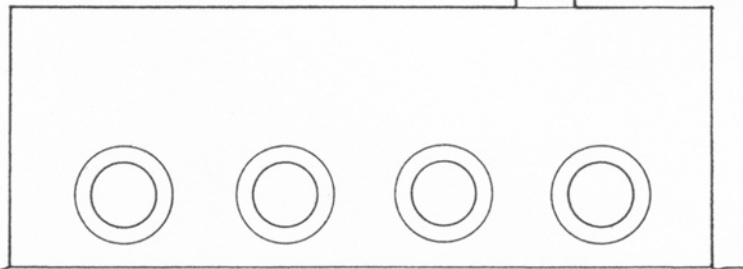
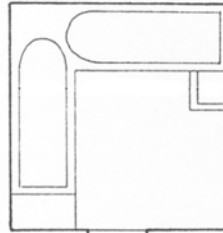




a.

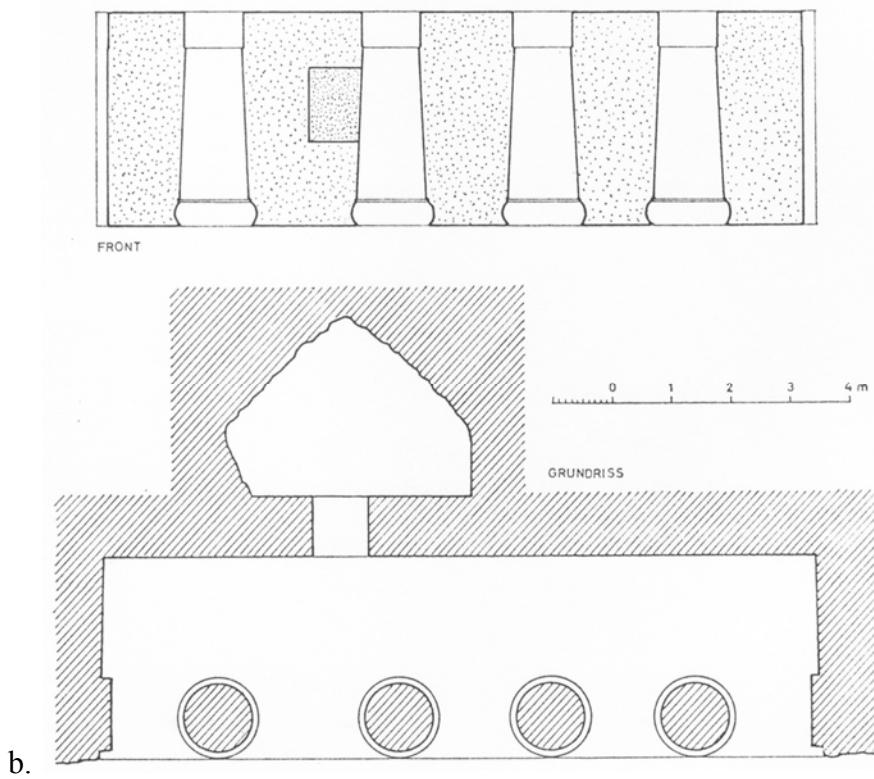


0 1 2 3 4 m

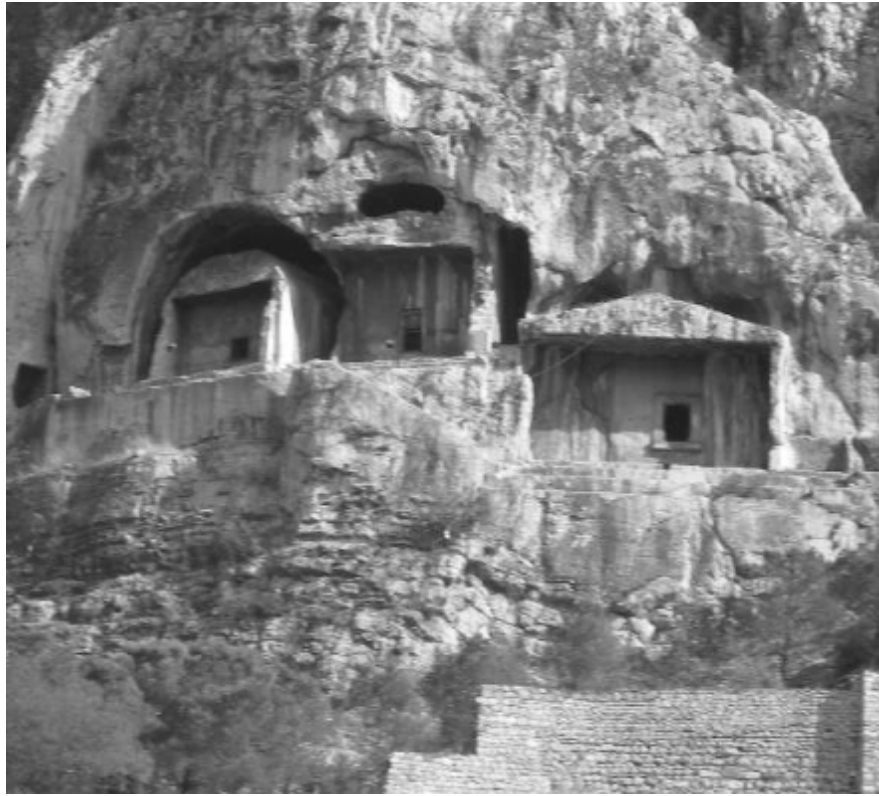


b.

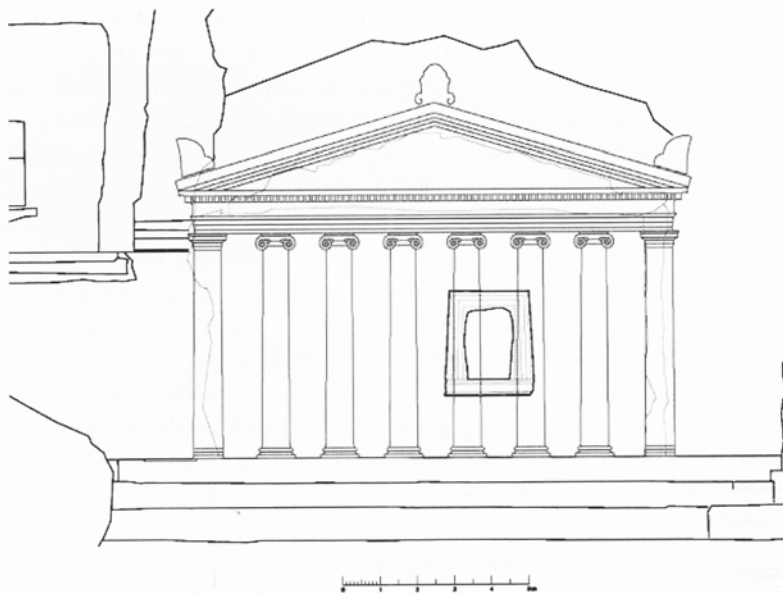
**Fig. 57.** Asarkale columnar rockcut tomb in cliff upstream of fort (J.14): a. photograph, b. elevation and plan (von Gall 1966a:97 fig. 20).



**Fig. 58.** Kapıkaya columnar rockcut tomb on the river bank facing the fort (J.14): a. photograph, b. elevation and plan (von Gall 1966a:96 fig. 19).



a.



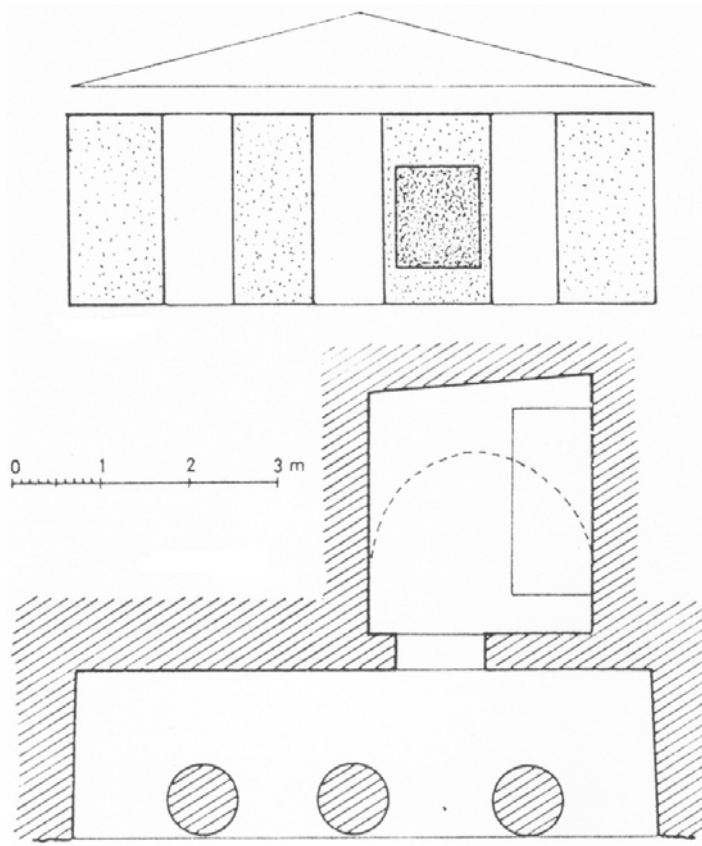
b.

**Fig. 59.** Tomb of Mithridates I, Amasya: a. photograph (Højte 2009:126 fig. 2), b. elevation and plan (Fleischer 2009:112 fig. 4b).



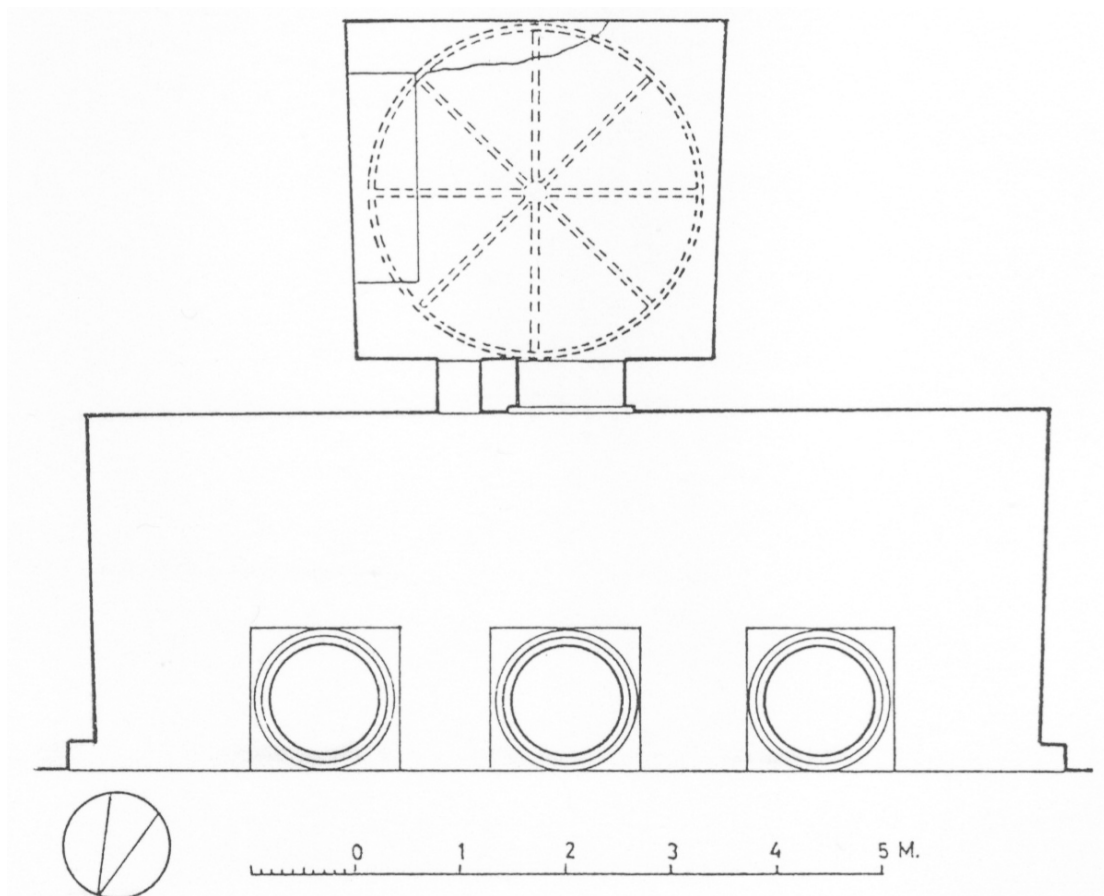


a.



b.

**Fig. 60.** Durağan Ambarkaya columnar rockcut tomb (A.3): a. photograph, b. elevation and plan (von Gall 1966a:105 fig. 25).



**Fig. 61.** Salarköy columnar rockcut tomb, plan (A.9, von Gall 1966a:58 fig. 4).



**Fig. 62.** Slag heaps, Küre (B.8).





**Fig. 63.** Monolithic column plinth, Ağcıkışi, Taşköprü (C.5).

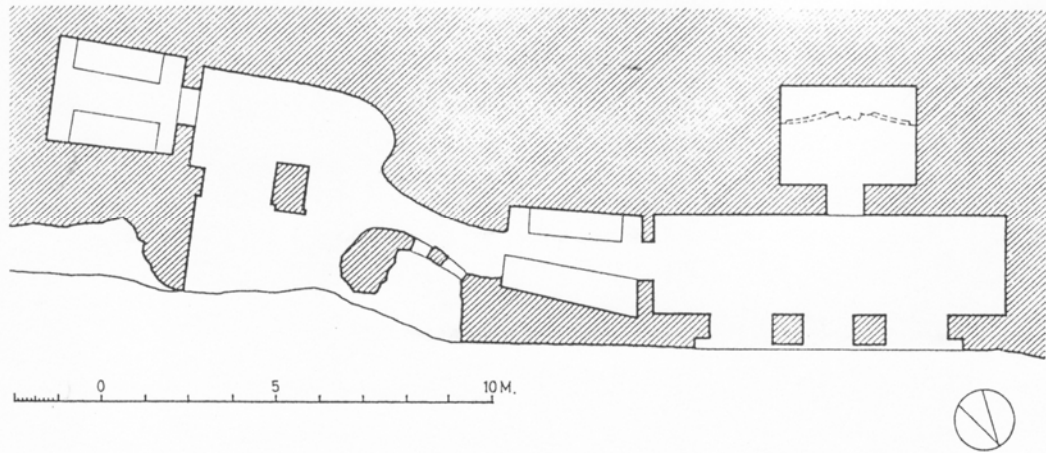


**Fig. 64.** Lion-griffin reliefs of the Kalekapı rockcut tomb (C.7): a. eastern, height 3.82 m, b. western, height 3.52 m.





a.



b.

**Fig. 65.** Evkayası tombs 1 and 2 (C.18): a. photograph of tomb 1, b. plan of both tombs (von Gall 1966a:65 fig. 6).

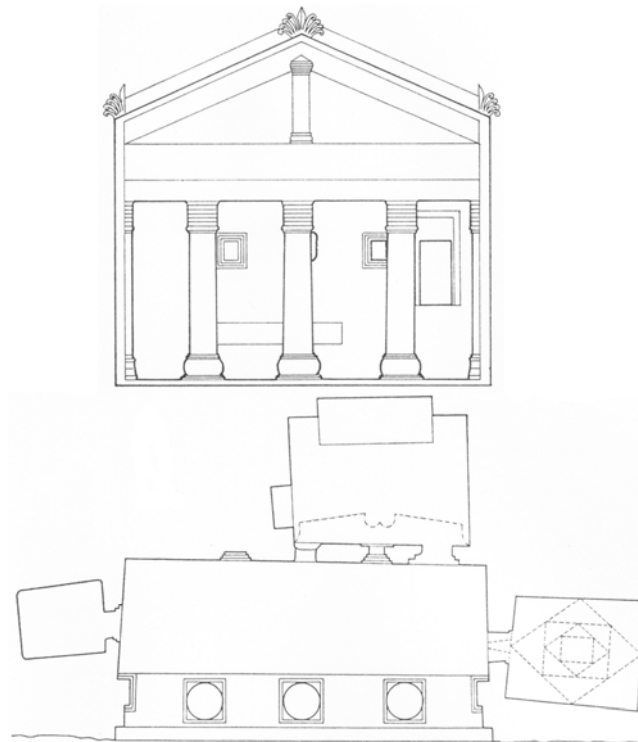




**Fig. 66.** Şehinşahkayası niche (C.20).



a.



b.



**Fig. 67.** Karakoyunlu columnar rockcut tomb (**E.1**): a. photograph, b. elevation and plan (von Gall 1966a:74-6 figs. 8-9).



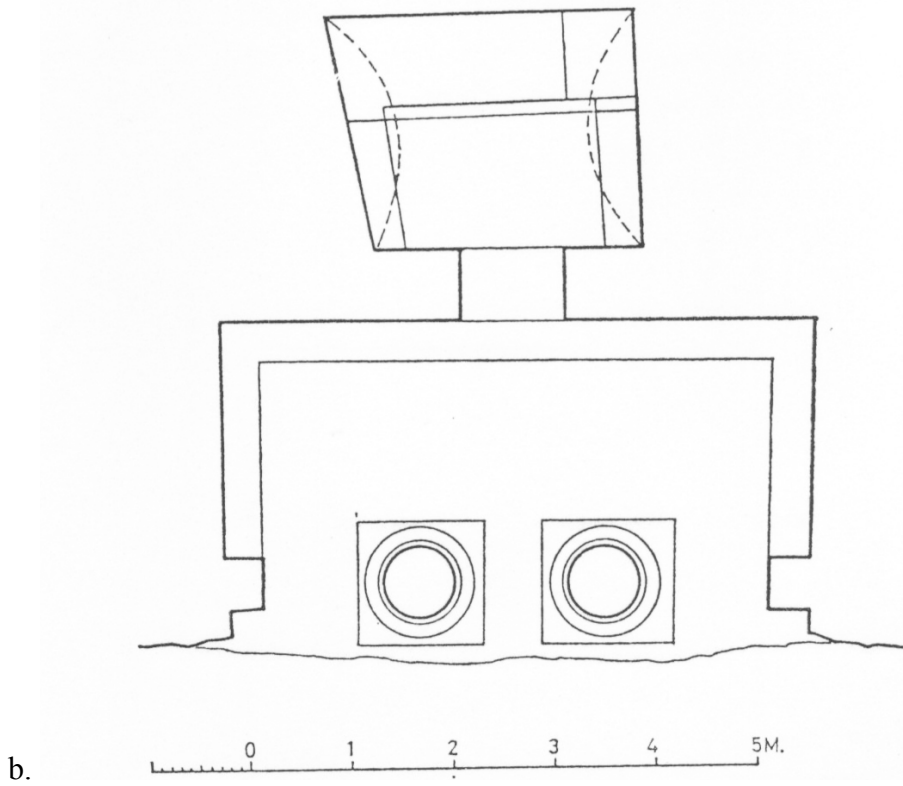


**Fig. 68.** Gümüştepe tumulus, Safranbolu (E.2).



1

**Fig. 69.** Tosya stele (F.9). Dimensions: 2.26 × 0.36 × 0.12 m, Çorum Müzesi inv. no. 20.1.81. (Durugönül 1994a:pl. 1)

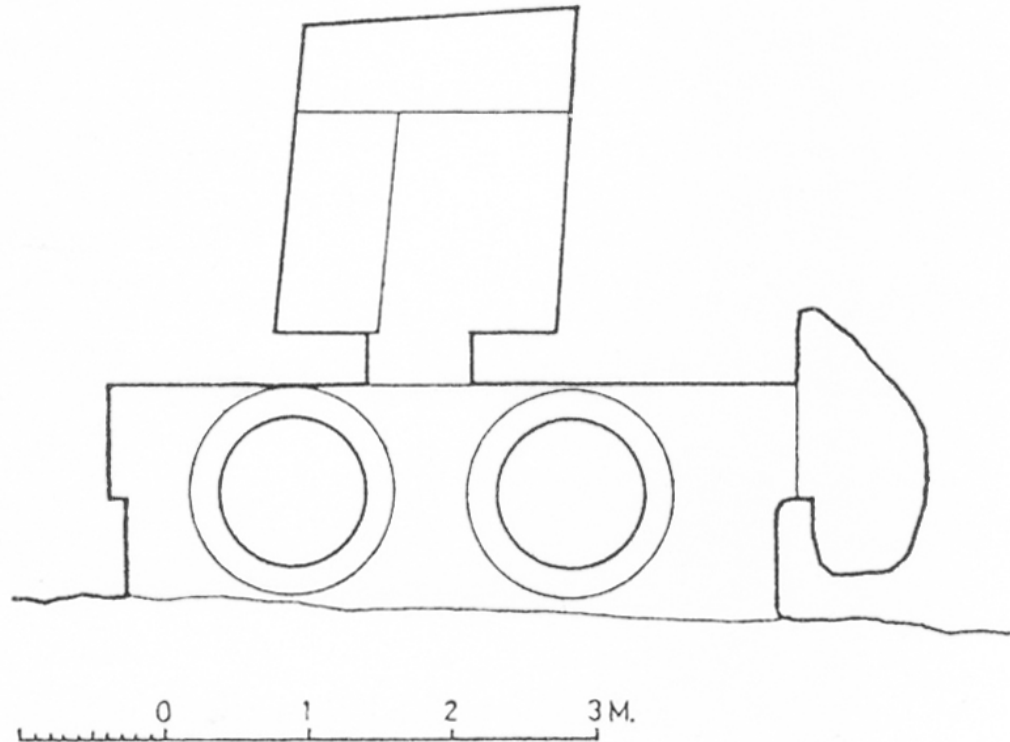


**Fig. 70.** İskilip columnar rockcut tomb 1 (I.12): a. photograph, b. plan (von Gall 1966a:93 fig. 15).





a.

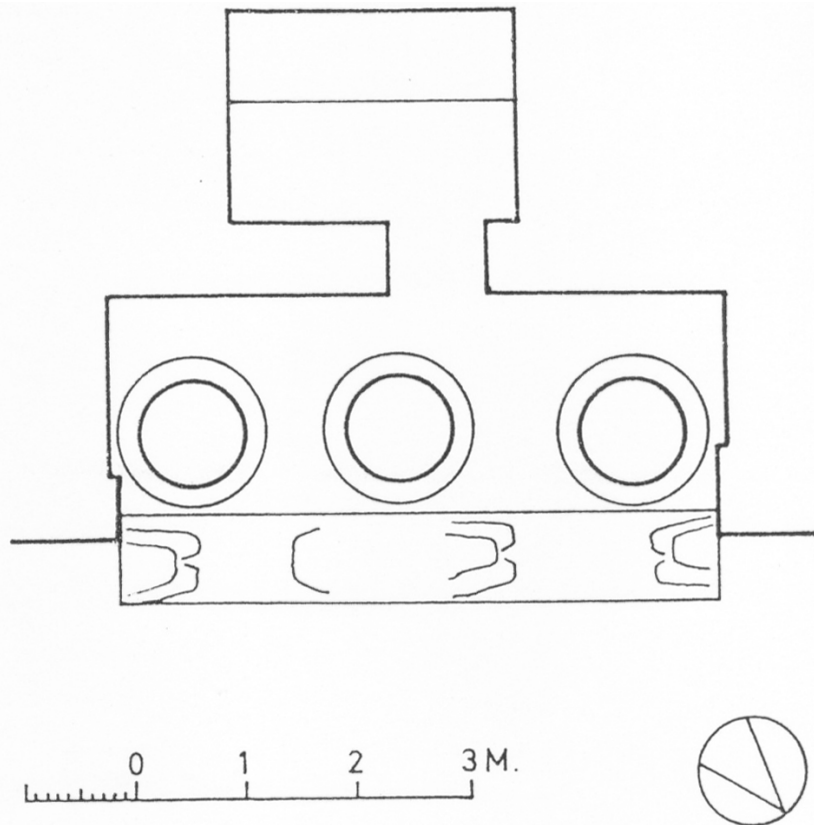


b.

**Fig. 71.** İskilip columnar rockcut tomb 4 (**I.12**): a. photograph, b. plan (von Gall 1966a:91 fig. 14).



a.



b.

**Fig. 72.** Kargı Ambarkaya columnar rockcut tomb (I.17): a. photograph, b. plan (von Gall 1966a:91 fig. 14).